

TRUTH
VINDICATED,
AGAINST
Sacrilege, Atheism, and Prophaneness;
And likewise against the
Common Invaders
OF THE
RIGHTS of KINGS,
AND
DEMONSTRATING
THE
VANITY of MAN in General.

By GRYFFITH WILLIAMS
now Lord Bishop of OSSORY.



LONDON,

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НТИЯГ

VINDICATION

TECHNIQUE.

2. *Scallop shells* *shallow water* *bottom*
3. *Shells* *shallow water* *bottom*

Common Insects

INTRO

RIGHTS OF KINGS

СИА

Demonstrating

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VANITY OF VANITY IN CONCERNING



BAQUEIRA MONTAINS

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Constitutio. M. DCIXXII

TO THE
K I N G S
Most Excellent
M A J E S T Y.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



Do most humbly beseech your Majesty, to give leave unto your Father's most faithful servant, and Your most Loyal Subject, to tell you, of what you cannot choose but know, and what I assure my self you do most *thankfully* remember, that, besides the many-many great *blessings*, which the great and good God hath often shewed unto your Majesty; He hath conferred and fastened two Extraordinary signal Favours upon you;

1. To preserve your life, after *Worster-fight*, from those *Vulturs* that did so greedily thirst after your blood.

2. To render unto *Cæsar* what was *Cæsar's*, that is, by taking away from those many potent and *tenacious* Tyrants, and *Usurpers*, what they unjustly held, and restoring your *Kingdoms*, and setting your *Crown* upon your Majestie's head; where, our daily prayers are, that it may long and long flourish.

And, as the Prophet *David*, that had received the like *blessings*, and favours from God, saith, *Quid retrix*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

buam Domino? So let me, as the Embassador of God, most humbly supplicate your Majesty, To render unto God what is God's. And as your Majesty, beyond example, to the exceeding comfort of us all, hath most graciously and Religiously, like the Son of your most pious, and now most glorious, Father, so freely and so bountifully rendered the Revenues of Jesus Christ, vested in your Majesty, to his Church; So, by your Royal Edicts, to do what in you lieth, to cause all others to do the like; that is, To render unto God what is Gods; which is but the duty of all, and is now neglected almost of all; for, besides the other things, which we owe, and render not to God, *Manus auferendi*, the Sacrilegious hands, have laid fast hold upon Gods right: And not only so, but the great Leviathan maketh it his pastime, to cause his whelps, to swallow up whole Churches, and, as it were *Lege agraria*, to take away the Lands, and Houses of the Lord into their possessions: and to make the poor Levite, that serveth at Gods Altar, to lye in the streets, or to lodge in an Irish Cabin; like the Israelites in the Wilderness, when they dwelt in booths, covered over with a few boughs.

I know, your Majesty knoweth, what the Prophet faith of many, that speak friendly unto their neighbours, but imagine mischief in their hearts; so, many Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others will speak very fair, and say to your Majesty, and to us; God forbid, that they should wrong the Church of God, or take any thing from the Church: and yet the mischief that they will do, if they may have their minds, is more than I can divine; For their Covetousness and greedy desire of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, projecteth no less, then that this your Kingdom of Ireland should be full of darkness, and that the poor people should cry for bread, even the Bread of Life, and there should be none, as now we have but few, or few able, to give it them; when they, that should give it them, have scarce bread enough to put into their own mouths; and less shall have, if the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the nefarious Violators of Holy things shall have the least countenance from your Majesty to effect their sacrilegious wils.

But to let your Majesty see how earnestly, and eagerly, your Commissioned-Officers in 49. do strive to take away the Houses and Lands of the Church and Prebends, I thought good to insert their Letters in this place:

To our very good Friends the Commissioners,
appointed for Setting the forfeited-Houses &c.
in the City of KILKENNY.

Genilemen,

Yours of the 16th. Instant we have Received, acquainting us that the Corporations in your Commission mentioned, do persist to Claim more then their right. And propounding that (for better distinguishing our Interest therein) you may be by us Impowered to set the same to such a number of your selves, as you shall think fittest, in order to the due Trial, and Ascertaining our said Interest, and as are best able to manage that Affair; As also signifying, that the Clergy in the said Corporations, do equally refuse and disappear; and therefore desiring our Resolves, and like Order concerning both: which having duly considered; We do hereby acquaint you, that it is our Unanimous Resolve and Direction, both for the Corporation and Clergy-part, wherein you are Concerned; That you forthwith give notice to the Inhabitants, and Tenants respectively; That if they will not Treat with you, and take out Leases of their several Holdings (at moderate Rents to be by you imposed) within two daies after such your notice, that then you have (And we do hereby give, and grant unto you, or such a fitting number of you, as shall be amongst your selves agreed upon) full power to become Tenants to such Holdings, and to enter upon, and possess the same; or otherwise

The Epistle Dedicatory.

And we must
believe them
what Houses
were set in
Fee-farm.

wise dispose thereof agreeable to your Instructions, and as may be for our best advantage; And as to the Clergy-part refusing, or opposing as aforesaid, you are to Sett and Lett all Fee-farms, by the Church formerly granted of any the premises; or to Impose a Considerable Rent as you see fittest, reserving to the Church the chief Rents, payable thereon respectively; And of the Rents by you reserved, and other particulars relating to the premises, you are to give an exact and speedy Account unto

Your very loving Friends

{ Hen. Tichburn. { Ran. Clayton.
Joh. Stephens. Alex. Piggot.
Hans. Hamilton. }

According to the purport of the above Letter; We do hereby give notice unto all persons Concerned, that Fryday next being the 30th. of this Instant May, We do intend to sett, and dispose of, all such Houses, &c. Which Letter, we have thought fit to publish, that so none might plead Ignorance; Dated the 26th. of May. 1662.

{ Tho. Evans. { Ol. Wheeler.
Rob. Lloyd. Will. Hamilton. { Hen. Brenn.

Whereby, all men may see how the Church, and poor Bishop of Ossory, do seem to stand in the hands of Scyron and Procrustes: The Souldiers of the Usurpers, that fought against their King, and do still detain the Church-land from the Bishop; And now (like that in the Canticles, wounded in the house of our friends.) the Souldiers in 49. that were most faithful unto your Majesty, do still seek to take away our Houses from the Church. And if we lose both House and Land, we may go to live in the Church, and lie with the Levite in the Streets.

But, as your Majesty hath been most Gracious to the Bishops

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Bishops; and to all the Clergy so bountifull, as to grant them almost as much as we could desire; so our hope and humble Request is, that you will not suffer these men to take from us, so much as they desire.

For the preventing of which desire of theirs, if it may be; I have endeavoured to arm my self with a resolution, neither to fear nor flatter any man; ~~which may offend~~ for they that fear the smoak, may fall into the fire, *Et qui timet pruinam, opprimetur à nive;* that is, as S. Gregory moralizeth it, He that fears the frost of mans anger, which he may tread under his feet, may be overwhelmed with the hail and snow of God's wrath, which shall fall upon his head, so that he can not escape it: And I have studied not to prepare sweet and savory meat unto my Readers, but *salubria medicamenta*, those medicines, that shall be most wholesome for their Souls. And because the ears of all Church-robbers, are like the ears of the deaf Adder, that will not be charmed, and the walls of this sin of Sacrilege are like the walls of Jericho, that cannot be tumbled down, without the shrill sound of Trumpets and Rams horns; I have sharpened my Pen, and, in the bitterness of my soul, for the bavock that I see made of the Patrimony of God's Church, I have indeavoured to speak, not in the mild voice of Eli to his sons; but with the rough speeches of Joseph unto his brethren, that had slept so many years in their sins; as our people have done in their Sacrilege; and yet think it to be no sin.

And I doubt not, but that this my Discourse will prove as the waters of gall, and as bitter as wormwood unto those mens stomacks, that are so greedy; as we see men are, to get away the lands and possessions of the Church, and my self to be maligned and envyyed to the full; But I assure them, *Non flocci facio*, I weigh it not a rush; for I have hardened my face like an Adamant, and as the Lord saith to Ezethiel, *Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear*; I will speak what I conceive

The Epistle Dedicatory.

to be truth; and nothing but what my Conscience tells me is truth. And if in any thing I shall mistake, it is not *amor erroris*, the love of error, or the hatred of any of those *Sacrilegious* persons that rob the Church; but it is *error amoris*, the error of my love to the *Church of Christ*, and unsaigned desire, to promote the *service of God*, and the good of the poor and honest *Irish* of this Kingdom; and so if I have offended, I shall humbly crave your Majesties pardon, and most willingly submit myself to the censure of the *Church*; and with my morning, evening, and noon-daisies prayers for your Majestie's long-life, and much happiness, I rest.

Your Majestie's most

humble, devoted,

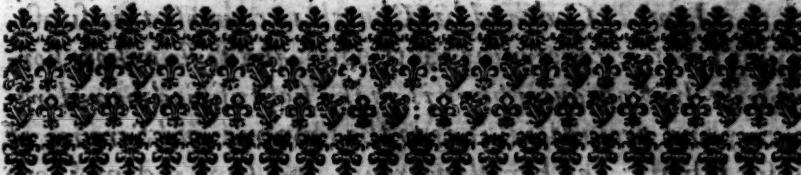
and most faithful

Loyal Subject,

Gryffith Offory.

To

19. 16. 16. 16. 16. 16.



To all the adi illa, emulacion has
riverside with the men in it. drawl a cowne the
COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

and upon it had to yester day the mediation of a summe
of the

KING'S ARMY,
in the year 1649.

Noble and Worthy Gentlemen,

Hose true faithfulness to your King,
and great Valour in the Wars under-
taken to defend the best King on
Earth, and to preserve his undubitable
Right unsnatched from him, by wicked
Rebels; doth undoubtedly merit, in
the judgement of all wise and honest

men, no small Reward, far more than the reach of my under-
standing can express. Yet, ye must give me leave to tell you,
That I should be heartily sorry, that any man could justly
say, That your great Deserts were any wayes stained
with the tincture of Sacrilegious; which, I assure my self,
you would never permit, if you conceived any thing that
you do, to have the least affinity with that ugly Bastard-
Brat.

Therefore I have undertaken, in the sincerity of my
Conscience, and according to the best and uttermost of my
knowledge, without the least ill thought of any of you all,
or the least covetous desire, to take any thing from you,
that is inoffensively your due: but to discharge the du-

ty;

And to say the
truth, I blame
not all the
Souldiers, and
Commissioned
Officers, when
I found very
many of them
very honest, &
very religious
men; and some
of them have
told me, they
would not med-
dle, and wish-
ed that the rest
of the Souldiers
would not meddle
with the lands
or houses of the
Church.

To the Commissioned Officers.

ty, that I owe to God, and his Church, to compose this subsequent Treatise, concerning Sacrilege, and to shew, how horrible & how odious a sin it is in the sight of God; how derogatory and prejudicial it is to the Honour and Service of Jesus Christ; and how dangerous, and how it damnieth those that commit it; the same being a Canker, that will eat, and consume, all that they have, before many Generations pass away; a sword, that will cut down their posterity from off the earth, and a sin that obligeth them to eternal damnation; without the great mercy of God to accept their great and unfeigned repentance for the same. And what you imagin I do herein against you, I do assure you, if you will believe me, it is not so much to get either lands or houses from you, as to hinder you, as I conceive, so deeply to wound your own selves: For, Better is a little that is duly gotten, without blame, and brings a blessing with it; than a great deal, that is unjustly obtained, with a curse at the heels of it. But you will say, That you do nothing but what you justly may do by the Laws of our Land, and what others do, and have done before you. And truly I do think so too: But I have fully answered this Allegation, and, as I suppose, whatsoever else can be said, in this Treatise; And I ask of you, Whether you conceive, that Humane Laws, and Acts of Parliament, made by powerful Commands, and either through fear or errour; can make that which is against the Will, and contrary to the Law of God, to be no sin? or free the sinner from God's wrath? Or, do you think, that I stand against so many well-deserving Gentlemen, of such means and friends, and power, as you are, only for covetousness, to gain the Rent of a few houses; and no longer, than the remainder of a poor old man's life? Surely, not any one, that had but the least inch of worldly wisdom, would do so: For, besides my pains and labour, I have spent already, and shall spend yet, before the Church shall lose them, perhaps ten times more than my span-long life shall gain by them: And what of that? I have done my best, when I have lost them, Et liberavi animam meam, and shall leave to God Causam suam, Let him

To the Commissioned Officers.

him arise and defend his own Cause; but let me make
beed, when they strive against God, or seek to obstruct his
Service, and cause the diminution of his Worship, which
I hope, your Piety will never suffer any one of you to do.
And I shall pray for you all, and assuredly remain,

THE CONTENTS

Your affectionate friend,

and servant

Gryffeb Oldry.

(a 3)

To

THE CONTENTS

brief Summary of the Chapters.

- Chap. I. *A*n Introduction, shewing the occasion of this Treatise, and what the Author doth therein. Page 1.

Chap. II. Of Sacrilegious, what it is; how manifold it is; and how it hath been alwayes punished, and never escaped the Hand of the Divine Vengeance. P. 4.

Chap. III. The divers sorts and kinds of Sacrilegious persons: And first, of those that do it under colour of Law, and upon the pretence of Reformation, whereby they suppose their Sacrilegious to be no Sacrilegious at all, P. 15.

Chap. IV. Of two sorts of Sacrilegious persons, that rob the Church of Christ, without any colour or pretence of Law; but indeed contrary to all Law. P. 21.

Chap. V. The words of King David, in the 2 Sam. 7. 1, 2. and their divisions; When they were spoken; And how, or in what sense Sitting and Standing are commonly taken in the Scriptures: And of the two Persons that are here conferring together. P. 27.

Chap. VI. What the Rest, and peaceable times of King David wrought. The Prince's authority in causes Ecclesiastical; and how they should be zealous to see that God should be justly and religiously served. P. 31.

Chap. VII. The Objections of the Divines of Lovain, and other Jesuites, against the former Doctrine, of the Prince his Authority over the Bishops and Priests, in Causes Ecclesiastical, answered; And the foresaid truth sufficiently proved, by the clear testimony of the Fathers and Councils, and divers of the Popes and Papists themselves. P. 31.

Chap. VIII. That it is the Office and Duty of Kings and Princes, though not to execute the Function, and to do the Office of the Bishops and Priests; yet, to have a special care of Religion, and the true Worship of God, and to cause both the Priests and Bishops, and all others, to discharge the duties of God's Service. And how the good and godly Emperours and Kings, have formerly done the same from time to time. P. 41.

Chap. IX.

The Contents.

- Chap. IX. Of the chiefest Parts and Duties of Kings and Princes, which they are to discharge for the maintenance of God's Service, and the True Religion; and the necessity of Cathedral-Churches and Chappels, for the people of God to meet in, for the Worship and Service of God. p. 46.
- Chap. X. The Answer to the Two Objections that the Fanatic-Sectaries do make. I. Against the necessity. And 2ly against the Sanctity, or Holiness of our Material Churches, which in derision, and contemptuously, they call Steeple-houses. p. 53.
- Chap. XI. The Answer to another Objection, that our Fanatic-Sectaries do make against the Beauty, and Glorious Adorning of our Churches; which we say should be done with such decent Ornaments, and Implements, as are befitting the House and Service of God. The Reasons why we should Honour God with our goods: and how liberal, and bountiful both the Fathers of the Old Testament, and the Christians of the New Testament, were to the Church of God. p. 58.
- Chap. XII. The Answer to another Objection, that our brain-sick Sectaries do make for the utter overthrow of our Cathedrals and Churches, as being so foully stained and profaned with Popish Superstitions; and therefore being no better than the Temples of Baal, they should rather be quite demolished, than any ways adorned and beautified. p. 63.
- Chap. XIII. That it is a part of the Office and Duty of Pious Kings and Princes, as they are God's Substitutes, to have a care of his Church, to see, that, when such Cathedrals and Churches, are built and beautified as is fitting for his Service, there be Able, Religious, and Honest, painful, and faithful Bishops, placed in those Cathedrals, that should likewise see Able and Religious Ministers placed in all Parochial Churches; and all negligent, unworthy, and dissolute men, Bishops or Priests reproved, corrected and amended; or removed and excluded from their places and dignities, if they amend not. p. 67.
- Chap. XIV. Of the maintenance due to the Bishops and Ministers of God's Church, how large and liberal it ought to be. p. 75.
- Chap. XV. That the payment of Tythes unto the Church, is not a case of Custom, but of Conscience; Whereas the tenth by a Divine right, is the Teacher's tribute, and the very first part of the wages that God appointed to be paid unto his Workmen; and therefore, that it is as heinous a sin, and as foul an offence, to defraud the Ministers of this due; as it is to detain the meat, or money of the labouring-man, which is one of the four Grgings. p. 82.
- Chap. XVI. The Answer to the choicest and chiefest Objections that the School of Anabaptists have made, and do urge against the payment of Tythes now, in the time of the Gospel. p. 91.
- Chap. XVII. What the ancient Fathers of the Church, and the Councils (collected of most Learned and Pious Bishops) have left written

The Contents.

- written concerning Tythes: And of the three-fold cause, that
detains them from the Church. p. 93.
- Chap. XVIII. Of the second part of the Stipend, Wages, and Maintenance of the Ministers of the Gospel; which is, the Oblation, Donation, or Free-wil-offering of the people, for to uphold, and continue the true service of God, and to obtain the blessings of God, upon themselves, and upon their labours; which Donations ought not to be impropriated, and alienated from the Church, by any means. p. 105.
- Chap. XIX. That it is the duty of all Christian Kings and Princes, to do their best endeavours, to have all the Impropropriations restored to their former Institution; to hinder the taking away, and the alienation of the Lands, Houses, and other the Religious Donations of our Ancestors from the Church of Christ; and to suppress and root out all the Unjust and Covetous subtle customs and frauds, that are so generally used, and are so derogatory to the service of God, from amongst the people, and especially from this Kingdom of Ireland, where most corruption is used, and most need of Instruction unto the people. p. 114.
- Chap. XX. The Author's supplication to Jesus Christ, that he would arise and maintain his own cause, which we his weak servants cannot do, against so many rich, powerful, and many-friended adversaries of his Church. p. 117c

A DECLA-

A DECLARATION Against SACRILEGE.

CHAP. I.

The Declaration of the Bishop of Ossory, exhibited to the High Court of Justice before Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, against the most horrible sin of Sacrilege and all sacrilegious persons, that detain the Tythes, rob the Church, and take the Lands and Houses of God into their own possessions.

Together, with his most humble Petition, to the Eternall and Almighty God, his most gratiouse Redeemer, and his most loving Master, Jesus Christ, that he would arise and maintain his own cause, and smite all his Enemies upon their cheek-bone, and put them to perpetual shame, and root out their memorial from off the earth.

Sheweth,



*H A T, by Your most gloriouse Martyr, the first
now defender of the true Christian Faith and
his most gratiouse Master, Charles the I. of ever
blessed memory; he was called and appointed
to be the Bishop of Ossory; and to enable him
the better to discharge his duty in the service
of God, the instructing of his people, and the
governing of that Diocess commended to his
care, he was invested and admitted to have,
and to enjoy, all the rights, interests, priviledges
and prerogatives of that Bishoprick.*

But the Irish Rebells, through the persuasions of their Popish Priests, and suggestions of Satan, have expelled him, and detained all his dues and rights from him, about 19 years together; And when the goodness of God

A Declaration

was pleased to restore the gracious Son of that glorious Martyr, unto his Crown and Dignity, his Majestie imitating the pious steps of his most Religious Father, restored all the Reverend Bishops, and the rest of the Learned and Loyall Clergy, unto their ancient rights and pristine dignities; the malicious enemy of all goodness, the Devil and Satan still envying the Honour of God, and by all means striving to obscure the Glory of his Church, and the happy Restauration of his service; As formerly, after the captivity of the children of Israel, the Jews in Babylon, when, they were happily returned unto their own Land, which the God of their Fathers had bestowed upon them and their posterities for ever, and were now beginning to re-edify their Temple for the honour of their God, and the place of his Worship for his people, he stirred up Bisblam, Mitbredath, Tabell, Samballat, Tobiah, Geshem, and the rest of their companions, the enemies of Gods people, to hinder all their proceedings in setting forwards the true service of their God, by writing false Letters unto the King; and upon their unjust informations, procuring letters from the King, to obstruct the building, and working of Gods House, to the great prejudice and grief of those Holy men, that aimed at nothing more then to promote the glory of God, and the good of his people; So now, he stirred up many Armed men, or men of Arms, and Commanders of men, men of Renown, that in the year 49 shewed themselves very active, and serviceable for their and our undubitable King, his now gracious Majesty, and whom his Majesty for that their faithfulness and service, did most graciously, and justly according as they had deserved, most Royally, and like a King, reward them, with Cities, Lands, Housles, Gardens, and the like evidences of his Royall bounty, under the pretence of this his Majesties grant and gift, to labour and strive to swallow down the Lands and Houses, which I am sure do of right belong unto the Church of God, and am confident his Majesty is so pious that he never intended to reward his servants with any of those goods, of what nature soever they are, that were dedicated and set apart for the service of God; because the alienating of any things set apart and consecrated for Gods service, and dedicated to that end, is no less then sacrilege; and Sacrilege is a sin of such a transcendent nature, as is far more odious and abominable in the sight of God then most of all other sins: for St. Paul demandeth, If thou, that abhorrest Idols, wilt commit sacrilege? And you all know, what a horrible sin Idolatry is: and how biggely the Lord God was offended, and how grievously he punished and plagued the Israelites for the same, as when he slew 3000 men, for their Idolatry in worshipping the golden Calf.

Why Lands dedicated for the service of God should not be alienated.
Rom. 12.2.

Exod. 32.28.

Why sacrilege is more abominable and a greater sin then idolatry.
Rom. 12.2.

And yet St. Paul sheweth herein, that sacrilege is far more odious and a more abominable sin in the sight of God; because by Idolatry, we do but give the honour of God to that which is no god; but by our sacrilege, we rob the true God of that honour which is due unto him, and we deprive him of that worship, and service, and thanks, that he should have from many men, if they were not deprived, and robbed of their estates by that sacrilege, which makes them unable to do that service, and to bring others to do that service unto God, which they ought to do.

And therefore most justly hath that sacrilege, which is the diminution of the revenues of the Church, been ever accounted the biggest, the boldest and the most damnable sin in the World. For our Religion is the very ground of all our happiness, and the chiefest of all our comforts: and the riches, honours, and Revenues of the Church, the Tythes, Oblations, and Donations of Religious men, are, as I shall fully shew unto you in this Treatise, the very main outward props of our Religion; and if with Sampson you take away the pillars, you overthrow the House, & sublatis studio-

against Sacrilege

3

rum premis ipsa studia pereunt, saith Seneca; so, take away the props of Religion, and your Religion, like a tottering wall, will soon fall unto the ground; and when you have supplanted our Religion, you have dissolved all the ties and associations betwixt God and men, and left us all as aliens and strangers, and which is worse, enemies unto God. And therefore when other mischieves have their limits, and so hurt but one or other, and there is an end, yet this sin of Sacrilege strikes at Goodness and Godliness it self, it sets the world besides its bindes, and sweeps away our peace and all our happiness from off the earth, when as God, and the King, and all of us are thereby unexpressibly damned.

And therefore he is no better then a savage beast, and hath a heart of iron, and Cyclopick breasts, que genuere feræ, that can invade heaven, and rob God, and put down the Prerogatives of his King, and spoil mankind of all safety: which made the very Heavens themselves to have alwaies an exceeding great reverence of the things, that were dedicated unto their gods; and, to violate the Religion of other Countries, which they thought much more vain then their own, they conceived to be so monstrous, that it was alwaies accounted inauspicious: and the wrongs done to a false deity carried an horror with it, and was usually revenged by the true God.

Yet these men, being many, rich and powerfull, both in wealth, wit, and Friends, would perswade our good King and all others, but not a trifle, that they are most zealous for the Church of Christ and the service of God, and what lands and houses they seek to take from us belong not to us, nor to the Church of God; and therefore that it is no sacrilege, nor any waies unjust in them, to take from us what the King hath justly bestowed on them; but it is a foul imputation most uncharitably cast upon them by me, to blemish their sincerity in the service, and for the honour of God.

And therefore seeing that *in foro poli*, I am, like *Troyus, impar congreſsus A. billi, Infelix puer*, too weak every way to contest with so many magnanimous men of Arms, that are encompassed with so many heroick friends, I must

What the Author doth in this conflict about the rights of the Church,
1. Thing.

1. Appeal to thee, O my God, and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, and desire thee with the words of the Psalmist, *Arise, O God, maintain thine own cause;* or, as our last Translation hath it, *plead thine own cause;* for I am not able to maintain it, unless thou wilt arise to plead the cause of the helpless, and pluck thy right hand out of thy bosom to consume the enemy, and let not man have the upper hand, but do thou to them, as thou didst unto the Midianites, unto Sisera, and unto Jabin, at the brook of Kison, which perished at Endor, and became as the dung of the earth, which say, *Let us take to our selves the houses of God in possessions;* and especially to them that not only say, but also do violently and sacrilegiously mis-inform good and pious Princes, and take both the houses of God and the lands of the Church into their possessions. O my God, make them like a wheel, that is alwaies tottering and turning, and as the stubble before the wind, that is ever shaking and never at rest, and like as the fire that burneth up the wood, and as the flame that consumeth the mountains; persecute them even so with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storms, that they may understand, what a beyous sin it is to commit Sacrilege and to rob the living God, by hindering and disinabling his servants to do him service, and to ascribe the honour due unto his name.

Psal. 74. 23.

Psal. 83. 12.

2. I must and will, to the uttermost of mine ability, demonstrate unto all 2. Thing, Church-robbers the beyousness of this sin, and the fearfull punishment thereof, and to that end,

1. I will here set down what I have written, above 45 years agone,
B. 2 concerning

A Declaration

concerning sacrilege, and what you may find in the True Church l. 3.
c. 2. pag. 429. with some amplification and explication thereof.

2d. Thing.

2. I will, upon the resolution, and religious intention of the good and godly King David, to build God an House for his servants to meet in it to worship him, shew unto you the necessity and use of Cathedrals, and Churches for Gods Worship, and the duty of all Christian Kings and Princes therein; and the full description and detestation of this horrible and most odious sin of Sacrilege. And I will do my best, to enlarge this point unto the full; that so, my Reader may reap the full benefit of this my Discourse, and the easier retain in his memory, what he readeth in it: and that the same good Doctrines and Instructions, the oftner, and the more usually they are published, and in the more large Volums they are printed, may the more likely have their fate to continue, when as small Treatises, especially not methodically digested, are the sooner neglected, and do suffer, through the iniquity of time, to be buried in oblivion.

CHAP. II.

Of Sacrilege, what it is; How manifold it is, and how it hath been always punished, and never escaped the Hand of the Divine Vengeance.

Sacrilege,
what it is.
R i sacra violatio aut usurpatio.

Thom. prima secunda q. 99.
Prov. 20. 25.

Peraldus, summa Vistorum.

Sacrilege
threefold, and
committed 3.
1. Way, against
sacred persons.

Æmilius Probus.

Luke 10. 16.

2. Way, against
sacred places.

1. **S**acrilege which the Greeks call *ἱσπερίας*, and the sacrilegious person *ἱσπερίας*, is, the usurpation, or the violation of any sacred thing: and this violation of it, is to be understood for any kind of irreverence or dishonouring of it; & *Sacrilegium dicitur quasi sacrilegium*, saith Innocentius: and as Aquinas saith, All that is sacrilege, which is done to the irreverence of any sacred thing. And Solomon saith, It is an abomination to the Lord to devour things that are sanctified: Et, non omne quod displaceat dicitur abominatione; And not all things that displease God are said to be abominations; sed quod valde despiceret, but the things which do most highly and exceedingly displease the Lord, is said to be an abomination, saith Peraldus.

2. You may observe, that this high displeasing-sin of Sacrilege, is manifold; but especially it consisteth in these three things:

1. The violation and abuse offered to Sacred persons, such as are Kings and Queens, that are called and appointed by God to be nursing Fathers, and nursing Mothers unto the Church of Christ, and the Bishops, Priests, and other Ministers, that are consecrated to serve God at his Altar. Whoever doth irreverently abuse any of them, either in word or deed, committeth sacrilege, because they are sacred persons. And so Agefilius was wont to say, That he did greatly wonder, why any man should think, that they are not worthily accounted in the number of sacrilegious persons, qui laederent eos, qui diis supplicarent, vel Deos venerarentur, which did any wayes hurt or wrong those which did supplicate or intercede for us, and worshipped God; whereby that most prudent Prince signified, Eos non tantum sacrilegos esse, qui Deos ipsos aut Templorum ornatum spoliarent; sed eos maxime, qui Deorum ministros & precones contumelias afficerent, saith Æmilius Probus; because, that as our Saviour saith, He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.

2. The prophaning of the Church, or the abuse of any places consecrated for to be the places of Gods service, is no leſſe than sacrilege.

3. That

against Sacrilege.

5

3. That is *sacrilege*, and he is a *sacrilegious person*, which not only dihonoureteth and irreverently useth the sacred persons, or prophaneth the *holy places*, but doth take away any *sacred thing*, or any other thing feloniously, by way of *stealthe*, from any *sacred place*; *Quia tale furtum Sacrillegium est*. Because such a theft is termed *sacrilege*; which every other *stealthe*, or unjust taking, or detaining of our neighbours goods is not so. *Nam undecunque tollere, non est Sacrillegium committere*; for all *stealthe*, and *every unjust taking away of goods*, is not *sacrilege*; but he that taketh away any thing that is *sacred*, or consecrated and dedicated for the service of God, is a robber of God, and a *sacrilegious person*, saith S. *Augustine*; and so S. *Hierom* saith, *Anico rapere furtum est, sed Ecclesiam fraudare Sacrillegium est*. To steal and take away the goods of our friend or neighbour, is *theft*; but to take away the goods, or to defraud or cheat the *Church of Christ* of any thing that belongs unto the *Church*, is *Sacrilege*: *Yea, voluntas sola quoad ecclesiam punitur*. As he that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed Adultery, and as the intention of *Treason* against the King is *Treason*; So he that hath a *will* and a *sacrilegious intent*, or but an itching desire, to defraud the *Church*, is a *sacrilegious person*, and shall no wayes escape unpunished.

And here I will briefly examine Doctor Burges his Description of *Sacrilege*, whereby he would fain prove, That the taking away, or selling of the Donations of holy men unto Christ and his Church, is neither *Sacrilege*, nor *Sin*; especially the Lands of the *Cathedral Churches*: because, saith he, *Sacrilege is the robbing of God*, either by alienating, detaining, purloyning, diverting, or perverting, that which is Gods own by Divine right, and therefore due to Christ, and thereby to his Ministers, whether the things be set apart by express Command, or voluntarily given according to Gods special *Warrant* and *Direction*: But, saith he, The Lands given to the *Bishops* and *Cathedrals*, are not Commanded by God to be given, neither had the Givers any *special Warrant* or *Direction* from God to bestow them: therefore no *Sacrilege* nor sin to take them away.

Where I beseech you to observe;

1. The error and mistake of the man; for I need not have any special warrant to do that which God gives a *Generall allowance* for any man to do.

2. Mark the malice and the madnesse of the man against the *Bishops*, and the *Cathedral Lands*; for he would perswade you to believe, that these were not given according to Gods will, but without his *Warrant* and *Direction*: But I have, and shall shew unto you, That those *holy men*, which vowed and dedicated them to God, gave them not only for the proper use of the *Bishops*, to make themselves like *Dives*, to be cloathed in *Scarlet*, and to fare deliciously every day, and to make their wives like *Ladies*, and their children great in this world: but they bestowed them for these four special ends:

1. To maintain the *Bishops* and their families in a *fair* and competent manner, and to furnish themselves with those *necessaries* whereby they might be *enabled* to preach and publish the *Gospel of Christ* every way, by words, writing, and printing it unto his people.

2. To edifie, repair, and beautifie, *Synagogues*, *Temples*, and *Churches*, for the people of God to meet in, to serve God, and to be instructed in the *Faith* and *Doctrine* of Christ.

3. To relieve the poor, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, help the *fatherleſſe* and *widows*, and the like.

4. To keep *bospitality*, to relieve *Strangers*, to redeem *Captives*, and to do other works of piety and charity, which the *Bishops* in their wisdoms shall

3. Way, against sacred things.

1. Sacraments.

2. Vessels.

3. Ornaments.

4. Goods. (i.)

Lands, Houses,

&c.

Augustine super

Johan. & ba-

betur. 23. q. 4.

Sacrilege,

how different

from Theft.

Hierom. Ep. 34.

Doctor Burges

his Description

of *Sacrilege*,

and his infer-

ence thereupon

discussed; and

the iniquity

thereof plain-

ly shewed.

Page 8.

of the Doctor

Burges.

2. The malice

of the Doctor

against the

Bishops.

The speciall

ends for which

the lands were

given to the

Bishops and

Cathedrals;

which being

taken away,

alienated, and

sold, these ser-

vices of God

cannot be per-

formed. Wher-

by you may

perceive the

great dishonor

that is done to

God by this

Sacrilege.

A Declaration

Shall think fit and requisite to be done, according to the will and good pleasure of God: And the Bishops are but intrusted as Gods Stewards to see these things faithfully discharged.

And I would gladly understand, Was it ignorance or malice, in this fellow, to amuse and stagger the simple Readers of his Pamphlet, and to make them doubt, whether Lands given to Cathedrals, to these ends, and for these purposes, have any allowance from God, and Warrant to be agreeable to his will? when as all men know how often and how earnestly God commandeth all and every one of these things to be done: especially considering that his Grand Master, Cartwright, confesseth, That now in the time of the Gospel, whatsoever is either established by Law, or conferred by man's liberality for the uses of Gods service, is all to be accounted sacred or holy; and for this cause, both the taking away of the whole, or the diminishing of any part of such holy things, is sacrilegious condemned in Deut. 23. 21, 22, 23. and never any honest man said otherwise.

And this sin of Sacrilegious, being so abominable, and so hateful in the sight of God, it must needs be plagued with intolerable punishments: and Q. Curtius l. 7. no marvel; for as Q. Curtius saith, Cum diis pugnant sacrilegi, The sacrilegious persons do fight and wage war with God himself, and by all means seek to deprive him of his honour and service: And as Lucan saith,

Quis enim lajos impunè putaret
Effo deos?

Who can imagine that sacrilegious persons shall escape unpunished? For if the gods should not revenge their own wrongs, Who should do it? saith the Heathen Poet: but they that were the Idols of the Heathens have done it among the Gentiles, and the true God will do it among the Christians: For as Juvenal saith,

*Juvenal Saty.
74. 4.*

*Nemo malus felix, minime corruptor & idem
Incensus, cum quo nuper vittata jacebat
Sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.*

*Gods usuall
dealing with
men.*

The sacrilegious Nuns were to be interr'd, and thrown alive into the pit.

And this is the usual course and practice of God, to cause those that by the sweet promises of his mercies cannot be allure to pay their duties unto his Church, and to use a good conscience, to be frighted from robbing and abusing his Church, by the terror of his most fearful vengeance executed upon the like offenders; that such as will not be led by his mercies, might be drawn by his judgements: Because that, as

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.

Good men will not wrong the Church, for the love of God; So many times,

Oderunt peccare mali formidine pene.

2 Sam. 10.

Many evil men, at least not very good, will forbear to rob and destroy the Church for fear of the punishment of Church-robbers. And therefore as Absalom, when he could not by promises and persuasions win Joab to be of his side; by firing his barley-fields, he forced him to do what he pleased: So, when the still and sweet voice of God can do no good to make Jonab to obey the Lord's command, a tempestuous whirl-wind, tumbling him to the bottom of the Sea, will bring him back to his obedience. So it may be when

against Sacrilege.

7

when the promising of Gods blessings can work no Reformation, nor get any satisfaction for wrongs done unto the Church, Gods coming to visit them with the Rod, and to whip their sacrilege with scourgings to fill their faces with shame and confusion, and to give them fire and brimstone, storms and tempest to be their portion to drink, may a little frighten the surloign Scouldiers, from laying an insupportable weight of miseries on committing a most intolerable Sacrilege against the Church of Christ.

Therefore, I thought good, to shew unto all sacrilegious persons, That as the Lord's mouth hath very often, and very much spoken against this sin of Sacrilege; So the Lord's hand hath neither left it, nor seldom strucken it; and that very few men have fostered Sacrilege in their hearts, and laid hold of it with their hands, but they have also born and felt heavy judgements upon their backs, either in this life, or in that which is to come. To two such before this time had I made writing, As the Sacrilege of Achab was the Beesom that sweeped away the whole House of Achab, and the Axe that hath cut down both him and all his posterity in one day. So the Sacrilege of Gehazi, that must needs have Silver and Rayment from Naaman, for the favour that his Master had done unto him, was the Porter that broughte the incurable loathsome scab of Leprosy upon him, and upon all his seed for ever. And so the Sacrilege of Shishak King of Egypt, that came up against Hierusalem, and took away the Treasures of the House of the Lord, and the Treasures of the Kings House, and the Shields of Gold that Solomon had made, was sufficiently recompensed by the Thracians, that invaded, subdued, and harased, all his Dominions. So likewise, the Sacrilege of Jezekiel King of Israel, that drew a great booty out of Gods Temple, brought such a vengeance upon him, as ended his accursed life with deadly poison. And Sennacherib that came with a full intent to rob and plunder the Lords House in the dayes of Hezekias, was sent home with a book in his nose, and a bridle in his lips, by the same way that he came: And, as if this was not punishment enough for emptying the Lords Exchequer, and his purpose to take away all the Treasure of the Temple; not long after his arrival home, his own sons Adramelec and Sharezer, slew him in the Temple of his god Nisroch. And Belshazzars Sacrilege, in abusing the holy vessels of Gods House, that his father had taken away from the Temple, was well enough recompensed, as you find in Dan. 5. 31. These things are Registered in the Holy. Scrip- tures.

And it is recorded in the *Gentile-Writers*, how that the *Grecians*, which of all others formerly were most *Victorious*; yet after they had once become *Sacrilegious*, and offered violence to the Temple of *Pallas*, they lost all their *hope*, and never thrived any more. For so *Virgil* saith,

*Corripiere sacram Effigiem, manibusque cruentis
Virgineas ausi dive contingere vittas.*

Virgil. l. 33

And thereupon he inferreth, what I do now inforce, and what *Chivalrie* setteth down more generally:

*Ex illo fluere, ac retro dilapse referti
Spes Danaum* _____

*They ever fled and flipt and failed; after that impious Tydides, scoldern-
que inventor Ulysses, and Ulysses the inventor of mischiefs, had taken a-
way the Palladium, and killed the Ministers of the Temple. And so Ju-
stin saith. That Philomenes, a most brave and valiant Captain, after he be-
came*

A Declaration

came *Sacrilegious*, *Primus inter confertissimos dimicans*, cecidit; Fighting first amongst the most excellent soldiers, he was killed; and so, saith mine Author, *Sacrilegii panas impio sanguine lust*, he paid for his *Sacrilegio* with his ungodly blood; and let other *Sacrilegious Captains* and *Souldiers* fear the like fate. *Lactantius* also reporteth how *Fulvius*, the Censor, for taking away *Marmoreas tegulas*, Marble-tiles from the Temple of *Juno Lacina*, as the long-Parliament men took away the Tiles of the Cathedral Church of St. Keney; And *Appius Clandinus* for alienating things dedicated to *Hercules*, were most miserably plagued by the gods; the one lost both his *ears*, and the other was distractred of his *wits*: a heavy punishment! therefore for no leight sin, you may be sure.

*Laßant. de
origine error.
c.4. & c.8.*

Aulus Gell.
no. 2. Attic.
l. 3. 6. 9.
et deinde ad finem
clare at large unto you, what Aulus Gellius setteth down, how that when Quintus Cepio the Consul had taken and spoiled the Town of Tolouse in France, and found there very much gold in the Churches and Temples of that City; it so fell out by the just judgment of God, that whosoever laid hands or lightly touched the gold that was taken in that spoil, *miserere cruciabilique exitu perire*, saith mine Author, *be perished most miserably*, so that it grew to be a proverb among all Nations, when any generall plague and grievous destruction happened for any sin, it was *Sicut aurum Tolosanum*, like the gold of Tolouse, that destroyed all that medled with it: Or to shew unto you, how Pyrrhus and all his men were drowned for robbing the Treasury of Proserpina; Or of the 400 souldiers of King Xerxes, that were burnt with thunder and lightning, just as they were spoiling the Temple of Delphes; Or of Brennus, that ever before was most victorious and had sacked Rome, but had his whole Army most miserably spoiled after the ransacking of the same Temple, *Et Dei voluntate in se manus vertit*, Val. Max. l. 1. as Valerius Max. saith. Or of the Scythians, that were most miserably plagued with many and most grievous diseases, called *Ewareas*, that is execra-

Val. Max. l. 1. as *Valerius Max.* saith. Of the Scythians, that were most miserably plagued c. 2. with many and most grievous diseases, called *Ewareas*, that is execra-

Vide Theat. judicis divinitatis p. 439. See also the notes on the preceding page, for their savagery in attacking the Temple of *Hercules* in *Panionia*. Or of *Alexander* the great, that, for abusing the consecrated vessels of *Hercules*, in the very same city, and in the self same manner, as *Bellerophon* had abus'd the vessels of Gods Temple in *Jerusalem*, before

Herodotus 1. 1. him; was so suddenly stricken in the midst of his banquet, even as he was
p. 31. A. G. fol. drinking, that he groaned and cried out so as if he had been shot with a
33. 2. p. 8 most deadly dart. Or of Antiochus Epiphanes, that died most miserably, and

Dan. 5.1,3,4. at his death contained it was for his sin of *Sacrilege*, because he had taken away the vessels of gold and the vessels of silver, that were in the

Curtius. Church and Houfe of God in *jerusalem*, 1 Mach. 6. Or of *Heliodorus*,
1.10. p 415. that being sent to rob the Temple, there appeared unto him two men, sent
from Heaven, which whipped him continually so long and so much, that he
fell down in the Temple, and there lay groveling and destitute of all help,
until at the earnest of his fouldeis, the Priests of God prayed for him.

Mach. 1.3. untill at the request of his soldiers, the Friends of God prayed for him: Or of Pompeius Magnus, who is noted by *Titus Livius* and *Cicero*, to be one of the most fortunate and most successfull Soaldiers in the World; yet after he had robbed the Temple of the Lord in *Jerusalem*, and spoiled those sacred things, that belonged unto the Church, he never prospered; but, sicut unda supervenit undam, as one wave followeth after another, so ill successes, losses, and misfortunes followed and succeeded one after another to him, untill at last he made an end of an unhappy life by a miserable death, when he was most perfidiously slain by *Achillas*: Or of *Ananias* and *Saphira* who, because they did secretly withhold some part of that, which they had voluntarily once resolved to dedicate for Gods service, and the maintenance of his servants, they were presently striken with sudden death: Or, if I should speak of many more, whose tragical ends *Eusebins*, *Jose-*

against Sacrilege.

9

plus and other writers both Ecclesiasticall and prophane have set downe, we shall find, that whatsoever they got and pillaged from the Church and Temples of the gods, it is like aurum Tolosanum, the gold of Tolossa, the which whosoever touched did most miserably perish, as I shewed to you before; for it fares with them as it did of old with the Eagle, whereof the Christian Poet saith,

Aulus Gellius
1.3. c 9.
Sacrum satrōe
commendatum
qui demperit
rapuerit, par-
ricida esto:

*Vicīna sacra Deo comburitur, abripit offam
Hinc aquila, ad pullos fertque benigna suos.
Fatalis igniculus prede imperceptus adhæsit,
Sacrilegique sacer devorat ignis opes.*

The which my Countrey-man thus excellently translates;

The sacred Offering broyles the Eagle spies,
A gobbe she lurcht, and to her young the flies:
A spark unseen lurk in the fatall stealth,
Befir'd her neast, and burnt up all her wealth.

Roberts in his
book of tycho.

And so the gain of a little, unjustly gotten, proved to be the losse of all
that she might justly have enjoyed,

*Sic metuat quicunque Dei violare ministros
Et facias undet despoliare domos.*

So let him fear who e're he be that dare
Purloyn God's tribute, and the Churche's share.

And, as the best Poet, in the best Verse of all his works, by the testimony of Apollo his Oracle, saith

Discite justitiam meniti, & non temnere divos.

Virgil. Aeneid.
1.6.

The sacrilegious persons were best to learn to be just, and not to despise the gods, and spoile the goods, that are dedicated to their services; because, as Seneca saith, *Sacrilegi dant penas, quamvis nemo usque ad Deos manus porrigit;* the sacrilegious persons and robbers of the Church-rights shall never escape unpunished, though no man should lift up his bands and cry to the gods against them, as it appeareth sufficiently by the examples before cited.

Seneca de bene-
fic. 1.3. c. 12.

But it may be some will say, they were no gods whose examples you forecited, and their Temples were no Churches, nor houses of the true God, but of mortall wicked men and women, whom the Gentiles, that knew not God, deified and adored them for gods; and therefore that could be no sacrilege, to take away things dedicated to Idols, and consecrated for the service of Devils, and not of God; and their punishment, for whatsoever it was, was not, and could not be supposed to be for sacrilege, when as the robbing of those Temples and those false gods cannot be laid to be sacrilege: Which is *rei sacre violatio*, as I said before.

I answer, That, as St. Paul would not have the Christians to eat of that which is offered in Sacrifice unto Idols, because it was consecrated for the Idol, and so dedicated to the false god, which the Apostle saith was none other then the Devil, vers. 20. whom notwithstanding they deemed and worshipped for the true God; So Lactantius saith that the true God would gods not to be not have those things, that belonged any wayes to any, taken for a deity, violated, and

Obj.

Sol.

1 Cor. 10. 28.

The Temples

of the false

gods not to be

violated, and

why.

C

though

A Declaration

though they were but false gods, and no gods, but only supposed deities, as all those aforesaid were supposed and believed to be by the Gentiles to be any waies profaned and abused by wicked men, especially by those, that took those idols to be gods, as all those sacrilegious persons aforesaid; *Tydides, Ulysses, Philomenes, Fulvius, Appius, Cepio, and the rest, took Petas, Venus, Juno, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like, for their gods and goddesses to be worshipped;* therefore, whatsoever the robbing of those Temples had been unto the Christians, that knew them to be the houses of Devils and not of God; yet, to these men, and to all others, that believed them to be gods, the robbing of them and their Temples, could be judged no less than *Sacrilege;* and therefore that they ought to suffer the just and severe punishment of *Sacrilege.* And besides, God would not suffer these men to escape the hands of justice for their *Sacrilege,* and the spoiling of these false gods, lest that by the like robbers, his own Church and servants might be oppressed and spoiled, as they are in many places under this pretence, that our Churches are not the *Houses of God,* nor we the true servants of Jesus Christ.

But let these men take heed, lest the like judgments fall on them, as have befallen on the like *Sacrilegious* persons; for God is still the same, and hath still the same care of his service and servants: and I have heard his name, that, riding through Saint Pauls Church yard, in the daies of King Henry the 8th, looked up towards the top of the Church, and said, *I hope I shall see that lead turned into silver and gold into my purse, ere it be long.* And a poor woman said, *I hope, I shall see thee hanged first.* A rash speech, and a harsh hope; yet, it happened right; for within a few years after, the gentleman was executed and ended his life at Tiburn; and Saint Pauls Church stands yet unbesprift of her cloathing: *Sic periret inimici tui Domine.* So let all thine enemies perish, O God, that say unto themselves, *let us take the Houses of God in possession, make them (O Lord) like Oreb and Zeb,* and like unto the dung of the earth, as the Holy Prophet speaketh.

Pl. 74. 10, 11.

In the life of
St. Elzear.
p. 26.

And I say to these *Sacrilegious* persons as the holy woman Delphina said to her husband Saint Elzear, Count of Sabran, *Take heed that you attempt not to lay your hands on that which is vowed to God; or dedicated to his service:* because God will not be mocked; he cannot endure to be robbed, or suffer his service to be prejudiced and abated, by taking away the means that should maintain it; but he will punish them, and powre down vengeance upon the heads both of them and of their posterity, that take away the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church, that were vowed and dedicated to Jesus Christ to relieve his members, and to uphold his service: as you may well understand, if you do but consider it by that memorable example of * William, Earl Marshall of this Kingdom of Ireland; who, when he had appeased the Rebellion, that then rose in his time, took a great deal of the lands of the Church into his own bands; and the Bishop, because he would not restore it unto the Church, excommunicated him for the same, and he went to the King and complained; but before the Bishop could come to his answer he died, and was buried in that Excommunicated estate; yet, his son entreated the King to cause the Bishop to absolve him, which he did conditionally, that his son would restore those lands unto the Church, which the son denying, God denied his blessing to his posterity, that there is not one heir Male of him left upon the face of the earth, to injoy those lands, that he *Sacrilegiously* took away from the Church.

* As I remember.

Dr. Hanmer in
the History of
Ireland.

Neither do I see, how it can be otherwise; for the very Heathens that had not the knowledge of Gods laws, nor of Jesus Christ, could say, that

Vulg

against Sacrilege:

11

vulg'd creditum est, it was generally by all men believed, some fatall and fearefull punishment must needs be imminent to that man, qui sacris rebus ac Deo dicatis manus injiceret, aut qui pios homines, aut certe fangentes sacris ministeriis, oppugnaret; which should lay his hands to take away any sacred thing, or offer any injury to any godly man, or oppose and wrong them especially that administer holy things: and to that end, to confirm this truth they did proverbially recite that Homerical distich,

"Οπερ' ανδειλει πρός σαμονα φορα μάχεσθαι,
Ουτε δές πιᾶ, τίχα ει μέγα πημα κύλος.

Homer Il. 2.

Which in effect, signifieth thus much, that, although God willeth well to every man, and takes no pleasure in the destruction of his Creatures, which he made, that they might have their being, and be happy, if they did not offend; yet, if any man will be so wicked, as by his *Sacrilegious* doings, to strive with God, to despise his maker, and to spoil his servants, whom God willeth well unto; then certainly, *dænum buic imminet ingens*, delicti, erit plena a mighty mischief, and some fearfull evil doth hang over such a mans head, *garum modic*, and he shall not escape it.

And therefore, let all men take heed and beware of *Sacrilege*, for though it may seem a sweet spoil; yet, it will prove at last to be as pernicious, as *Acban's* wedge, or as fatall as *Turnus* his luckless belt, that bereaved him of his life, which otherwise, he might have enjoyed, and have received pardon; when Christ, beholding the stollen cognizance of his beloved spouse, shall take away his *mercy*, and shut up his *loving kindness in displeasure*, (which otherwise he would have gratiouly shewed); and shall adie some further vengeance, saying, as *Aeneas* did to *Turnus*, when he beheld the belt,

Josh. 7.24.

— Pallor te hoc vulnere, pallor
Immolat, & panam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.

In folia humero
cum apparuit
ingens
Balteus, & no-
tis fulserunt
cingula bullis
Pallantis pueris
Virgil. E. 12.4.

This is laid on thee for thy *Sacrilege*, one torture more for that; for I would heartily wish, that all *Sacrilegious* persons Lords, Souldiers, Knights, or Gentlemen, would diligently mark and weigh, and never forget the manner of Christ his behaviour, when he came into the *Temple*, how different it was from his *usual* carriage at all other times; for he that was the *Instrument* of Mercy, and descended from Heaven, *cum amore, non flagello*, and came to pardon, and not to punish; yet he, that was so ready, and so willing and well-pleased to pardon Theeves, Adulterers, and other wicked nefarious fellows, and called all such as were weary and heavy laden with the burden of their sins, and promised that he would *safe them*; When he saw how his *Sanctuary* was abused, by those *sacrilegious* Mer- chants that bought and sold therein, He puts on *Justice* and *Severity*; and, as it appears, more *angerly* than ever he seemed to be, while he walked here on earth, tumbled down the *tables* of those Money-changers, and the violators of holy things, and chased them with a *whip-cord*, both from *Himself*, and from his *Temple*; And he tells them the reason why he was so exceedingly angry, which was, because they bad so *biggly*, and so *wildly* transgressed, in making his *House*, which was the *House* of prayer, to become, by their *sacrilege*, a *den of Thieves*. O consider this, all ye that commit *Sacrilege*, and forget God; left he tear you in pieces, while there is none to help you. And you that are brave Souldiers, and commit *Sacrilege*, consider also, what *Charles the Great*, that was as great, and as brave a Souldier, as any that was in the *World* in his dayes, saith to you

Match. 11.28.

A Declaration

*Verba Caroli
Magni, in ca-
pital. Catul. tit.
7. c. 104.*

all: Novimus multa regna & reges eorum propterea occidisse, quia Ecclesiæ spoliaverunt, resque earum vastaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt; Episcopique & Sacerdotibus, atque quod maius est, Ecclesiæ eorum abstulerunt & pugnantibus dederunt; quapropter nec fortis in bello, nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, sed terga multi vulnerati & plures interfici verterunt, regnaque & regiones, & quod peius est regna caelestia perdiderunt, atque propriis hereditatibus caruerunt & hadenus carent. And it will be

The Earl of
Strafford's
speech at his
death.

Earl of Strafford delivered for his children, (i.e.) to his son William Wentworth, commands himself, Gives him charge, to serve his God, to submit to his King, with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the Church in things spiritual; Gives him charge, as he will answer it to him in Heaven, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church, for it will be the canker that will eat up the rest of his estate: Again, chargeth him, as he will answer him in Heaven, never to meddle with it.

*Bernard Epist.
22.1.*

And yet notwithstanding all the sayings and persuasions of wise men, and the severe punishments threatened against all, and executed upon so many sacrilegious persons, as we read of in all Histories; we find, as S. Bernard saith, The houses of the Bishops, and the Revenues of Gods servants, have, against all Law and Right, been heretofore given to Souldiers, and others, that were Rebels, to be inhabited. And as *Vidor Uticensis* saith,

*Vid. Utren. de
His. Vandala-
rum. l. 1.*

The richest Robes and Furnitures of the Church and Church-ministers, were taken to make shirts and breeches for wicked and most bloody men: And the Church it self, which is *Domus orationis*, the House of prayer, the House of God, and the place where his Honour dwelleth, to be made Stabulum opilionis, a store-house for the wool, and a stable for the horses of the Church-robbers: as *Johannes Sarisbur*, saith,

Psal.

*Polycat. l. 7. c.
21. Stipendium
militum, differ-
endum, incen-
suum.*

And have we not seen all this, and much more done, now of late, during the reign of the Great Antichrist, the long Parliament, and that vile Usurper *Crumpell's* time? Nay, Have I not my self seen, the Chancel of a Church made a kitchen to dress meat in it? and the Church it self an Ale-house, to entertain Drunkards; and the children digging up their fathers bones out of their Sepulchres? Which *Suidas* calleth *μακρυνθων*, The removing of such things, that should by no means be removed. Let the lamentable and most shameful devastation, throwing down of Tombs, and digging up of Sepulchres of the most stately, and formerly beautiful Cathedral-Church of Kilkenny, and the dilacerating of the Bishops Lands, and distributing it among the Souldiers, that still detain it from the Church to this very day, and the greedy desire of the Souldiers to take more and more from it, be a witness of the Sacrilege of these times.

*Vide Valer.
Max. l. 1. c. 2.
de Potio non
obseruantia fa-
stra. &c.
Justin. l. 21.*

And yet, as *Dionysius Senior*, that Arch-robbor of Temples, when he had taken away the Golden beard of *Aesculapius*, said, It was unfit that *Apollo* should be without a beard, and *Aesculapius* his son to have one; when according to the Gentiles divinity, they feigned *Apollo* beardless, and *Aesculapius* with a long grave beard, because every good Physician should be a man of great experience, and of much knowledge in many things. And when he took away the golden Coat from *Jupiter Olympius*, and instead thereof bestowed upon him a wollen cloak, he said, That a golden Coat was too heavy for the Summer, and too cold for Winter; but his cloath Coat would fit both times far better. And so when he spoiled the Temple of *Proserpina*, and immediatly after had a very prosperous wind for his Navy to sail withal, he jeeringly said, You see what a prosperous sail the gods do grant to sacrilegious persons: thereby signifying, that either he believed, that there was no god, or that god cared not what Sacrilege should be committed; and yet he thrived and prospered in all his wicked courses.

against Sacrilege.

13

courses. Even so our Church-robbers do spend their dayes in *mirth*, and pass their times in *pleasure*, and their seed seemeth to be established after them; and therefore thinking themselves sure, and their *Sacrilege* to be no sin, and so neither caring for Gods Service, nor fearing any of Gods threatenings, nor regarding the examples of Gods vengeance, executed for lese *Sacrilege*, they go on in their purposes, to devise new sleights, and by a strong hand, and great friends, to rob Gods Church, and to impoverish his servans, by taking away their lands, houses, and possessions from them, and threatening them, if once they dare say, that this their doings is any *Sacrilege*, or any wayes amiss.

*Et hoc modo sa-
crilegia iniuria
panimuntur, mag-
na vero in tri-
umpbis ferun-
tis. Ut sit se-
neca Epist. 87.*

And thus, as the Harlot commits *Adultery*, and then wipes her mouth and is clean; so these men commit this horrible sin, and prospering in the world, they think themselves safe and free from all blame. But I will answer these men with holy Job, that it is very true, that many times the tabernacles of robbers do prosper, and wicked men continue rich, as the rich Gutton did to his dying day: their Bull gendereth and faileth not, their Cow calveth and casteth not her Calf, they send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance; they take the Timbrell and Harp, and rejoice at the sound of the Organ; and so they spend their dayes in mirth, and have all the felicity that this world can afford them; health, wealth, honour, and prosperity. And the Prophet David, speaking of the same kind of people, saith, *They are inclosed in their own fat, and their mouth speaketh proud things, they have children at their desire, and they leave the rest of their substance for their babes.* And in another place he saith, *They are in no peril of death, but are lusty and strong, and are victorious over their enemies; Yea, they come in no misfortune like other folk, neither are they plagued like other men; but their eyes swell with fatness, and they do even what they list; Lo, these are the ungodly, these prosper in the world, and these have riches, Yea, and our lands and houses, even the lands of the poor innocents, that never offended, in possession.* And so you see, how many times, the most wicked worldlings, hypocrites, idolaters, and sacrilegious persons, may have exemption and freedom from all evil, for they come in no misfortune like other folk; and may have an accumulation of all good things; for they prosper in themselves, in their off-spring, and in their fortunes. And the experience of all times, and especially of our own time, in what we see, doth make this plain unto us, that for a time they do, and may prosper.

*Job 1:2 &c.
2:1. vers. 8, 9;
10, 11, 12, 13.*

Psal. 17. 10, 14.

Psal. 73. 4, 5, 7,
12.

But do you think, that this prosperity in their wickedness is any happiness? The prosperity unto them? No sure, it is the heaviest judgement that could fall upon them, to be freed from punishments, when they have so highly transgressed God's Commandments; because, all this time of their flourishing prosperity, God forgets not their impiety, but hath it sealed up among his treasures, and remits not their punishment, but transfers it to another time: When, as the usurer makes his debtor pay dear for his forbearance, so these transcendent offenders shall reap no benefit by God's patience, unless that brings them to repentance: But, as it had been far better for Dives to have had his punishment in this life, than to be here in perpetual happiness for a short time, and after that, to be eternally tormented: So it were far better for Murderers, Oppressors, and Church-robbers, to have their punishment in this life, than pay so dear for the use of their prosperity, and the deferring of their just deserved punishment for the life to come.

*of the wicked
a most heavy
judgement of
God.*

And therefore we ought to distinguish, and to put a difference as Hesiod saith, betwixt *χρήματα ικανά*, and *χρήματα δικοδικά*: that is riches and possessions taken by violence, and riches given by Gods benevolence. And as another saith, *Νός εγενδίεται ο κανόνας δικαια*; It is good to be rich.

Hesiodus, l. i.

*Aldus Erub.
rich*

A Declaration

rich by Gods gift, that needs not fear Gods curse ; But it is very evil, to grow great, and to become rich by rapine, and snatching goods and lands from God and man ; for that shall never escape the just deserved punishment : And therefore Euripides saith,

Ἄδην δὲ μὴ κτῶ χρήματα, οὐ βέλη πολὺ
χρόνον μελάζεις ἀπομνηνεῖται δὲ αἰδίως
τοσσοὶ λαθόδοτοι εἰς ἔχειν πονηταί.

That is in effect, Procure not to thy self any wealth, by any unjust means, if thou wouldest have them to continue with thee without punishment; because that whosoever thou gatherest unjustly and bringest to thy house wrongfully, either from God or man, Prince or peasant, it can not be safe; Yea, though thou shouldest seem for a long time to be in peace and free from all dangers; for, as Optatus saith against the Donatists, *An quia ciffat talis modis vindicta, ideo tibi cum tuis vindicas innocentiam?* Are you therefore innocent; because God doth not presently punish you? so may I say to all Sacrilegious persons, and to all other oppressors and unjust men whatsoever; Do you think your selves happy, and free from all blame and deserve no punishment, because you do enjoy your spoils and Church-goods or lands peaceably? by no means: *Quia aliud misericorditer dat Deus, aliud habere finit iratus*, because it is one thing when God bestoweth Wealth, Hours, and Lands upon us in mercy, and out of his love to us; and it is another thing when he suffereth us to enjoy them, when he is angry, and most wrathfully displeased with us; and though we may and ought to be glad and rejoice for the one, yet ought we to be sad and sorrowfull for the others; because all the wealth in the World is not answerable to the wrath of God, but I had rather be a beggar with his love, than to possess the wealth of *Cæsus* and the honours of *Augustus* with his anger; and angry he must needs be with them, that take away the Lands and Houses of his servants, that serve him at his Altar; whereby they are disabled, either to serve him, or to teach his people, which must therefore perish, because thou doest rob the Church, and unjustly take away that, which is none of thine; for seeing, as S. Augustine saith, *Hoc jure possidetur quod justè, & hoc justè quod bene; igitur omne quod male possidetur alienum est;* That is rightly possessed, which is justly gotten; and that is justly gotten, which is well gotten, without fraud, without violence; therefore all whatsoever is wantonly gotten, that is unjustly possessed, and is none of thine; and whatsoever we do bold and enjoy, that is none of our own, though we should possess it never so long, and enjoy it never so peaceably without punishment, and without being once questioned for it; yet at last, the just God, that useth to bear with offences long, will require a strict account for our unjust taking, and more unjust detaining thereof; and he will then recompense his long forbearance with severity of vengeance, and our punishment shall be the forer in the next life, because that, like *Dives*, we have escaped all punishment in this life. And for those lands and goods thus sacrilegiously gotten, and unjustly possessed, we may truly say, That his posterity, for whose enriching he underwent the wrath of God, shall not likely enjoy them long.

Quia sapienter Deus
buc parci, ut
illuc securius.

De male quatenus vix gaudet tertius bares.

But as the Ark of God, when it was taken from the Levites, could find no resting place among the Philistines, but was removed from Asdod to Gath, and from Gath to Ekron, and so from one place to another, till it came to its own proper place; so God may deal, and commonly doth use to deal, with them that take away the goods, lands, and houses of his Church, *Quæ malignè contraxit pater, pejori luxu refundet filium.* That which the father

against Sacrilege.

15

father hath sacrilegiously snatched, and most wickedly scraped together, the son, or at least the grand-child, shall as loosely scatter it abroad; and so it shall passe and repasse from one to another, until it be far enough from him and his, for whom it was at first collected: and the sacrilegious father shall gain nothing by his wicked sacrilege, but the wrath and judgement of God against himself, and the curse of God to remain upon his posterity: because God hath threatened, to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him: and I think none hates him, if the sacrilegious persons love him, that do both rob, and ushew before, war against him.

And were it not
that I am loath
to disgrace the
present posterity
of sacrilegious parents, I
could shew you
many brave fa-
milies in Eng-
land that came
to utter ruine,
since the time
of Henry the
Eighth, for this
very sin of Sa-
crlige.

CHAP. III.

The divers sorts and kinds of Sacrilegious persons: And first, of those that do it under colour of Law, and upon the pretence of Reformation, whereby they suppose their sacrilege to be no Sacrilege at all.

But having heard of the odiousness, and punishment of this horrible sin of Sacrilege, we may do well to take notice of the divers kinds of sacrilegious persons; and I find them specially to be of two sorts.

- That is 1. They that do it under the colour of Law, and upon pretence of Reformation of the Church, and abusives crept into the Church.

2. They that do it against all Law, without any colour of right, and to the rooting out of all Piety and Religion.

1. It is reported, that when Constantine became a Christian, and endow-
ed the Church of Christ with large Revenues, a voice was heard from Hea-
ven, saying, *Hodiern venenum intravit in Ecclesiam;* This day is poison pour-
ed out into the Church, which was indeed from Hell, when the envious
man, that holds it for a Maxim, *Quod non sponset Christianum ditescere;* That
Christ which was born poor, should not become rich: and much less, should
the servants become wealthy, when the Master is always poor. But he
might have as well said, This day is honey entered into the Church; for, as
of wealth, if you have too much, it may prejudice you; so of honey, if you
eat too much, it will make you to vomit, saith Solomon: When as a competency
of either, may do much good, and no hurt: but his poison is always bad,
and seldom doth any good, unless it be very well and wisely tempered
with good ingredients. But howsoever, so it happened to the Church, and to
the servants of Christ, that the world and worldly men said, How truly I
cannot judge, This wealth and promotion, brought ease, and pride and
luxury amongst them; which might be so to some of them, but questionless
not to all, nor to most of them: yet however, as swelling waters, when they
are at the biggest, must needs fall and be scattered; so say the men that either
envied at the Prosperity of the Church, or desired the Reformation of
what they conceived amiss, This poison must be purged, or the body ven-
ered, before the Church could be healed of her infective tumours, or the
Clergy cleansed from their pride, and luxury. And therefore all Antidotes
must be sought, and a Remedy must be found, to silay that evil, which the
Good abused had produced forth: but how this should be done, the Phy-
sicians, either through ignorance knew not, or through envy and malice to the
Church and Church-men, would not know, what was best, for the good of
the

2. Sorts of sa-
crligeous per-
son.

1. Legal sac-
rilegious persons
How sh. t. say;
Poison entered
into the
Church; and
how ill it is
now cured.

Prov. 25. 16.

A Declaration

the Church, or the Glory of God, and the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but what through Pride, Ambition, and Covetousness, they thought best and most available for themselves.

¶ And therefore, as the *Mavichees* condemned all Christianity, because there were some evil men, that went under the name of Christians; to whom Saint Augustine answereth, that if their malice did not blind them, they might have seen wheat as well as chaff upon the floor of Gods Church; so might the Reformers have seen many pious Bishops, and other famous Clergy-men that had done very many good deeds, erecting Colledges, building Churches and Hospitals, and relieving many of the members of Christ, with the revenues of the Church, as well as some few proud and ambitious Prelates. Or else, as the *Donatists* refused the blessed Sacraments, because some of the Priests that administered them were wicked; to whom also, the same Saint Augustine answereth, that they must needs erre, when they will violate the Sacraments of God for the sins of men, or refuse his gifts, because they like not the bearers; for who would reject a precious Jewel sent him from his Majesty, because he liked not the messenger that brought it? ¶ Or rather, as *Lycurgus* rooted up all the *Vines* in his Countrey, because he saw many men were made drunk and mad with wine, to whom *Plutarch* answereth, that he might have seen many more good men, without any offence, cberished and refreshed with wine; and therefore he should have rather digged some wells neer unto the *Vines*, to mix the wine with some water, and so to takeaway the abuse of the wine, and to prevent drunkenness, and not to root up the *Vines*, to deprive the good and sober men from the use and benefit thereto: Even so did the pretended Reformers of the Church imitate *Lycurgus* to a hair, rob the Church and left her a beggar, to take away as they said her pride; they did not wash away the stains of her garment, but took her cloathes quite away, and left her naked unto the World, in stead of pride for her former glory, to be now ashamed for her present misery. When she is rather scorned then respected or reverenced, by all worldlings, and the enemies of the Church, as are also both her Ministers and her Children; whereby they might say with

Alicet. *Embl.*
Paupertatem summis ingenis obesse, ne pro- ventionem. I. 1. and sequentia.
And as Juve- nalis saith:
Nil habet in felix paupertas durus in se,
Quam quod ri- diculos homines facit.
Neither
1. G d, nor
2. Christ, nor
3. Reason, teach us to reform abuses, as Sacreligious persons do.

Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas
Ut me pluma levat, sic grava mergit onus.
Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces,
Me nis paupertas inuidia deprimet.

But to this we do answer, that neither God, which is the God of justice; nor Christ, which left his actions for our instructions; nor *ratio sana*, Reason it self, which should guide all wise men, in all their doings; have ever taught us this preposterous course, and most impious lesson, For the abuse of good things, especially in Gods service, to take away the things themselves that should preserve and uphold the service of God. For

1. When *Saul* abused his state and his whole Kingdom, *Samuel* saith not, the Lord will annihilate and bring to nought the Kingdom of *Israel*; but he saith, *He hath rent thy Kingdom from thee, and he hath given it to thy neighbour which is better then thou:* And when *Eli* the Priest, abused his place and neglected his office and the service of God, the Lord saith not, I will cut off the Priest-hood from *Israel*, or I will deface the glory and beauty of it; but, *I will cut off thine arm, and the arm of thy Fathers house, and I will raise me up a faithfull Priest, that shall do according to that, which is in mine heart, and in my mind, and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before*

1 Sam. 15.

1 Sam. 31. 35.

1. How God dealeth with things that are abused.

before mine Anointed for ever. And I would to God the reformers of abuses in Religion would have imitated the doings of God herein, when they can never have a better pattern, that is, to remove those Bishops or Priests that do indeed neglect their duties or abuse their Offices; (and not take away the means and maintenances of their places) and put other better, and more carefull men in their rooms: for here you see we are taught, that God doth not, as the Romans did, alter the whole state of their Government for the wickedness of Tarquinius, and the rest of their tyrannous Kings, I say God doth not for the sins, either of Prince or Priest, change the manner of Government, or abrogate the Priviledges, or lessen the dematines of either Office, but he Translateth the Office with all the dignities and appurtenances to a worthier person, that should bring forth more and better fruits to the glory of God; and I wish King Henry the 8 th. had done, and all other Kings and Princes would do, the like.

*Titus Livius
1.1.*

2. When our Saviour found such gross abuses in the Temple, so that *they bad made the House of God a den of thieves*; yea, *Sacrilegious thieves*; yet he doth not offer to pull down the Temple, and to turn it to Prophane uses, though they had profaned it; or transfer it to build them houses, as our men do, with the ruines of Gods House; or to take away the lands, tythes, and revenues of those Priests, by whose neglect and default, the Holy Temple became thus grossly abused, either to maintain their lawfull Wars, or to continue their unlawfull delights; but he dealeth better and taketh away the abuse, by driving away the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, and out of the Courts of the Lords House, and overthrowing the tables of the money changers, and the seats of them that sold Doves; and so he restored the House of Prayer to its old use and pristine Dignity, to be a fit House for Gods service: and so should we restore things abused, to their old and good former use; and not take them to our selves, or give them away to others.

*2. How Christ
dealt with the
Temple when
it was proph-
ned.
March 21. 12.
13.*

3. Reason it self teacheth us to take this course, and to distinguish betwixt that fault, which proceedeth, *ex natura facti*, out of the nature of the fact, and that which springeth, *ex abuso boni*, from the abuse of that which is good; for if the thing be simply evil, no circumstance, no dispensation can make it good; and therefore it should be wholly rejected and abolished; because, as Aristotle saith, *Cujus usus simpliciter malus est, ipsum quodque malum esse, necesse est*; that thing, whose use is simply evil, must needs be likewise evil of it self; but if the fault be not in the thing it self; but adventitious, *in usu agentis*, in the use, or rather in the abuse, of the agent; then certainly the thing it self, as being good, ought to be retained, and the abuse only is to be removed or amended.

*3. What Reason
teacheth us in
this case, of
good things
abused.*

*Arist. Topic. 1.
Si usus princi-
palis alicuius
rei sit mortifer,
mortiferam quo-
que rem ipsam
efficiet.*

And therefore the endowing of Gods Church with means to maintain Gods service, or the giving of our goods to the use of Gods Worship, whether it be praying to him, or preaching to his people, or relieving his members; being not only simply good, but also most excellently good, both commanded, and commended by God himself, it is a *Maxime*, even in nature, and confirmed by meer reason, that *Semel Deo dicatum non est ad usum humanos ulterius transferendum*, that which is once given and dedicated for, and to Gods service, which is a service acceptable to God, ought not afterwards by any means be any more transferred to mans uses; because, as Plato saith, *Quae recte data sunt, eripi non licet*; those things, that are well given, ought not to be taken back again; and because, as the Fathers say, *Bis Dei sunt, qua sic Dei sunt*; God hath in all dedicated things, that are given to uphold his service, a double right and interest.

*Nasay. En-
chirid. c. 14.*

Things once
dedicated to
God, may not
at any time, by
any body, be
alienated
from the
Church.

1. As his own Creatures, and gift given to man. And

2. As in a thankfull acknowledgment of Gods goodness, the gift of man

A Declaration

*S. Decret. de
reg. iuris.
Plato Phileb.
1 Chron. 29. 14.
Plin. 2. Ep. 1. 10.
Epist. 74. 75.*

*Two sorts of
men guilty of
Sacrilege un-
der pretence of
law.*

*x Spirituall
men Sacrilegi-
ous, and how.*

*Obj.
Rom. 4. 15.*

Sol.

back again to God; which twofold cord tieth them so strong, that this sin deserves no less, than the heavy curse of *Anathema*, for any one, not consecrated, to do the service of God, to challenge them and to take them away from Gods service, and the donors first institution; whereupon, not only the Divines but also the Philosophers and Canonists have concluded, that, *Si facta ades sit, licet collapsa sit jam, religio tamen ejus occupavit locum:* If an house be once dedicated to God, though afterwards it should fall down, and be utterly demolished, so that the *ruines* of it could scarce be seen; yet, the soil and ground of it is still *holy* and *religious*, and not to be employed to any *civill* or *prophane* uses.

And therefore I say that those men, which *have* or *do*, or *shall*, under the colour of Reforming the Church, and the pretence of any law, *rob* the Church, and deprive either the *Bishops* or *Ministers* of their houses, lands, or tythes, or any other portion, which hath been given to the Church, and for the service of God, are *Thieves*, and *Sacrilegious* thieves, be they who you will, and their pretences what they will.

And here I must tell you, that I find two sorts of men, that may be questioned for being guilty of this sin of *Sacrilege*.

1. The *Spirituall-men*, the *Bishops* and other *Priests*, the *Ministers* of Gods Church, that have made away the lands, houses, and goods of the Church.

2. The *Lay-Princes*, *Lords*, and *Gentlemen*, and others that take away the goods, lands, and houses of the Church; and all, as both these sorts of men pretend, by the right and benefit of the Law, and therefore no waies offending, and so not to be taxed for any *Sacrilege*.

But to discuss these points, and to find out the truth, I say, that although the *Pope* be not the *Antichrist*, the great Antichrist that was expected to come into the Church, as I have fully shewed in my book *de Anticristo*: yet, I doubt not, but that he is *the Antichrist*, the great *Sacrilegious*, and the chiefest *Sacrilegious* person, that ever these Kingdoms saw; as hereafter, I shall more fully declare unto you.

Next I say, that others, *Bishops* and *Priests* especially of his Church, may be as indeed many of them have been, very *Sacrilegious*, and robbers of the Church of Christ; as when they let out either by *Lease* or *fee-farm*, to their children, friends, or for fine, the *lands*, *houses*, or any other goods and possessions of the Church, to the loss and prejudice of the Church, and to *disinable* their successors, to discharge their duties and the service of God as they ought to do.

But they will say with St. Paul that, *Where no Law is, there is no transgression*; and there was no *Law* to inhibite them to lease out their lands to whom they would; nay, the *Law* gave them *leave* and impowered them to do it; and therefore no *Sacrilege* nor offence in them in all that they did, when they did nothing but according to *Law*.

I answer, that the *Human* law must not intrench, nor can infringe the law of God, nor any waies allow the thing, that should prejudice the service of God; neither do I believe, that the laws of our *Christian* Kings, and Princes ever intended so to do; for it is an old rule in law, that, *Prerogatus ecclesie statum, & possessiones meliorare potest, sed deteriorare non potest, nec debet.*

But when it was alledged and manifested in Parliaments that the *houses* belonging to the Church, being ruined or far out of reparation, and the *lands* either waste or not well managed, could not be improved to the best advantage and benefit of the Church, without the *Tenants* and *present Occupiers* thereof had some competent time therein: therefore the *pious* Kings enacted their laws, not to force but to *licence* Cathedrals and Colledges

ledges to lease out their lands and possessions, not to make their children and friends Knights and Ladies, or to fill their own coffers with fines, to the great prejudice of their successors, and the neglect and treading down of Gods service, but that the revenue, and the inheritance of the Church might be improved, and the best advantage made of it for the glory of God and the furtherance of Gods service, by the instruction of his people, and relieving his poor members, for which ends it was first dedicated unto God.

Therefore, when either Bishop or any other Clergy man, from the letter of the law, doth pervert the end and abuse the meaning of the law; I make it a case of Conscience and demand, Whether such men, as do let out the lands and houses of the Church for their own private gain, and not for the benefit of Gods Church and the advancement of Gods service, do not commit this horrible sin of Sacrilege? For my part, I conceive them to be the worst and most sacrilegious persons of all others, that should know the truth, and not give such ill examples both of Covetousness and Sacrilege unto their neighbours: but let them lease what they will for the benefit of Gods Church, the furtherance of Religion, and the no-prejudice of their successors, and they shall never find me to oppose them; But otherwise, to lease the lands of the Church, that is better worth then a 100l. per annum, for less then a 100 s. for to make our children great and the Church poor, to benefit our selves and to prejudice Gods service, and to say, We have a law, that warrants us to do it; We have Acts of Parliament that allow it, and have the practice and presidents of other Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, that have done it; is but to say, as the Jews said to Pilate, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. And ought he therefore to die, think you, because, these Jews had such a law? I verily think, not so; and I think likewise, that though you have, or should have, a law to take away and alienate the rights of the Church; yet you should not do it, if you love the Church, or do any waies fear God.

And for the practice of some other Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, I confess heretofore many of them have done bad enough, and worse, in my mind, then the worst of lay men; for them to sell the rights of the Church, and so, with Judas, to betray their Master Christ; but *Vixit praeceptum non exemplis*; if the practice and presidents of others, would or could excuse our faults, then Drunkards, Whore-masters, and Murderers might easily find presidents enough to excuse their wickedness: and so I know the *Secular* persons may as easily find the like.

But I shall hereafter shew you how and by whose power and by what means, these our Laws and Acts of Parliament, for the alienating, leasing and selling of the revenues of the Church came to be made, and leave it to any pious mind, and conscientious man to consider, Whether they ought, in the strictness thereof, to be observed or not: and not rather commend the care and great piety of our late most gracious King, and now glorious Martyr Charles the I. Who a little to curb the extravagancies and large extent of our laws, by his regall Authority wrote his letters to all Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, that they should leave out their lands for no longer term, then 21 years, as it appeareth by this his most gracious and pious Letter, directed unto my self, the Dean, and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Bangor; which, for the honour and praise and our thankfulness to so pious and so Religious a King, for his care and love to the Church and service of God, I thought it my duty to insert it in this place.

Why Bish
ops and Clergy-
men were per-
mitted to grant
leases of the
lands and re-
venues of the
Church.

How the Bis-
hops and other
Clergy-men
may lease their
Lands without
Sacrilege.

By whose
power the laws
for leasing and
passing away
the Church-
lands exhort
to be made.
Consider
that.

A Declaration

To our Trusty, and wel-beloved, the Dean of Bangor.

Charles Rex.

TRUSTY and welbeloved, We greet you well. We have lately taken the State of our Cathedral and Collegiat Churches into our Princely Consideration, that We may be the better able to preserve that livelyhood, which as yet is left unto them. Upon this deliberation We find, that of later times, there hath not risen a greater inconvenience, then by turning Leases of one and twenty years into Lives; for by that means, the present Dean and Chapter put great Fines into their Purses, to enrich themselves, their wives and children, and leave their Successors, of what deserts soever, to Us, and the Church, destitute of that growing means, which else would come in to help them. By which course, should it continue, scarce any of them could be able to live and keep house, according to their Place and Callings. We know the Statute makes it alike lawful for a Dean and Chapter to let their Leases for the Terms of one and twenty years, or three Lives; but time and experience have made it apparent, that there is a great deal of difference between them, especially in Church-Leases, where men are commonly in years before they come to those Places. These are therefore to will and command you, upon peril of Our utmost displeasure, and what shall follow thereon, that notwithstanding any Statute, or any other prentice whatsoever, you presume not to let any Lease belonging to your Church into Lives, that is not in Lives already. And further, where any fair opportunity is offered you, if any such be, you fail not to reduce such as are in Lives into Tears. And We do likewise will and require, that these our Letters may remain upon Record in your own Register-Books, and in the Register of the Lord Bishop of that Dioces, that he may take notice of these our Commands unto you, and give Us and our Royal Successors knowledge, if you presume

O that in any sort to disobey them. And further, whereas in Our late Instructions, We have commanded all our Bishops respectively, not to lett any Lease, after We have named any of them to a better Bishop-prentice in this rick, but did not in those Instructions name the Deans, who yet Letter, had bin observed by all were intended by Us: These are therefore to declare unto you, that our Predeces- no Dean shall presume to renew any Lease, either into Lives or Tears, sors, Bishops, after such time as We have nominated him either to a better Den- Deanes, and Chapters; the ry, or a Bishoprick, having observed, that at such times of remove, which I will many men care not what, or how they lett, to the prejudice of the do, and pun- Church and their Successors. And this is Our express Command to it, by the grace of God. you, your Chapter, and your Successors, which in any case We require both you, and them, strictly to observe, upon pain of Our high dis- pleasure, and as you and they will answer the contrary at your and their utmost perils. Given under Our Signet at Our Manner of Greenwich, the Two and Twentieth day of June, in the Tenth year of Our Reign.

Whereby

Whereby you may perceive, that the same *holy Spirit* that led this *blessed King* to be of *this mind*, doth now likewise lead me to be of the same mind; that no Bishop, Dean, or Chapter, ought to Lease out the *Lands* and *Revenues* of the Church, for any *longer Term* than 21. years; For if they could not Lease them for three *Lives*, though set to the *utmost value*, without a great deal of *wrong* and *prejudice* to their *Successors*, as this *Blessed* and most *Pious King*, did most *rightly conceive*, then certainly, they might not Set and Lease those *Lands* for a 100. *shillings*, that were well worth a 100. *pounds per annum*, and that for a 100. or a 1000. years, without much more *wrong* and *prejudice* done unto their *Successors*, and a very ill example of *covetousness* and *injustice* unto all others.

2. The other sort of *sacrilegious persons* that do commit this *horrible sin*, and yet shelter themselves under the *shadow of Law*, are those *lay Lorde*, *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, that have received these *Ecclesiastical Rights and Revenues*, from the former *sacrilegious persons*, and these think themselves *most innocent*, because they have both *Law* to countenance them, and the *Church-men* to confirm them in what they do: Yet you know, that, if the *Thief* which *stealeth* the goods, cannot be freed, the *Receiver* of those stolen goods cannot be *justified*. But I shall, by Gods help, hereafter more fully shew the *Sacrilege* of these men, that have so *unjustly received* these goods and possessions of the *Church* from those that were far more *unjust* than themselves, and are therefore like *Simeon and Levi*, *brethren in this evil*, and so liable to the *like punishment*.

2. The lay *sacrilegious persons*: and why.

CHAP. IV.

Of two sorts of sacrilegious persons that rob the Church of Christ, without any colour or pretence of Law, but indeed contrary to all Law.

Secondly, for the other sort of Thieves and *Sacrilegious persons*, that 2. The *sacrilegious persons contrary to all Law, of two kinds*: *rob the Church of God*, without any the *least pretence of Right or Law*, but apparently *contrary to the Law both of God and man*; I find them to be of two special kinds:

1. *Impious Patrons*, whether *Clergy* or *Laity*, that do *sell the Ecclesiastical Dignities*, or any *wayes sinistly bestow them*.

That is, 2. *Unjust Parishioners*, that do *fraudulently detain, or most maliciously deny the Tythes, and other just Duties of the Church*.

1. In former times, *Patrons* were appointed to be, as their names import, *Fathers* and *Guardians* unto the *Church of Christ*; to see good men and *able schollers* placed and planted in all *Parishes*, to *teach the people of God*; and so they were, as the *Ecclesiastical Stories* do record unto us: But now, such is the *corruption* of our times, that our *Patrons*, for the most part, I fear, cannot be said to be, like *Augustus Cesar*, that found *Rome a City of Bricks*, and left it of *Marble*, to cause their *Parishes* to be supplied with better & abler men than they were. But they are rather like *Reboam*, the son of *Solomon*, that found in the *Temple of God*, *Shields of Gold*, but left in it *Shields of Brasse*: So do many *Patrons*, present men worse and worse; What they do, for when any golden-mouthed *Cbryostome* is banished, or any learned *Augustine* is dead, or pious *Bernard* removed, they will presently name Priests

A Declaration

of Brasse, and brazen-faced Priests unto the Churches, that deserve no better than Brasse for their Ministry, and the Gold they will reserve for themselves. And *Balaams ass*, if he can but speak, and come laden with *Coin*, shall be preferred: And, as the Poet saith,

Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.

Though *Homer* comes to seek the Place that shall be void, if he comes with nothing to give, he shall get nothing of them. For, who knows not the practice of our timesto be, for the Priest, that seeks the Living, either to pay some good sum of money for it, or to compound for the greater, or some part of the *Tythes*, or to marry either *kinswoman* or servant, before the poor Clerk, or rather simple Clerk, can be presented to any Church,

Exod. 5. 11.

The usual practice in these times:

Virgil. Aeneid. l. 2.

The *Egyptians* took away the straw from the *Israelites*, and yet required of them, the whole tale of Bricks as formerly; which was a hard task, and a great tyranny: But these Patrons take away the corn, and leave for the poor Priests nothing but the straw. They will have all the Gleablands, and the Priests shall glean for their maintenance; and these Grand Masters commonly must have the greater Tythes, or at least some part or parcel thereof, and the Priest shall have but *Reliquias Danaum atque immittis Achillius*, what these Canker-worms shall leave them, a cloud for *Juno*, and a shadow instead of a Water-Nymph. And yet they must exceed in the tale of their Bricks, and bring far more than their Predecessors brought; they must study more, and preach oftner, than ever was done in former times; which is a hard case, and yet as true a case as any that you shall find in all Sir *Edward Cook's Reports*.

But though, like *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, that erected an Altar against the Altar of God, and made Priests, to serve at that Altar, of the lowest, the meanest, and basest of the people, that the greatest gain might redound into his own hands, because none buyes dearer, and gives larger, than the greater dunse: So our Patrons of Ecclesiastical preferments, in many, I dare not say in most places, are resolved to sell their Churches, as *Judas* sold his Christ, and his Saviour, to them that will give most for them; yet because, as *S. Gregory* saith, *Partem habebit cum Simone, qui contra Simoniacos, pro officio sui loco vehementer non exarserit*: He shall have his portion with *Simon Magus*, the Proto-Simonist, the first unlawful buyer of holy graces, which, according to his place, doth not do his best to suppress the sin of *Simonie*, that is, the buying and selling of spiritual graces and promotions; I will a little unfold the beynousness of this sin, that, as many of them, I fear, are settled in their resolutions, to continue the doing of it, so they may the better know hereby, what they do, and what a horrible sin they do commit, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of the Church of Christ.

Simonie usual-
ly practised in
Rome, and by
former Popes.

And I say, that the Pope is the prime and principal father of this Bastard-brood, and that nothing was wont to be rifer at Rome than this sin of *Simonie*, which did therefore seem the leſſe sinful, because it was acted by the more powerful Patron. And though we read it in their own Decrees, that, *Tolerabilior est Macedonii heresis, qui assert Spiritum Sanctum esse servum patris & filii, quād̄ hec Symonaica patatio; quia isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum servum suum: ut ait Terasius, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus*: This selling of Church-Livings is more intolerable than the heresie of *Macedonius*, who said, That the Holy Ghost was the servant of the Father and of the Son, because they make the Holy Ghost to become their servant, as *Terasius* saith to Pope *Adrian*. Yet *S. Bernard*, that saw much, but not all, saith, *Sacri gradus dati sunt in occasionem turpis lucri, & questum estimant*

Bern. in Con-
verso Pauli, Ser-
mone 1.

mant pietatem, Holy Orders are now become the occasion of *filthy lucre*,
and gain is counted godliness : And this Simonie is *Sacrilege* indeed ;
and not only *Musculus* citeth these Verses that were made of Pope *Alexander*, *Musculus in cap. 6. Joban.*

*Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum ;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*

but Durandus also saith, That *Simonie* doth so reign in the Church of Rōme, Durand. de modo celebrandi Concilii.

as if it were no sin at all : And their Canonists, as *Bartolus*, *Felinus*, *Theodoricus*, and some others of the Pope's parasites, are so impudent as to averr, that the selling of these things, and taking monie for Ecclesiastical promotions, can be neither Extra de officio judicis delegati ex parte N. in Glossa. *Sacrilege* nor *Simonie* in the Pope, because he is the Lord of them all ; and accounteth them all his own.

But since we have bidden *Adieu* to him and his corruptions ; his *Simonie* and his *Sacrilege*, blessed be God for it, doth not so much prejudice us : and therefore, letting him to do what he will with his own, and either to stand or fall to his own Master ; I will address my self to shew the manifold evils and wickednesse of our own *Sacrilegious* and *Simonaical* Patrons, that sell those Benefices, which they should freely bestow. And I say,

1. That this buying and selling of Church-goods (for both these acts are relatives, and to be put in the same predicament, when as nothing is sold that is not bought, & è contra) is a thing contrary to all Laws, and to the judgement of all good men ; for,

1. The Laws of Moses provided so liberally for the Priests and Levites, that the buying and selling of Priests places was never known nor heard of among the Jews, until Jeroboam's time ; who, as he sold them, so he sold himself to do evil, and to commit wickedness.

2. Pharaoh was so religious, that when in the great Dearth, all the land of Egypt was sold, the Priests had such a portion of Corn allotted them, tiles that they needed not to sell one foot of their land ; and therefore I doubt not but Pharaoh will rise in judgement against all those that take away the lands of the Priests, as our Gentlemen, and Souldiers strive to do, or do sell the Spiritual promotions unto the Priests, as our Simonaical Patrons do.

3. The Law of Grace saith, *Freely have you received, that is, all the graces and gifts of God, therefore, freely give, especially what you give to God, and for the Service of God, and sell it not.*

4. The Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws forbid nothing more, and with greater care, than the buying and selling of Spiritual Offices : And the ancient Fathers, learned Schoolmen, and all the later Classes of Jesuitis, and of our zealous purest Protestant Writers, together with the wiest Princes and Statesmen, that have established many Statute-Laws against this sin, are all infinitely deceived, if this buying and selling of Ecclesiastical preferments, be not infinitely prejudicial to the Church of God, and therefore a most beyous and a horrible sin against the Law of God.

2. I say, that this buying and selling of Church-Livings, will be the diminution of all Learning, and the lessening of the number of Learned men : and buying of for when the world seeth, that after a man hath spent his time, first in School, where he sufferereth a great deal of sorrows, and thinks no creature vings will be more miserable than himself, when he feeth all others free, and himself the decay of only (as he supposeth) bound under the rod ; then in the University, where most of the Schollars are, as *Phalaris* saith to *Leon-tides*,

A Declaration

How difficult
it is to become
a Scholar.

tides, πάντας δοῦλοις πάντας λίμνης πόλεσ, needy of all things but of hunger and fears or else, if they escape these rocks, the better part, do, with continual watching and studying wear their bodies, and tire their spirits, and spend all the means they can procure from their friends for many years together, and in the end, after all this, cannot get a poor Parsonage or Vicarage, unless they pay for the lease of their wearied and almost worn-out life, to the hazarding of their souls, and all other Preferments when the truth of their buying is made known; What Fathers will be so provident; I had almost said, so irreligious, I may truly say, so unworldly wise, or so little prudent in managing of their estates, as to cast away their means and their sons upon such sourges? I think I may say with the Poet,

Invitatus ad huc aliquis de ponte negabit.

A beggars brat, knowing these inconveniences, would scarce accept these Offices, and discharge those duties they do owe, upon these conditions.

Obj.

But you will say, that we must not, and ought not, to respect our own gain, and look after our own profit; but, as the Apostles and servants of Christ, our chieftest care should be for the peoples good; because our reward shall be great in Heaven.

Sol.

I answer, that as in the Common-wealth, we owe our selves and our service wholly unto our Prince, and to our Country; yet, some convenient reward will make us the more willing to serve. So in the Church of God; though I must preach willingly, and no is me, being called to that office, if I preach not so, and discharge all other Priestly offices cheerfully, rather for the gain of Souls than for any other the greatest gain in the World; yet, necessary maintenance will enable me, or any other, to do my duty the more cheerfully, and with the more encouragement: no man can deny the same; and our Saviour tells us, *The workman is worthy of his hire*; and therefore, as the Ministers of Christ do give unto you spiritual things, so reason sheweth, what the Apostle setteth down, that you should give unto them, and not sell unto them, these temporall things: that so not only we which are already entred into this calling, may discharge our duties the more joyfull; but also others, which as yet are not of this calling, may, by the reward of learning, be induced to undertake the Ministry, that otherwise is despicable enough in the world, the more willingly; because, as Symmachus saith, *Virtus emula alitur exemplo honoris alieni*; virtue is cherished, and set forward, with the example and sight of other mens honour; as Alcibiades, with the glory and honour given to Miltiades, was spurred forward to the like achievements, that he might attain unto the like glory; whereas otherwise, as it is a Maxime in warlike Affairs that *exprobata militia creditur, qua irremunerata transitur*; that service is thought base, and that warre not worth the following, which is unworthy of any reward; so it is true in Academical sciences and all other Arts whatsoever, that *Inbonorata virtus languescit*, Virtue despised and left unrewarded will soon faint and languish; and all good Arts, even of themselves without pleasure, will speedily decay; which was the only course, and the most spitefull, that Julian took, to root out Christianity, to take away the maintenance of the Ministers; for he knew that, as both Seneca and Tacitus saith, *Sublatis studiorum premiis, ipsa studia parunt*.

Luk. 10. 17.
Match. 10. 10.

The reward of
learning, is the
best means to
increase, and
to continue
learning.

Take away the
reward, and
learning per-
isheth.

3. The buying
and selling of
Church li-
vings, will be
the decay of
all hospitality.

3. I say that this buying and selling of spiritual promotions in the Church of God, will be, (as it is indeed, and hath been of a long time, ever since the birth of this bastard brat) the extirpation of all hospitality among the Clergy: The Apostle tells us that a Bishop should be given to hospitality, and Saint

Saint Augustine to inforce this duty, the sooner to be observed; saith, *Fæcundus est ager pauperum, citio reddit dominantibus fructum. Dei est pro par-* Aug. de verbis
Dominis sermone.
25.
via magna pensare: the field of the poor is very profitable, and yieldeth his fruit very quickly, and that plentifully, because it is the property of God, to render great things to us, for the small things that we give to him. And Saint Gregory saith, *Egentis mentem doctrina sermo non penetrat, si hunc (vel illum sermonem) apud ejus animum manus in sericordia non commendat: the Word of God Preached doth not pierce the heart of a needy man, unless the hand of mercy doth command that Word and reach it home unto him;* which is a very excellent, true, and most worthy saying; worthy, to be remembred, and to be practised of all Divines: And yet now, in these times, and amongst us, that I fear, is true, which the poor complain of; That there is but small hospitality among the Clergy.

But they ought to consider, what the Philosopher saith, *Nihil dat quod non habet;* he that hath but scarce enough to maintain himself, can spare but very little to relieve others: and therefore, seeing a Minister must not get his living by any other means, then by the means of his Ministry; and that, by his calling to be a Minister, and all his pains and diligence in his calling, he can get no means, unless he buyes his living; and when he buyes it, he is commonly set so far in debt, that, in haste, he shall not be able to recover himself out of his creditors books; How is it possible that a Minister, Parson or Vicar, should be able to be hospitable unto others, when, as the Popish Priests were wont to say *dirge's* for their dinners; So these poor Preachers must read *Lectures* for their maintenance; which is many times, as I have seen it, in some places, made up out of the poor mens box; and the Lecturer must preach *placentia*, lest his voluntary benefactors, if he be too bold in their reproofs, should subtract the pittance of their contribution. A most lamentable thing, that a Preacher of Gods Word, that ought freely to speak the truth, must be thus fettered, for want of means; and that they, which should have plenty that they might be enabled to relieve the poor, should be brought to that scantling and penury, as to be forced to be relieved themselves, out of the portion of the poor: O consider this, all ye Sacrilegious patrons, that sell your livings, and forget God, lest he remember you, and tear you to pieces, while there is none to help you.

How our good works do further Faith in others.

If they take away our lands, and sell our livings, how can we relieve the poor?

The poor are notable to relieve the poor.

Ministers in some places, and at some times relieved out of the poor mens box.

4. If the observation of precedent things may presage any future thing, I say that this buying and selling of Church-livings doth portend and fore-signify some great and imminent evil, both to the Church and state; for Socrates in his *Eccles. Hist.* tells us, that when some wicked Souldiers had profaned the Church, and had Sacrilegiously robbed her Priests; as now our souldiers strive and study how to do the like: one standing by, said *καλλιεργεῖτε τὸν οὐρανόν τοῦτον:* This abuse of Gods house fore-sheweth no good thing to come: and Socrates saith, he was not deceived, because that in a very short time after, it happened according as he feared; and Alphonse de Castro saith, as he is cited by the Bishop of Oxford, that the flourishing Churches of Greece and Armenia were forsaken of God, and had their Candle-sticks that upheld the light of the Gospel removed, when they began to maintain, that it was lawfull to buy and sell the lands, goods, and revenues of the Church.

4. The buying and selling of Church-livings, is the preface of some great evil unto the Church.

And therefore I advise and wish all that hunger and thirst after the Church-lands, houses, and goods, and all covetous Patrons to take heed of this sin, of buying and selling what belongs unto the Church; or to take away the lands or houses of the Church, which is a sin, so dangerous to themselves, so prejudicial to the Church, and so ominous to the Commonwealths. And let them remember what I said before, that if Pharaoh, in the time of

A Declaration

Gen. 47.

that great famine which was in Egypt, made such provision for the Priests, that although all the other his subjects were constrained to sell their lands for sustenance; yet, the lands of the Priests were not sold, neither had any of them any need to sell them: and if Popish Priests that either preached not at all, or preached their own traditions, or some fabulous narrations and fictions out of their legends, were so richly kept, and still are, in France, Spaine, and Italy, on Saint Peters patrimony; Why should they deal so bboldly and so niggardly with the Ministers of the Gospel, that do sincerely Preach the truth of Jesus Christ unto their people, as to sell unto them or take away from them that little, which is left and is most due unto them.

Hab. 2. 8.

Job. 20. 15.

Or if all this will not serve to withdraw them from this sin, let them take heed of the Prophets woe, that crieth out against all such dealers, saying *Ve accumulanti non sua: Woe be to him that heapeþ together those things that are none of his own;* and especially those things, that are the Churches goods; for he shall find that this gain doth ever bring a rod at its back. When as Zophar saith, God shall cause him to vomit up that, which he hath devoured, and shall cast them out of his belly; and render vengeance to him, for the detriment and injury, that he hath done to his Church and servants.

The punishment of Sacrilegious greater than the punishment of Idolatry.
Exod 20.
2 Reg. 5. 27.

Why Sacrilegious is so odious to God, and so prejudicall and infestuous to man.

How Sacrilegious bringeth forth atheism, Idolatry and all Wickedness.

2. The Sacrilegious Patrons.

And this vengeance, Saint Augustine noteth to be more grievous than the punishment of Idolatry: for whereas God threateneth to punish Idolaters but in the third and fourth Generations, we find, that the Sacrilegious of Jeroboam, in selling the Priests Office, provoked God to root out his house, and all his posterity from off the earth; and the sinnes of Gehazi was punished with such a leprosy, as stuck both upon himself, and upon all his whole seed for ever.

And no marvell that this sin of Sacrilegious should be so odious unto God, and so infestuous and pernicious unto man; because that, although other sins, as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, Theft, and the like, may be said to be but, as it were, private and particular sins, that infect none, or but few, besides the doers of them; yet, this sin of Sacrilegious is a publick and a farre spreading sin, not only against some particular persons, but against a multitude of men and against the whole body of Religion, when by defrauding and taking away the maintenance of the Ministers, the whole Ministry of Gods service is impaired, and suffered, nay caused, to be neglected and decayed; whereby not only Idolatry, and false worship hath an open gap, and a broad way of entrance into Gods Church, but also Atheism; and no worship of God, but all corruption and lewdness must be the chiefeſt fruit that can grow upon this accursed tree of Sacrilegious; when either the Souldiers or any others, of the Lords or Gentry, take the lands and houses of God into their possessions, or the covetous Patrons do sell and make Merchandise of any Ecclesiastical preferment.

2. As the irreleigious Patrons do offend in selling the Ministers living, that he should freely bestow upon him; so the Parishioners are as ready and as greedy to detain and keep back that right, which is due to the Priest by Gods law, and the Minister hath also bought from his Patron, as the Patron was to sell what he should give. And it is strange to think, how witty they are to go to Hell, if God be not the more mercifull unto them, to hold them from it! What shifts and tricks they have to hold back their hands from paying their Tythes; and how loath they are to set out their Tythes and think all that lost that is laid out for the Priest.

But alas, they should know, that herein they deceive not us alone that are the Priests, but their own souls also, that are more damnified by this their Sacrilegious, than the Priests can be by the loss of their Tythes, because

cause that hereby they rob not men, but God himself; for that the Priests are but the Lords Receivers and his Rent-gatherers, of that small acknowledgment, which he requires from us, his Tenants at will for all the great things he gives to us, to be repaid to him again, as the testimony of our duty and thankfulness, and the stipend that he hath allotted to them, that are to serve him at his Altar; And therefore, when the Israelites gave unto their Levites, as our people in many places do give unto their Preachers, the blind, the lame, and the maymed, the leanest Lamb and the leightest Sheave, the Lord complaineth, that they robbed and spoiled him in Tythes and Offerings; because the Lord saith directly, that all the Tythe of the Land, is the Lord's: and all that, is Holy unto the Lord. Mal. 3, 8, 10; Lev. 27, 30.

But seeing that this Sacilegious Age, hath produced and brought forth tot manus auferendi, so many hands to take away the rights of the Church, and so many tongues to speak against, and adversaries to oppose the truth of the Doctrine of Tythes, and to take away the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church:

I shall leave it to be more fully handled towards the latter end of this discourse and Declaration against Sacrilege.

CHAP. V.

The words of King David, in the 2 Sam. 7, 1, 2. and their division; when they were spoken: And how, or in what sense Sitting and Standing are commonly taken in the Scriptures: And of the two persons that are here conferring together:

IF you look into the 2 of Sam. 7, 1, 2. Veres, you shall find it thus written.

Afterward, When the King sate in his House, and the Lord had given him rest round about from all his enemies: The King said unto Nathan the Prophet, Behold, now I dwell in a house of Cedar trees, and the Ark of God remaineth in the Curtains: and so forth.

For the better understanding of which words, you may observe that the sum of this whole Chapter is 3. fold, and containeth these 3. parts:

- 1. Davids deliberation,
- 2. Nathans replication,
- 3. Davids gratulation.

The sum of
the Chapter
3. fold.

1. The Deliberation is about an Oratory and Temple, or House to be Erected and Dedicated to God, for his servants to meet in, to ration worship him, and this is delivered unto us in the two first verses here set down.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 2. The Replication of the Prophet is | 3. The Gratulation is |
| two fold. | 1. Affirmative, and erroneous or mistaken, ver. 3. |
| | 2. Negative, and right; from the 3. vers. to the 18. |
| | 3. The Gratitude of the fore-past benefits of God, with an earnest, and hearty prayer, put up to God for the continuance of his favour unto him, from the 18. verse, to the end of the Chapter. |

A Declaration

And I shall here treat of no more than of the *deliberation*, or the Prophets *consideration*, what he intended to do ; touching which, we are to observe these three things :

The 3. things
observable in
the delibera-
tion.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The time, which hath a twofold
manifestation of it, | 1. When he sate in his house.
2. When he was safe from his
enemies. |
| 2. The Persons deliberating, and they are 2. | 1. David, the King.
2. Nathan, the Prophet. |
| 3. The matter deliberated, and considered of, betwixt the Prince and the Prophet ; and that was, the meanness and baseness of the then House of God ; and therefore he would be at the cost and charges to make it beautiful, and to erect him an House befitting the Majesty and greatness of God. | |

And this his good intention he justifieth and confirmeth, the same to be both honest and good, by the consequent of *Congruity*, that it was fit it should be so, in respect of a double comparison.

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|--|
| 1. Of himself with God.
2. Of his Court with God's Ark. |
|--|

1. Reason,

1. I that am but a poor creature, have an house to dwell in, and God that is the *Creator* of all the World, hath not an *House* to put his *Ark* in and for his servants to meet in, to hear his *Laws*, and to do him service.

2. Reason.

2. My *Court* is stately covered over with *Cedars*, but the *Ark* of God is but very meanly and basely covered over with a *Canopic* of skins, to shelter it from the wind and the weather.

And therefore, conceiving this to be very preposterous, and a far unbecoming thing, for him to be better provided for, than his God, he conferreth with the Prophet, and tells him, he intends to rectifie this *obliquity*, and to build God an *House*, more agreeable to his *Majesty*. These are the parts and parcels of the Kings *deliberation* and *conference* with the Prophet and his Bishop *Nathan*. And

1. The time of
this *delibera-*
tion.

How *Sitting* &
Standing are
commonly in-
terpreted.

Ezech. 3. 24.
1 Cor. 10. 12.
2 Cor. 1. 24.
Ephel. 6. 14.
1 Pet. 5. 12.
Ps. 135. 1. 2.
Ps. 122. 2.
2 Reg. 3. 14.

Zach. 5. 7.
Ps. 119.
Ps. 1.

How the word
sate, is here ta-
ken.

1. For the time ; It is said, *when the King sate in his house*, and the Lord had given him rest round about, from all his enemies. So you see,

1. It was *when the King sate in his house* ; and these relative words *sitting* and *standing*, are noted by Divines to have some difference of sense and acceptation : As, *standing* being commonly taken in good part, and *sitting* in the evil and worser sense : as in these plates, where *standing* is well spoken of, *The Spirit entred into me and set me upon my feet* ; and *be that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall* ; and *stand in the Lord as dear children* ; and *by faith ye stand* ; and, *stand having your loynes girt about with truth* ; and, *this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand* ; and, *praise the Lord, all ye his servants, ye that stand in the courts of the Lords House* ; and, *our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Hierusalem* ; and, *the Lord of Hosts liveth, before whom I stand*. In all which quotations, and the like, the word *standing*, hath reference unto good, and is taken in the better sense, and so to be interpreted. And in these places, and the like, where the name of *sitting* runneth into *obloquie*, and is attributed to iniquity : *Iniquity sitteth on a talent of lead* ; and, *Princes sit and speak against me* ; and *Blessed is the man that hath not sate in the seat of the scornful* ; and the ungodly person *sitteth lurking in the theevish corners of the streets* ; and so in may other places, it is interpreted in the *worse* sense.

But here the word, *sate in his house*, is of a milder meaning, and of *indifferent acceptation*, and rather to be interpreted in the better sense, as betokening the government of the King : for so [*the King sate in his house*] signifieth,

against Sacrilege.

29

nisheth, that he sate in his Seat of Government; and this sense hath been ancient and obvious in our reading, as, where the Poet saith,

Celsa sedet Æolus arce.

King *Eolus* sitteth in his high Tower, and manageth his State-matters; and in the Germane speech, they say, that to sit, signifieth to reign: as the Emperour sate, that is, reigned so many years. And this is the moderne meaning of this phrase even amongst us; for when we would shew, how long any one hath exercised the *Offise*, and discharged the *Place* of a Bishop, Judge, or Prefect amongst us, we are wont to say, he sate in that place so long. And to sit, commonly signifieth to be in rest and quiet; and is opposite to, affairs and businesse: As where it is said, *Shall your brethren go to battle, and you sit still?* And, where the Poet saith,

Sedeant specientque Latini:

Let the Latines fit still and look on. And in both these senses, King David may be said to fit in his house, without any great matter in which sense we understand the word ; though I rather take it in the latter way, because, that

2. The next adjunct of the time is, when the Lord had given him rest; i.e. When was the time, that David had rest from all his enemies.

But about this rest that is here spoken of, the Expositors cannot all agree, when it was: whilst they do consider the many Battles that he fought after this conference that he had with *Nathan*; and therefore, though some take it for the peace he had at this present time, yet others, of a quicker sight, do assign it after the second Victory he had against the *Philistines*, when he was such an hammer, so terrible to all the neighbour-Nations, as that the very name of *David* and his doings, made them afraid, and glad to sue unto him for peace, and to take bands of resolution with themselves, to be of good behaviour towards him, and never to provoke him any more. And of this we read in 1 Chron. 14. 11. when the *Philistines* came up to *Baal-Perazim*, and *David* smote them, and said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies by mine hand, like the breaking forth of waters; and afterward when they spread themselves abroad in the valley, and *David* smote them from *Gibeon* even to *Gazer*, and the fame of *David* went out into all Lands, and the Lord brought the fear of him upon all Nations.

2. For the persons, that are here consering together, they are said to be 1. The persons David and Nathan, the King, and the Prophet; two great Persons, and deliberating high Offices, that formerly were contained in one Person, as Melchisedech and conferring wasthe Priest of the Most High G O D, and King of Salem. And as the together. Poet saith,

Rex Animis, Rex idem hominum, Praebeque Sacerdos.

And when God divided and distributed these several Offices to several persons, he conferred them upon two brothers, that is, Moses and Aaron; that so the King and the Priest might live and love one another like brethren, as I have more amply shewed in my Treatise of The Grand Rebellion, and so King David here dischargeth that his duty accordingly: And so likewise, not only the Heathen Kings, but also the Jewish Kings, the Kings of

A Declaration

The greatest
Kings and
Princes were
most familiar
with the Priests
Orators, and
Philosophers,

Israel, and all good Christian Kings disdained not the friendly familiarity and conference with their Bishops and Priests, especially when they consult and deliberate of Religion, or any point that concerns the Worship and Service of God. For as King *Craesus* conferred with *Solon* the Philosopher : and *Alexander King of Macedon* consulted often with *Aristotle*, and sometimes with *Diogenes the Cynick* : and King *Pyrrhus* with his dear friend *Cineas* : So *Pharaoh King of Egypt* called and consulted with his Priests, that were the Magicians, and deemed the wise men of Egypt, when *Moses* came to treat of God's Service. And though *Moses* appointed 70. men of the choicest, gravest, and wisest men, that could be found of all the Elders of *Israel* to be the *Sanbedrim*, and as it were a standing Parliament to end all controversies, and all the civil affairs of the Kingdom : Yet, when the Case of Religion came in question, and the differences about God's Worship came to be decided, neither the Kings of *Israel*, nor the Kings of *Juda*, to whom the principal care and custody of God's Laws and Service was committed, did ever commend the same unto the *Sanbedrim* to be concluded and settled. But, as King *David* here calleth and consulteth with *Nathan the Prophet*, about the building of God's House ; so when Religion was corrupted, and the Service of the True God neglected, in the time of King *Abas*, he calleth not the *Sanbedrim* to rectifie and redress the same ; but he leaves the same to be determined and adjudged, betwixt the Priests of ^{1 Reg. 18. 17.} *Baal*, and *Elias the true Prophet of the Lord* ; And so did King *Asa*, *Je-hosaphat*, and *Ezecias*, consulted not with their lay Lords, or the *Sanbedrim*, but with *Azariah the son of Oded the Prophet*, and with *Esay*, and the rest of God's Prophets. Nay, when the Wise men came to inquire for Christ; *Herod*, that sought to destroy Him, and his Religion, inquireth not of any, but of the Chief Priests and Scribes, Where Christ should be born. And so all the Wise and Christian Emperours, *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, *Justinian*, and the rest, as you may find it in *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, and other Ecclesiastical Historians, had always some special Bishops, with whom they conferred and consulted about matters of Religion ; as *Charles the Fifth* did with *Cassander* ; and *Henry the Eighth* with Bishop *Crammer*. For they conceyed that their Crowns had the greater Lustre when it was in conjunction with the Miter : And therefore in no great Council was the Man of God ever bankeled ; but, that they might be sure to serve God before themselves, and be assured, that while the Church prospered, the Bishops directed, and they had God and his Messengers amongst them, all would go right and be safe ; and therefore in all, or most Courts of Conscience, where the Law reached not, they thought none so fit as these men of conscience, to decide all differences.

Neither could I ever find, that the Church of God was so much pestered with miseries, and poisoned with Errors, Heresies, and Sects, or Divisions, until the lay Lords and Gentlemen, like the Long Parliament, neglected their proper Offices, to look into the affairs of the Commonwealth, and to see Justice and Judgement truly executed among the people, and began, immittente falcem in alienam messem, to thrust their sickles into other mens harvest, and to intermeddle with that, which concerns them not ; as to chop and change Articles of Religion, and to set down and compose

^{points of faith} Esay. 1. 12. when the Lord saith, *Quis requirit huc ? Who hath required these things at your hands ? It is your duty to come into the Temples, and to perform the service, that David and Nathan, the King and the Bishops shall prescribe unto you ; and to confirm those Articles of Religion, and cause them in all things to be observed, as the Parliament did in Queen Elizabeth's dayes, the 39. Articles of our Religion, when they are, as those were, settled and concluded by the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy.*

against Sacrilege.

31

In their Convocation : for the Lord tells us plainly, That the Priests ^{lips} shou'd keep knowledge, and they, (that is, the people, be they what, and whom you will, Sanhedrim of the Jews, or Parliament of any other Nation) shou'd seek the Law, that is, the Law of God, at his mouth ; because he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts, that is, to declare his will, and to expound his Laws unto the people.

But what saith the Lord in this Case when the people, be they what you will, shall usurpe the Priests Office, and begin to make new Orders and Ordinances, for the Service of God, that never required such things at their hands ? He tells them plainly, You are departed out of the way, and you have caused many to stumble at the Law, that is, by your false glosses, and injoyed observations thereof ; and you have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts ; that is, you have wronged, and quite thrown out, the Bishops and Priests from their Offices, which is, to consult with the King to see God rightly worshipped. And therefore, saith the Lord, I have also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according ^{Malach. 2. 7,} as you ^{8, 9.} have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the Law, that is, by making Religion and my Service, like a nose of wax, to turn which way you please, when as every one should do the duties that belong unto him ; *Cura sit prelia Conon.*

CHAP. VI.

What the rest, and peaceable times, of King David wrought. The Prince's authority in causes Ecclesiastical; and how they shou'd be zealous to see that God should be justly and religiously served.

Thirdly, having seen the times, and the persons, that consulted and counseled. The matter referred together, we are now to consider the fruits, and effects that about which this quiet sitting at rest, and peaceable times, wrought in David, and what they consulted, was the matter, that these two grave and great Persons do so seriously deliberate and consult about ; And most commonly we find, that rest and prosperity, and peace have been the bane, and surfeit of the mind, to puff it up with pride ; and thereby produce, and prosperity hath often choaked piety, and plenty hath made Religion to pine away, and to be cast upon a bed of security, as Jezebel was cast upon a bed of fornication. For so Moses saith of the Israelites, *Dilectus meus inspiratus recalcitravit* ; My beloved, fed, fatted, and enlarged, kicked with their heels ; or, *Iesurus waxed fat and kicked*, and then he forsook God, that made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his Salvation. And as the Poet saith,

*Luxuriant animi rebus plerisque secundâ,
Nec facile est equa commoda mente nisi.*

*Ovid. de arte
Am. 1. 2.*

Our hearts do swell, and our minds grow luxurious and riotous, when our affairs do prosper, and all things succeed as our hearts desire, and have rest, and peace, as now David had, round about us. And so indeed it fell, our peace made us with our selves in these Kingdoms now of late ; our peace and our plenty, wanton ; and hath undone us, by making us too wanton, to rebell against our King, to our wantonness provoke our God to scourge us for that our wantonness and Rebellion, And therefore S. Augustine saith most truly, *Magna virtus est cum felicitate*, Our peace and wantonness broughte our wars upon us.

A Declaration

tate luxari, ne illiciat, ne corrumpat, ne ipsa subvertat felicitas; it is a point of great virtue, to strive with felicity; lest, it inticeth us, corrupteth us, and overbroweth us; and so it is a great felicity and happiness, not to be overcome with felicity, or, not to be undone with prosperity; as many Men, Towns, and Kingdoms have been many times: for as the said Poet saith,

Tum, cum tristis erat, defensa est Iliou armis,

Troy in her adversity was well defended; but alas

Militibus gravidum leta recepit equum.

Quam facile cadunt splendidae rursum taurorum laetitia: nix adi; Their fair fortunes makes them to fall.

How king David peace and plenty increased his Piety.

But it was not thus now with King David; for his Rest begat Religion in him; and his peace, plenty, and prosperity increased his Piety: and as he delighteth to recount Gods benefits, so he considereth how he may shew his thankfulness for them; and therefore he thus museth and meditateth on the matter.

The summe and substance of Davids deliberation.

God hath given me a Kingdom, and a Royall stately House; built of Cedars in that Kingdom. Therefore I will build an House for him, and he hath given me rest round about; therefore I will prepare a place for his Ark, which he ordained to be the sign and Symbole of his presence; and which hitherto hath had no resting place, but many a sad and wearisome perambulations, that now at last it may rest and be no more forced to be transported and carried from place to place. For though, *Enter, presenter, Deus est, ubiq[ue] potenter*, God himself, hath an ubiquity of presence, being essentially full, and filling all places; *Supra caelos non elevatus, & sub terram non depresso; non exclusus, nec circumscriptus*; yet because his gratiounes and his powerfull presence is promised to be, and to be shewed and extended in a speciall manner in some places more, and rather then in other places, and that place specially is, where his Ark resideth, and which is called the Ark of his strength, and the Ark of his Covenant, and the Ark of the Testimony: because he Covenanted and promised by the tables of that Covenant, and the other symbols of his presence, that were kept in that Ark, to be present and assistant, and most powerfully to bless, and protect, all those that kept the Covenant, and observed those Testimonies that were preserved in that Ark; therefore saith David, In requital of Gods favours shewed unto me, I will build a House for Gods Ark; that so, the tables of the Covenant, betwixt God and his people, and the Manna, and the rod of Aaron, which were to be kept in the Ark, might be the more safely preserved, and rest in one place without any more wandering, and the people and servants of God which are obliged and commanded to come to serve God, and to bring their offerings and oblations to offer unto God before the Ark where it should be, might be the more certain of the place of its residence, and might with the more conveniency, and in a far better manner, perform their duties, and discharge their service unto God; then while the Ark wandered from place to place. And this was the result and summe of Davids deliberation, and conference with the Prophet Nathan.

The excellency of Religion, which is the preserver of all happiness.

And it is no wonder, that King David was so Religious, and so punctual, in all particulars appertaining to Religion and the service of God; because Religion, as one truly saith, is, as the Poles of the World, the Arctick and Antarctick, or that Mount Atlas, which (the Poets say) holds up Heaven for

for it stands on earth, and it reacheth to God in Heaven, and it is that which pouseth all Societies, and all states here below; for, without the faith and belief of Gods Providence, to oversee our actions, and then to reckon for our transgressions, and to punish the delinquents, thight, craft, and falsehood would sway in the World alike with men, as it is with the Beasts of the field, and the Fishes of the Sea; and the Conscience of good and evil would be all one: and Religion, is that which enableth the noblest man, erects his affections, and estates him in a state of happiness, far above nature; and, in a word, this procures all blessings to light upon us. So that whether you aime at the spiritual, true, and eternal felicity, or the civill-Weale and temporall happiness only; yet, Religion is, and ought, mainly to be magnified and preserved; and therfore the King did most wisely and Religiously call the Prophet, to consult about the building of an House for the Ark, and for the service of God.

And this practice of King David is a pattern and a looking-glass for all Kings and Princes, whereby they may see, how to spend the times of peace and prosperity to their best profit and advantage; and that is,

1. Not to spend their whole time, either in idleness, or vain pastimes; because, as Hesiod saith, *Illi pariter indignantur dii & homines, quisquis otiosus est;* both the gods and men detest him that is idle, and therefore Christ demandeth of them that did nothing, *Why stand ye here all day idle?* and for pastimes and recreations, *Ludendi modus retinendus est;* a mean or measure, and certain ends and rules, ought to be observed therein.

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere virtus.

What David's example should teach all other Princes.
1. Lesson.

Math. 20. 6.

Horat.

For so do we read of the Roman Scroola, he used to recreate his spirits, after he had wearied himself in the weighty Affairs of the Commonwealth; but, as it is said of Scipio Africanus that he was, *Non minus otiosus quam cum otiosus,* never less idle then when he was idle; *Quia semper in otio de negotio cogitavit;* because, that when he had nothing to do, he was still thinking and considering what he should do, even as King David here when he sat in his house and was at rest, and took his ease, and was quiet from all Wars, hebethinks himself of building Gods Houses; So should all other Kings and Princes do: to give unto the very times of tranquillity their proper task and share of their Affairs; because, as Homer bringeth in God telling Agamemnon, that

Non decet principem solidam dormire noctem.

Valer. Max.
L. 8. c. 8.

Not to spend all their time in pleasures.

Homer. Il. 42

It beseems not a Prince to take a sound sleep all night long, as Alexander did on that night, when he was on the next very day to fight with Darius. Which might have lost him the field, had not his fortune been better then his fore-sight. For God puts a Scroule into every Prince his hand, sensible to that schedule of Ezechiel, wherein all their charge and duties are set down at large, with this inscription, *Gesta illos in finis.* Bear all these alwaies in thy bosome, and let them never depart out of thy mind; and as the Egyptians Hieroglyphic painted, *Oculum cum Sceptro;* an Eye with the Crown or Scepter, to betoken a prudent Prince; so should every King have an eye in his head, as well as a Scepter in his hand, or a Crown upon his head, and to use Vigilance as well as Authority over his people.

And so Augustus Cesar, that found Rome of brick, and left it of Marble, The great care is made famous by the Historians for his great and extraordinary care and vigilancy which he alwaies used for the good of his Empire; whenas he for the good of gave himself no rest, nor suffered any one day to pass over his head, in quo the Common-
non aliquid legeret, aut scriberet, aut declamareret, but he either read, or writ;

Quint. Curt.

Ezech. 2. 9.

A Declaration

A careless
Gentleman.

*Reges satui
quibus similes.*

writ, or made some speech unto the peoples; and when he heard of a certain Gentleman of Rome, that was very deeply indebted, and yet slept most securely, without care to pay his debts, and without fear of any danger, he desired that he might buy the bed, whereupon he rested; because the debts that he stood bound for, both to God and to the Common-wealth would never suffer him to sleep so secure, when as it is *ars artium* the chiefest of all arts, and the heardest of all things, to Rule and Govern an unruly people; so difficult, that the Prophet David compares it to the appeasing of the raging Seas; saying, *Thou stillest the rage of the Sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people;* because, as Seneca saith, *Nullum morosius animal, nec majori arte tradandum, quam subtilis homo;* There is not any living creature so froward, and so hard to be tamed and ruled, as a futtle and crafty man.

But those Kings and Princes, that think the Common-wealth to be made for them, and not themselves for the Common-wealth; and do spend their time, not much better, than that Roman Emperor; who, when he was in his privy Chamber, sported himself in catching flies, and to pull out their eyes with a pin; for which he became so ridiculous, that oftentimes, when any demanded *Who was with the Emperor?* his servants would answer, *ne musca quidem,* truely not a flie, they are said to be *tanquam similes in teatro,* like Apes on the top of a house, that delight themselves to spoil, and to untile the house. And God made them Kings and appointed them for other ends, and not to destroy his people, as many Tirants do; which we deserved, for being so unthankfull to God, and so undutifull to our King, that was so pious and so gentle, like King David, and so good as the best that ever England had.

2. Lesson.
That king Da-
vid's chiefest
care was for
Religion and
to promote the
service of
God.

2. As King David spent not his time like Domitian in catching of flies, nor like Heliogabalus in following after his pleasures, but like Scipio and Augustus for the good of his Kingdom; So here you may see the chiefest good he aimed at was to erect an House, and a House of Beauty and Majesty for the Majesty of the God of Heaven; for his thoughts conceived it not a sufficient discharge of his duty, to provide for the peace of his Kingdom, and the happiness of the Civill State, unless he did also take a speciall care for the honor and service of God, and see the works of Piety performed, as well and rather then the duties of equity and civility: for he understood it full well, that God ordained Kings to be, not only Reges murorum, for the preservation and defence of walls and Cities, and the outward prosperity of their people; but also Reges sacrorum, to see the holy duties of Religion, and Gods worship duly performed.

And therefore, as God had made him a Monarch over men, and had given him an House of Cedars, so he was desirous to become the Priest of God, and to build him an House for his service.

What all kings
and Princes
ought to do.

Judges 15.

2 Chron. 31.

27.

And this should be a good lesson for all other Kings and Princes, to imitate this good and godly King in the like sweet harmony of policy and piety, and to have a greater care to provide for the Ark of God then for the Kings Court; because Religion is the basis and pillar that must bear up their Kingdoms. And therefore all good Kings ought not only, with Moses, to rescue their people and to set them at liberty from the Egyptian bondage, and out of the hands of Usurping Tyrants, as our gracious King hath now done; or with Sampson to fight for them against the forces of the Philistines; or with Augustus to make their Cities abound with all kind of prosperity; or with Ezechias to set up an exchequer for silver and gold, and pretious stones, and for shields, and store-houses, for to keep Wheat and Wine, and Oyl, and stables for Horses and all Beasts of service; that is to strengthen their Kingdoms, with Meat, Money, and Ammunition, and all other necessaries both for War and Peace: but they ought also with David to

against Sacrilege.

35

to bring home the *Ark* of the Lord into the House of God; and to set *Levi* ^{1 Chron. 16.4.} ^{2 Sam. 6.17.} *vites* to do the service of the Tabernacle; that is, good and godly Ministers and Bishops ^{1 Chron. 16.4.} attend the Church, and to teach the people; and with King ^{and 37. &c.} *Aza* to overthrow the *Idols* and Altars, and all other monuments of *Idolatry*, and false worship of God; and with *Jebu* to slaughter all the Priests of ^{1 Reg. 15.12.} *Baal*, and to root out all *Heretical*, *Schismatical*, and false teachers from the ^{1 Reg. 10.25.} Church of Christ.

And to make this more apparent and clear, that all good Kings and Princes ought to take care of Religion, and to see that Gods service should be duly exercised within their Dominions; you shall find that, when through the profaneness and negligence of King *Saul* to discharge his duty, and the desidiousness and carelessness of the Priests and Levites, many abuses crept into the Church, as the Tabernacle was broken and lost, the *Ark* of God was out of the Temple, out of the proper place of it, and was obscured and hemmed, and, as it were, imprisoned in private houses, so that the people had no publique place of Assembly; to here the law and to offer Sacrifice unto God, but every one had his Chappell of ease, and his private Oratory by himself; to serve God as he listed; as now of late it hath been with us; *David*, as soon as ever he was chosen to be King in *Hebron*, the first work he did, was to consult with his Captains, and all the Congregations of *Israel*, to cite and summon the Priests and Levites, and all the Clergy that were for the service of the Tabernacle, to appear before him, and to cause the *Ark* of God to be brought again ^{1 Chron. 13.12.} ^{& 3.} unto them, that they might inquire at it, which they did not, nor could do, in the daies of *Saul*; and when he had assembled the Children of *Aaron* and the Levites, he shewed them the abuses, that Religion had sustained in the daies of *Saul*, and he caused the *Ark* to be carried upon the shoulders of the Levites, unto the place that he had prepared for it: and when he had called for *Zadok* and *Abiathar* the Priests, and for the Levites, for *Uriel*, *Asaiab*, and *Joel*, *Seraiaab*, and *Eliol*, and *Aminidab*; he did set down which of the Levites should serve, and in what order they should Minister before the *Ark*, and he joynd the sons of *Aaron* that were Priests, how they should go forward every one in their course.

And so, according to this Practice of King *David*, King *Solomon* his son, and all the succeeding Kings, that were good and godly, did the like; for of *Solomon* it is recorded, that he appointed according to the order of *David* his father, the courses of the Priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges to praise and Minister before the Priests, as the duty of every day required; the Porters also, by their courses at every gate; for so *David* the man of God commanded. And it is further Chronicled of King *Solomon*, that what his father here projected, and consulted about, the building of an House to the Lord, he really performed; and when he had built it, he made a very godly speech, and a most excellent Oration unto the people, touching the Worship of God and his Religion; and he deposed *Abiathar*, and set up *Sadoc* in his place, and sanctified the Temple; and placed the *Ark* of God therein; and offered burnt offerings and Sacrifices, and directed the Priests and Levites in all their proceedings, even as his father *David* had done before him; and that which is very observable, it is said, that the Priests and Levites left nothing unobserved; but did all things, according as they had received in commandment from the King.

So likewise King *Jeboſopbat* is highly commended for his piety and Religious care of Gods Worship; for it is recorded of him, that he appointed and disposed the Priests and Levites to do the service of the Tabernacles and that by order of his Authority the Woods, and Groves, and High places, which were the lets and hinderances of the true Religion, were quite removed

That all good
kings & Prin-
ces ought to
preserve and
to promote
Gods true Re-
ligion.

^{1 Chron. 13.4.}
^{& 12.}
Ver. 11.

^{1 Chron. 16.}
^{39. 41. & 42.}

^{2 Chron. 8.14.}

^{2 Chron. c. 9.}
^{& c. 6. & c. 7.}

A Declaration

2 Chron. 17. moved and taken away, because the people by their *private Meetings* and Conventicles in those places to serve God, as they now adayes do with us, wholly neglected the *Cathedral* and Mother-Church, which was at *Hierusalem*, and to which they were, from every corner of the Kingdom, yearly to repair.

2 Chron. 29. And when the Service of God was corrupted, and the *Temple* most filthily defiled, through the negligence and sinfulness of the Priests, King *Ezechias* commanded it to be purged, and he caused lights to be set up, incense to be burned, Sacrifices to be performed, and the *Brazen Serpent*, that was become an *Idol* and worshipped by the people, to be broken down, and consumed to ashes.

2 Reg. 12. 7. So King *Josias* reproved the Priests, of his time, for their excessive abuses, and the *insolent behaviour* that was seen in them; for he sequestred the oblations of the people, which the Priests had unjustly and wantonly taken, and appropriated to themselves, and by his Royal Authority, caused them to be converted for the *reparation* of the Temple.

2 Reg. 23. And King *Josias*, to his everlasting praise, shewed himself most careful to suppress the *Idolatrous* Priests, to purge the *Church* from all *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, and to put the Priests and Levites in mind of their duties; as you may see in 2 Reg. 23. per totum.

Obj. And if our adversaries of the *Roman Church*, do object and say, *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the Emperour or any *lay Prince* to do with the *Church*? let him rule the *Common wealth*, and leave Religion and what belongs to God's *Worship*, to be ordered and observed by the Pope, Bishops, and Priests, whose Office and *Calling* is, to take care, and to see the *Church* of God should be sufficiently served, and all *holy duties* holily performed. And the examples alleged, infringe not the force of this Objection: because *David* was a Prophet, even as *Moses* was; and his ordering the affairs of the *Temple*, and settling the *Service* of the *Church*, was done by virtue of his *Prophetical*, and not of his *Princely Office*. And *Solomon* was Divinely inspired by God's *holy Spirit*, both for the building of the *Temple*, and the ordering of the Priests and Levites for the *Service* of the *Temple*. And as *Jehu* had the direction of the Prophet *Elisha*; so had *Ezechias* the Prophet *Esey* to direct him in the purging of the *Temple*, and *Reformation* of those abuses, that had crept in into the *Service* of God.

Sol. To this we answer, That as *Josua* the Prince, was required to go in and out at the word of *Ezecazar* the Priest, so we yield, that the King ought to bearken to the counsel and direction of his Bishop and Priest, as *David* here did consult with *Nathan*, and *Ezechias* with the Prophet *Esey*. And while Religion is purely maintained, the people truly instructed, and the *Church* rightly and orderly governed by the Bishops, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Governors, the Prince needs not to trouble himself with any Reformation, or to meddle with the matters of Religion: But the King, Prince, and Supreme Magistrate ought to see, that all the aforesaid things are so: and if they be not, to correct the Priest, when he is careless, and to cause all the abuses, that he feeth in the *Church*, and in Religion, to be Reformed: Because, as S. *Augustine* saith, *In hoc reges Deo servire, sicut in dominis precipitum, in quantum sunt reges, si in suis regni bona iubent, & mala prohibent, non solunt que pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam que ad Divinam religionem.* In this Kings and Princes do serve God, as they are commandied by God, if they do command, as they are Kings in their Kingdoms, those things that are good and honest, and prohibit the things that are evil, not only in causes, that do properly appertain to civil society, but also in such things as belong and have reference to Religion and Piety. And when they do so, the Bishops and Priests, be they whom you will,

will, should observe their Commands, and submit themselves in all obediency to their Determinations and censures. For *Moses* was the civil Magistrate, and the Governor of the people, and, as he received them from God, so he delivered unto the people all the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances that appertained to Religion, and to the Service of God: And when *Aaron* erected, and set up the golden Calf, to be worshipped, and so violated the true Religion and Service of God, *Moses* reprobated and censured him; and *Aaron*, though he was the High Priest of God, and the Bishop of the people, yet as a good example for all other Priests, and Bishops, he submitted himself most submissively unto *Moses* the chief Magistrate, and said, *Let not the anger of my Lord wax hot*. And I would the Pope would do so likewise. *Exod. 32. 32.*

That the Bishops & Priests ought to submit themselves to the lawful commands & directions of their Kings & civil Governors.

And therefore, though we say the Judge is to be preferred before the Prince, in the knowledge of the Laws; and the Doctor of Physick in prescribing potions for our health, and the Pilot in guiding his Ship, which the King perhaps cannot do: Yet it cannot be denied, but the King hath the commanding power to cause all these to do their duties; and to punish them, if they neglect it. So, though the King cannot preach, and may not administer the holy Sacraments, nor intrude himself with *Saul* and *Uzzia* to execute the Office of the Priest or Bishop; yet he may and ought to require and command both Priests and Bishops to do their duties, and to uphold the true Religion, and the Service of God, as they ought to do, and both to censure them, as *Moses* did *Aaron*, and also to punish them, as *Solomon* did *Abiathar*, if their offence so deserve, when they neglect to do it; and both Priests and Bishops ought, like *Aaron* and *Abiathar*, to submit themselves unto their censures.

CHAP. VII.

The Objections of the Divines of Lovaine, and other Jesuites, against the former Doctrine, of the Prince his authority over the Bishops and Priests, in causes Ecclesiastical, answered; And the foresaid truth sufficiently proved by the clear testimony of the Fathers and Councils, and divers of the Popes and Papists themselves.

But against this Doctrine of the Prince his authority to rectifie the things that are amiss, and out of order in the Church of God, the Jesuites and their followers tell us, *Spirituales dignitates præstantiores esse secularibus secundum dignitatem*; That the Spiritual Dignities are more excellent than those that are worldly. When as these two Governments, the one of the Church, and the other, of the Common-wealth, are like the two great Lights, that God hath made, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the Government of the Church must needs be acknowledged to be the Day, and to have the greater light to guide and to direct it. The Apostle telling us plainly, that now the Gospel being come, and the Church of Christ established, the night is past, or far spent, and the day is at hand, and come amongst us. And the Government of the Secular State, is like the Moon, that ruleth the Night, and receiveth her clearest light from the Sun; as all Christian Kingdoms do receive their best light, and surest Rules of Government from the Church of God, which is the pillar and the ground of truth: But,

To these, that thus make the Civil Government subordinate to that, *but* which

A Declaration

which is Spiritual, as both the Papists and our Fanatick-Sectaries here amonst us, like the old doting Donatists, would do; and so abridge and deprive the Christian Prince of his just right and jurisdiction over the affairs and persons of the Church: I answer,

Sol.

1. That Symbolical propositions, examples, parables, comparisons, and similitudes, can prove nothing; they may serve for some illustrations, but for no infallible demonstrations of truth.

*Isidorus in Glor.
sa in Gen. ut
citatur.*

*In the Scourge
of Sacrilege.*

*Balsamon in
Sexia Synodo
Canone 7.*

2. I say, that *Isidorus*, a popish Doctor, preferreth the Government of the Kingdom, before the Priesthood, by comparing the Kingdom unto the Sun, and the Priesthood unto the Moon.

3. I say, that *Theodore Balsamon*, a good School-man, saith, *Nota Cانونem: Dicit Spirituales dignitates esse, præstantiores secularibus; sed ne hoc ed traxeris, ut Ecclesiasticae dignitates præferantur Imperatiæ, quia illis subiectiuntur.* You must note, that when the Canon saith, the Spiritual dignities are more excellent than the Secular, you must not so understand it, as to prefer the Ecclesiastical Rule or Dignities, before the Imperial State, because they are subject unto it, and so to be ruled by it.

4. And lastly, I say, that the Regal Government, or Temporal State, and civil Government of the Common-wealth, is not merely secular and worldly, as if Kings and Princes, and other civil Magistrates, were to take no care of mens souls, and future happiness, which they are bound to do; and not to say with *Cain*, *Nunquid ego custos fratrius?* Am I obliged to look what shall become of their souls? But they are called Secular States, and civil Government, because the greatest, though not the chiefest part of their time and employment, is spent about Civil affairs, and the outward happiness of the Kingdom, even as the Ecclesiastical persons are bound to provide for the poor, and to procure peace, and compose differences among neighbours, and the like civil offices; though the most and chiefest part of their time and labour is to be spent in the Service of God, and for the good of the souls of their people. And so *Johannes de Parisius*, another man of the Roman Church, doth very honestly say, *Falluntur qui supponunt, quod potestas regalis, sit Corporalis, & non Spiritualis, & quod habeat curam corporum & non animarum, quod est falsissimum:* They are deceived, which suppose that the Regal power is only corporal, and not spiritual, and that it hath but the care and charge over the bodies of his Subjects, and not of their souls; Which is most false.

*Johannes de
Parisius Can.
18.*

Obj.

5. They say, as I have said even now, that similitudes, and examples nibil ponunt in esse, and are no apodictical proofs for any weighty matters, especially the examples of the o'd Testament, to confirm the doing of the like things under the new Testament; because, that for us to be guided and directed by the examples of the old Law, is the high-way to lead us to infinite inconveniences.

Therefore it followeth not, that because the Kings of Israel and Juda did such things, as are fore shewed, unto the Priests and Levites, and the setting of the Service in the Temple; therefore our Moderne Princes should have the like Authority, to do the like things unto the Bishops and Priests of the new Testament, about the Worship of God, and the Government of his Church; and especially in the censuring of them, that are appointed by Christ to be the Prime Governours, of the same.

To this I answer 1. That this is, as the Schools say, *Petitio principii*, and a begging of the Question; for we say, that although, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying or building up of the body of Christ, that is, the Church, God hath set in his Church, first

2. *Apostles*; secondarily *Prophets*, thirdly *Teachers*; and so *Bishops* and *Priests* primarily and principally, to discharge the aforesaid Offices and Duties: yet this proveth not that they are simply and absolutely the Prime Governours, and

and Chief Rulers of the Church ; but that the Kings and Princes, in the In what sense other respect: aforesaid, may be justly said to be the Prime and Supreme Governuours, as well in all causes Ecclesiastical, as Temporal ; for the Prophet *Esay*, speaking of the Church of the Gospel, saith, That Kings should be her nursing fathers, and Queens her nursing mothers. And I hope you will yield, that the fathers and mothers, are the Prime and Supreme Governuours of their children, rather than their School-masters and Teachers.

the Bishops & Priests, and in what sense Kings & Princes may be said to be the prime Governuours of the Church.
Esay 49. 23.

But, though the progeny of the Pope, and our frantick *Sedaries*, would fain thrust out the eyes of the politick Prince, and make him just like *Pothemus*, that had a body of vast dimensions, but of a single sight, scarce able to see his wayes, and to govern himself; yet I shall, by God's assistance, make it most apparent unto you, by the testimony of the Fathers, Councils, and some Popish Authors, that the Sovereign Prince hath, and ought to have, alwayes a peremptory Supreme power, as well over the Ecclesiastical persons, and causes of the Church, as over the Civil persons and causes of the Temporal State and Common-wealth ; For,

1. *S. Augustine* writing against *Parthenian*, the *Donatist*, that would, with our *Disciplinarians*, that are the very brood of those *Donatists*, unarme the King of his Spiritual Sword, saith, *An forte de Religione fas non est ut dicat Imperator, vel quos misericet Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem vestrum venerunt legati? Cur cum fecerunt cause sue judicem?* Is it not lawful for the Emperour, (and so the Prince) or whomsoever he shall send, to treat and determine matters of Religion ? If you think it is not, Why did your Messengers then come unto the Emperour ? And why did they make him the Judge of their cause ? Whereby you see *S. Augustine* judgeth the Emperour, or any other Supreme Prince, to have a lawfull power to hear, and to determine the points and matters controverted among the Bishops, and so to have a Spiritual jurisdiction as well as a Temporal.

1. The testimony of the Fathers.
Aug. p. 1. Cont. Epistola Par-

Nicephorus also, in his Preface to the Emperour *Immanuel*, saith, *Tu es Nicēphorūs in Dux professio[n]is fidei noſtre, tu reſtituſi Caſtolioam Eccleſiam, & reformaſti Eccleſiam Dei à mercatoribus caeleſtis Doctrinā, & ab hereticis, per verbum Immanuel. Im- veritatis: Thou art the Captain of our Profession, and of the Christian Faith, and thou hast Restored or Reformed the Catholick Church, and cleansed it from thole Merchants of the heavenly Doctrine, and from all the Hereticks by the word of Truth. And I think nothing can be said fuller and clearer than this, to justify the Spiritual jurisdiction of the Prince, and Supreme Magistrate in causes Ecclesiastical. Yet *Theodore* and *Eusebius* say as much *Theodore* 1. 1 c. 7.*

2. You may read in the Council of Chalcedon, That all the Bishops and Clergy, that were gathered together to that place, (as the Members of our Parliament use to do) were wont to lay down the Seals they had agreed upon in the Council, until the Emperour should come to confirm them with his Royal assent ; and when the Emperour came, they said, These Decrees seem good unto us, if they seem so to your Sacred Majesty. And the Bishops of the Council of Constantinople, that was after the first Council of Ephesus, wrote thus submissively unto the Emperour *Theodosius*, We humbly beseech your Clemency, that as you have honoured the Church with your Letters, by which you have called us together, Ita finalē conclusionem decretorum nostrorum corroboreſ ſententia tua & ſigillo, So you would be pleased to strengthen and confirm the laſt conclusion of our Decrees, by your Royal Sentence and Seal.

Concil. Chal-
c. Artic. 1.
pag. 831.

3. As the Fathers and Councils do thus acknowledge the Emperours right in the Spiritual jurisdiction ; So many of the Popes and Papists themselves have confess the same truth, and yielded the same right unto the Emperour, and other Sovereign Magistrate, in the Church and Church-matters, and

many of Popes
and Papists.

A Declaration

*Platina in
severino papa.*

*Zabarella de
Schismate &
Concilii.*

*Theodoret l. 2.
c. 16.*

*2 q. 4. Manda-
tis.*

2. q. 7. Nos si.

*Epist. Eleuth.
inter leges.
Edward.*

*Theodoretus,
l. 2. c. 1.*

How the Em-
perour and
Kings execut-
ed the power
that God had
given them.

Idem. l. 1. c 7.

*Sixt. l. 4.
c. 16.*

*Conciliorum,
Tom. 2. In vita
Sylvani, &
vigihi.*

*Concil. Boni. 3:
c. 2.*

and over all the *parsons* belonging unto the Church; for *Platina*, that was *Library-keeper* unto the Pope, saith, that, Without the *Letters patents* of the Emperour to confirm him, the Pope is no lawfull Pope; and *Zabarel*, a great Scholar saith, The Pope may be accused before the Emperour, of, and for any notorious crime, and publick scandalous offence; & *Imperator potest a papa require rationem fidei*; and the Emperour may inquire, and call the Pope, to yield an account of his faith and Religion.

And so many of the better Popes were not ashamed to confess the same: for Saint *Gregory*, who for his great learning and piety was surnamed, the *Great*, writing unto *Mauritius*, the Emperour, saith, *Imperatori obedientiam prebui, & pro Deo quod sensi minimè tacui*; I have yielded all obedience unto the Emperour, and what I conceived to be truth and for God, I concealed it not: and, before Saint *Gregory's* time, Pope *Liberius*, being converted to appear before *Constantius*, denied not most readily to obey his summons. So did Pope *Sixtus* upon the like complaint, appear to purge himself before *Valentinian*; and Pope *Leo* the third, before *Charles the Great*. And it is registered that Pope *Leo* the 4th. wrote unto the Emperour *Lodowick* saying, *Si incompetenter aliquid egimus, & justa legis tramitem non conservavimus, admissorum nostrorum cuncta vestro judicio volumus emendare*; If we have done any thing unseemly and amiss; and have not observed and walked in the right path of the just law, we are most ready and willing to amend all our admissions, or whatsoever we have done amiss according to your judgment; and Pope *Eleutherius* saith to *Edward the I. of England*, *V' s estis Vicarius Dei in Regno vestro*, that he (and so every other King) is Gods Vicar in his Kingdom. This was the mind and sense of these Popes, and many other Popes in former ages were of the same mind, until pride, avarice and ambition corrupted them, to be as now they are.

And, as God hath given this power and required this duty of Kings and Princes, to have a care of his Church, and to reform Religion, and the Fathers and Councils have confirmed this truth, and divers of the very Popes themselves, and Papists have yielded, and submitted themselves unto their spiritual jurisdiction even in the Ecclesiastical causes; so the Emperours and Kings omitted not to execute the same from time to time, especially those that had the master power and ability to discharge their duties: for *Theodoret* writes that *Constantine* was wont to say, *Si episcopus turbas det, mea manu coercedetur*, If any Bishop shall be turbulent and troublesome, he shall be restrained and censured by my hands: and both *Theodoret* and *Eusebius* tells us how he came in his own person unto the Councell of *Nice*, *Et omnibus exsurgentibus, ipse ingressus est medius, tanquam aliquis Dei caelitus Angelus*, the whole company of the Bishops and all the rest arising, he came into the middt amongst them, as it were an Heavenly Angel of God; And *Sozomen* writeth how that ten Bishops of the East, and ten others of the West, were required by *Constantine* to be chosen out by the Convocation, and to be sent to his Court, to declare unto him the decrees and canons of the Councell, that he might examine them, and consider whether they were consonant to the Holy Scriptures. And the Emperour *Constantinus* deposed Pope *Liberius* of his Bishoprick, and then again he deprived Pope *Felix*, and restored *Liberius* unto the Popedom; and in the third Councell, at *Costantinople*, he did not only sit among the Bishops, but also subscribed, with the Bishops, to such bills as passed in that Councell, saying, *Kidimus & Subscripsimus*, we have seen these canons and have subscribed our approbation of them. And King *Odoacer*, touching the Affairs of the Church saith, *Miramur quicquam tentatum fuisse sine nobis*; We do admire, that you should attempt to do any thing without us: for, while our Bishop lived, (that is the Pope) *sine Nobis nihil tentari oportuit*, Nothing ought to be done without us; much less ought it to be done, now, when he is dead.

And

And the Emperour *Justinian* doth very often in Ecclesiastical causes, use *Aubert. Collat.*
to say, *Definimus & iubemus*, We determine and command, and we will and ^{I tit. 6.}
require, that none of the Bishops be absent from his Church, above the *Quonodo ope-*
space of a year; and he saith further, *Nullum genus rerum est quod non sit peni-*
tus querendum Aubitate Imperatoris; there is no kind of matter, that may
not, or is not to be *inquired* into, by the Authority of the Emperour; be-
cause he hath received from the hands of God the common government and
principality over all men. And the same Emperour, as *Balsamon* saith,
gave power to the Bishop to absolve a Priest from penance, and to restore *Balsamon de*
him to his Church: And the same Author saith, that the Emperours dis-
posed of Patriarchal seats, and that this power was given them from above:
and he saith further, that the Emperour *Michael*, that ruled in the East, made a law, *Peccat. Tit. 9.*
against the order of the Church, that no Monk should serve in *Idem in Calced.*
the Ministry, in any Church whatsoever. *Council c. 12.*
Idem de fide
Tit. 1.

And we read further, how that divers of the Emperours have put down
and deposed divers Popes, as *Ortho* deposed *John 13.* *Honorius* deposed *Bo-*
niface, *Theodoricus* deposed *Symmachus,* and *Henry* removed three Popes that
had been all unlawfully chosen: and in the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Supreme *Usserigen anno*
Civil Magistrate adjudged *Dioscorus, Juvenalis,* and *Thalassius*, three Bishops *1045.*
of Heretie, and therefore to be degraded, and to be thrust out of the
Church.

And so you see how the Emperours, Kings, and Civil Magistrates behaved
themselves in the Church of God, and used their power and the Authority
that God had given them, as well in the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical
Affairs of the Church, and points of Faith, as in the Civil Government of
the Common-wealth.

CHAP. VIII.

That it is the Office and Duty of Kings, and Princes, though not to
execute the function, and to do the Offices of the Bishops and
Priests; yet, to have a speciall care of Religion, and the true
Worship of God, and to cause both the Priests and Bishops, and
all others; to discharge their duties of Gods service. And how
the good and godly Emperours, and Kings have formerly done the
same from time to time.

But, as God hath given unto the Kings and Princes of this world, a
Power and Authority as well over his Church, and Church-men, be they
Prophets, Apostles, Bishops, Priests, or what you will; as over the Com-
mon wealth, and all the lay persons of their Dominions; So they ought and
are bound to have a special care of Religion, and to discharge their duties
for the glory of God, the good of his Church, the promoting of the Chri-
stian Faith, and the rooting up of all Sects and Heresies, that defile and cor-
rupt the same: for, as Saint *Augustine* saith, and I shewed you before, *In* *Aug. contra*
boc Reges Deo serviant, herein Kings and Princes do serve God; if, as they *Crescon. l. 3.*
are Kings, they injoyn the things that are good, and inhibit those things *c. 51.*
that are evil; and that *Non solum in iis que pertinent ad humanam Societatem,*
sed etiam ad divinam Religionem; and again he saith, that Kings do serve *Idem Epist.*
Christ here on earth, when they do make good laws for Christ: and *Atba-* *48.*
nasius said unto the Emperour *Jovinian,* *Conveniens est pro principe studium*
& amor rerum divinarum. It is meet and convenient for a good Prince to

A Declaration

Theodoret, l. 4. sturdy and love *Heavenly* things, because that in so doing, his heart shall
c. 3. be alwaies, as Solomon saith, *in manu Dei*, in the hand of God; and Saine
Cyrill tells the Emperours *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, that *Ab ea qua erga*
Deum est pietate, reipublice vestra status pendet, the state and condition of

Prov. 21.1. their *Common wealth* doth wholly depend, according to that piety and Religion which they bear towards God. Because, as *Cardan* truely saith,

Carthus de sapientia lib. 3. *Summum presidium Regni est justitia ob apertos tumultus, & Religio ob occultos*, Justice is the best defence of a Kingdom, and the suppressor of open tumults,

Minut. Fal. in Orlav. because, righteousness exalteth a Nation; and Religion is the only Protector and safety against all secret and privy Machinations; because, as *Minutius Felix* saith,

What the Civil Magistrate doth with the sword of justice, to suppres the nefarious doers and actours of wickedness, Religion rooteth out and suppresthe the very thought of evil, which a Godly and a Religious man feareth as much, and more then a wicked and prophan man doth dread the punishment of his offence; and so Religion, Piety, and the fear of God keepeth the very hearts and souls of the subjects from swelling

against their Sovereign, and from the least evil thought of Rebellion; and it is the want of the fear of God, and true Religion, whatsoever men pretend, that makes Rebels and Traitors in every place; because the true Religion tels us plainly, that every soul, that is, every man, unsafelyd from

Rom. 13.1. his heart, should be subject to the other Powers; And the true Religion teacheth us as *Tertull.* saith, *Colere Imperatorem, et hominem a Deo secundum & solo Deo minorem*, To acknowledge, and to serve the Emperor, and so

Tertul. ad Scapul. our King and our Prince, as the next person to God, and inferior to none, but to God. When as he is *Omnibus major & solo Deo minor*, above all men, and below none, but only God.

How requisite it is for Kings to have a care to preserve Religion. And therefore it is most requisite, that all Kings and Princes should have care of the true Religion and the service of God; and with the Prophet David to build Temples and Churches for him, that hath given their Crowns and Thrones unto them; and to provide maintenance for those servants of God, that serve at his Temple, as they do for those that serve themselves; and so, both to be Religious themselves, and to see that their subjects, so far as it lieth in them, should be so likewise; and this their own piety and goodness in the service of God, will make them famous amongst all posterities, and their names to shine as the Sun; when as Saint Ambrose saith, *Nihil honorificentius quam ut Imperator filius Dei dicatur*, nothing can be more honorable, then that the Emperour or King should be named and called the Son of God, which is a more glorious Eulogie, then Homer could give to the best Heroes of all Greece; or that Alexander, Julius Cesar, or the like, could atchieve, by all their military exploits, or the best domestick actions that they have done; and their making provision for the Teachers of the true Religion, and the promoters of Gods Service, the Bishops and Ministers of Christ his Church, which makes their subjects both Loyall and obedient unto them, and also Religious towards God, will preserve the peace and procure the happiness of their Kingdoms.

The fruits and benefits of maintaining true Religion in a kingdom. And according as God hath given this Authority, and laid this charge upon all Kings and Princes, to have a care of his Religion, and the Ministers of his Church; so we find very very many, both in former times, and also of latter years, and so both of Gentiles, Jews, and Christians that were exceeding zealous for the Honor of God, and the upholding of them that served at his Altar; as,

1. The Gentile Kings, as Pharaoh King of Egypt, that in the extremity of that dearth, which swallowed the whole Land, he made provision for Gods Priests, so that they neither wanted means, nor were driven to sell their Lands.

The great bounty of king Croesus to the god Apollo and to his Priests. And so Croesus King of Lydia, was so wounderfull zealous of the Honor and

and the worship of the god of Delphos; and so bountifull to Apollo's Priests that Herodotus saith, that he made oblation of three thousand choice Cattel; such as might lawfully be offered; and caused a great stack of wood to be made, wherein he burnt Bedsteads of Silver and Gold, and Golden Mayors with purple rayment, and Coats of exceeding value; and he laid the like charge upon the Lydians, that every man should consecrate those Jewels, which he possessed most costly and pretious; from which their Sacrifice, when as the streams of liquid and molten Gold distained in great abundance, he caused thereof to be framed half plates, or sheards, the longer sort, as he intituled them, of six handfulls; the shorter of threes and a hand breadth in thickness; amounting to the number of an hundred and seventeen. Whereof four were of fine Gold weighing two Talents and a half; and the rest of whiter Gold, that weighed two Talents likewise; he gave also the similitude of a Lion, in tried and purged Gold, and two Books very fair and stately to see to, the one framed of Gold, weighing eight Talents and a half, with the additionall of twenty four pounds; and the other of Silver: And he presented likewise four silver Tuns, two drinking Cups, the one of Gold and the other of Silver; and silver Rings, with the shape and sorts of a woman three Cubits high; and withall he offered the Chains, Girdles, and Westbands of the Queen, his wife; and to the Priests of Amphiarus he gave a shield, and a speare of solid Gold, and a quiver of the same metall: all which, saith mine Author, he offered in hope to purchase thereby unto himselfe the gracious favour and good-will of that god: and, if he was so magnificent and bountifull to the Priests and Temple of that god, which was no god; how Royall, think you, would he have been, if he had known the true God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

*Herodotus; I. i
clio.*

So Cyrus and Darius Kings of Persia and of Babylon, made such royall decrees for the re-edifying of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the Worshipping of the God of Daniel, and his three companions Sidras, Misach, and Abednego, which was the true God; that they are registred in the Book for their perpetuall honour and praise, to this very day; and shall continue longer then the stately Piramides of Egypt, even to the end of the World; when as most others of their laws and actions are shut up in silence, and buried in the grave of forgetfulness.

*Ezra. I. 7.
&c. 6. 3.
&c. 8. 9.*

So Artaxerxes Mnemon, the son of Darius Nothus; formerly called Ochus or Achus, that in the Persian language signifieth a Prince; was very zealous for the building of Gods House, and the enabling of the builders thereof with all things necessary for the work; and as his father Darius said; Let the work of this House of God alone, and let the Governour of the Jews and the elders of them, build this House of God in his place: Moreover I make a decree, (and it was a most Royall decree) what you shall do to the Elders of these Jews, for the building of this House of God, that of the Kings goods, even of the tribute beyond the River; forthwith expences be given to these men that they be not hindered: and that which they have need of, both young Bullocks and Rams, and Lambs for the burnt offerings of the God of Heaven; Wheat, Salt, Wine, and Oyl, according to the appointment of the Priests; let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may offer Sacrifices of sweet-souours unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King and of his Sons, that were four;

Here is a glorious zeal and a brave Resolution for the honour and service of God.

1. Artaxerxes.
2. Cyrus, the youngef.
3. Atossa, called also Arsaces.
4. Oxendra.

And I have also made a decree that whosoever shall alter this word, let *Ezra. 6. 7. 8. 1* Timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up, let him be hanged thereon, *9. 10. 11.*

A Declaration

and his voice be made a dunghill for this: So the son, following the steps of his father (as our Most gracious King doth, in like manner,) made a Decree to all the Treasures that were beyond the River, That whatsoever Ezra the Priest shall require of you, it be done speedily: Also, we certifie you, that touching any of the Priests and Levites, Singers, Porters, Nethinims or Ministers of the House of God, it shall not be lawful to impose Tolls, Tribute, or Custom upon them: in a thing clean contrary to the practice of our times, when the greatest Tolls, Tax, and Imposition, is usually laid upon the Ministers of the Gospel of Christ: to shew unto you, how far short our Christians now are in piety and zeal of Gods Worship, to these Heathens that knew not Christ: and therefore no doubt, but that they shall shall rise in judgement against us, that professe to honour Christ, and yet think we can never take enough from his Church, nor lay Taxes and Loads enough upon his Ministers; And how this will be answered before Christ at the last Day, let the sacrilegious persons that labour so much, and strive so eagerly to take our houses from us consider it; for I know not how to do it.

Ezra. c. 7. 21.
24.

2. The Kings
of Israel and
Juda.

2. As these Heathen Kings and Monarchs were thus zealously affected to the House & Service of God, and thus religiously given to provide maintenance for the Priests and Ministers of the Temple: So the Kings of Israel and Juda were no whit inferior unto them: but in a far righter way, and to a truer God than most of the Heathens did: For here you see King David adjudged it to be as needful to build a Temple for God, as to erect an house for himself. And so the Books of the Kings, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Juda, do sufficiently set down how Solomon did most religiously build God's House, and offered Royal Sacrifices in that House, and most orderly settled the Priests and Levites, to do the Service of God in this Temple, that he had built. And so Jeobophus, Ezechias, Josias, and all the rest of the good Kings of Juda, did execute the power that God had given them, in the settling and establishing of His Religion, and the True Worship of God, as you may most amply read in their lives: And those Kings that did not care for the preservation of the True Religion, and Gods Service, and his Houses, as Jeroboam, Baalbas, Abab, and the like, the wrath of the Lord was kindled against them, that he rooted them and their posterity out of their own house, because they neglected the Service and the House of God. And so he will do to all those Kings and Princes, that will imitate them in profaning his House, neglecting his Service, and abusing his servants, because that with Him there is no respect of persons, but He will bind Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with links of iron.

Psalm. 148.

3. The Christian Kings.

*3. The Christian Emperours and Kings, are not left un-Chronicled for their great zeal, extraordinary care, and Royal bounty towards the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, to propagate and uphold the Christian Religion. For it is Registered in the Writings of those times, that Constantine the father of Constantine the Great, was wont to say, That he respected the Preachers of the Gospel, more than the Treasures of his Exchequer. And his son Constantine was called Great, as well for his Piety, that made him like John Baptist to be *Magnus coram Domino*, Great in the sight of the Lord, as for his Potency, that made him Great among men. And Eusebius, (that wrote the Life of Constantine, and sets down his Piety) saith, The Court of the Emperour Valerian, was so replenished with godly men, and religious Christians, that it seemed to be the Church of God rather than the Kings Court: So great a care had he of Religion and the Service of God, that, as the Prophet David saith, none should be his servants, that served not God, but whoso leadeth a godly life, he shall be my servant, said this good Emperour, as good King David said before him.*

Psal. 103. 9.

And the Emperour Jovinian, that succeeded Julian the Apostate, who with-

against Sacrilege.

45

withdrew very many from the Christian Religion, to imbrace the idolatrous service and superstitions of the Heathens, when he attained unto the Empire, said to the people, That he would be a King of Christians, or he would be no King at all. And Alphonsus, King of Arragon, is made Famous in all Chronicles, for the great love he bare to Learning, and especially for the great zeal he had to the Christian Religion, and the great care he took to promote the Gospel of Christ; and to provide for his servants; and when some other King laid unto him, That it was too base an office for a King to trouble himself with such affairs; Alphonsus answered, *Vox Domini est potius quam regis*, That voice seemed to him to be the voice of an Oracle, rather than of a King. And as *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, very Christian like, called themselves the *agents* of Christ; so Constantine was wont to say, That he gloried more to be the *servant* of Christ, than in being the *Emperor* of the World.

And as these pious Kings, and godly Emperours were their zealous to maintain the Christian Religion, which bare up the Pillars of their Dominions, and makes their names now, to live glorious, though they are dead; So the Throne of this Empire, and Kingdom of Great Britaine, hath not wanted devout Princes, and most worthy Kings, that have trod in the steps of King David, to provide Houses for God's Service, and to imitate the examples of the best of the aforesaid pious Princes, to see the Religion of Christ, and the True Faith purely maintained within their Kingdoms: as you may find it in our Chronicles, and the Statutes of King *Ina*, King *Alfred*, King *Edward*, that for his devotion, and zeal to the Christian Religion, was rightly called *Saint Edward*, King *Ethelstan*, and King *Caenwulf* the Dane, that laid the foundation of his Building, to compose the differences of Religion, and to rectifie whatsoever he found amiss therin before he entred upon the causes of the Common wealth; For I read it Registered, that after sundry Laws enacted, touching our Religion, and the Faith of Christ, as the celebration of certain Holy-days, the right form of Baptism, the duty of Fasting, the teaching of the Lords Prayer unto the people, the administration of the Common-prayer, and the celebration of the blessed Sacrement of the body and blood of Christ thrice every year, and some other Duties of our Religion, this Title followeth, *Iam sequitur iustitiae legum secularium*, which as Speed sheweth, are most excellent for the execution of Justice. And it is Recorded, that *William the Conqueror*, in one of his Parliaments, said, That he being Vice-gerent to the King of kings, holdeth his Kingdom to this end, to defend his people, and especially the people of God, and his holy Church, that is, the Bishops and Priests, to teach the people, and to performe the Worship and Service of God in his Church.

Speed quo su-

And even in our own dayes, (the Holy Name of God be for ever blessed and praised for it) we have had such pious Kings, as, I believe, I may justly say, The Christian World, for Piety and Religion, for love to God's Ministers, and the care of God's Worship, could shew but very few like them, and none to precede them therein; and that is, King *James*, and King *Charles the First*, whose glorious name, above all other Kings, since Christ, I shall ever honour and extoll, as the most constant Defender of the Christian Faith, the most loving Patron of God's Ministers, the Bishops and Preachers of his Word, and the most faithful Witness and Martyr, that lost his life for the preservation of God's Church, and the Religion of Jesus Christ, with whom I do alwayes, when I think of him, behold and see him Crowned with Eternal Glory: The most Blessed of all our Kings, and the Best of all our Saints.

The rare and just commendation of King Charles the First.

C H A P. I X.

of the chiefest Parts and Duties of Kings and Princes, which they are to discharge for the maintenance of God's Service, and the True Religion; and the necessity of Cathedral-Churches and Chappels for the people of God to meet in, for the Worship and Service of God.

You have heard, how that God hath given the Power and Authority unto Kings and Princes, to be the Supervisors, Directors, and Reprovers of things amiss, as well in the Church, as in the Common-wealth: And how he requireth and commandeth them, to discharge those Duties accordingly; and to have a care to preserve his Religion, as they do regard their own Salvation. You have likewise heard, how all Kings, both *Heathens, Jews, and Christians*, did execute that power, and, according to their ability, discharged their Duties, as well in the Spiritual jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical causes, as in the decision of Civil causes. It resteth, that I should shew unto you, the chiefest Parts and Duties, that they owe to God, and are to discharge, for the promoting of his Service, and the Religion of Jesus Christ. And I conceive them principally to consist in these Four

The four chiefest things that Kings & Princes ought to do for the upholding of God's Religion, and the Service of Jesus Christ.

Points, which may be like the four Rivers of Paradise, to water the Garden of God's Church, to make it to bring forth plenty of fruits, to the glory of God, and the salvation of mens souls. And they are,

1. To take care, and to cause, that there should be *Catbedral-Churches and Chappels fairly built, and decently trimmed and adorned, as befits the Houses of God, for his people to meet in, for the Worship and Service of God.*
2. To see that *able, honest, and religious Bishops be placed in those Cathedrals, and others the like pions and painful Ministers, be appointed in all the Parochial Churches and Chappels, to perform the true Service of God as they ought to do; and to see those Drones that neglect it, and those factious Sectaries and Hereticks that defile and corrupt it, and those scandalous livers, that do much prejudice unto their holy Calling, to be punished, and removed, if they amend not, for their negligence and transgressions.*
3. To provide, by their *good Laws such maintenance, revenues, and means for the Reverend, and godly Bishops, and the rest of the worthy Clergy, whereby they may be enabled with joy and comfort, to discharge their duties in God's Service, to his glory, and the good of his people.*
4. To put a bar, and to hinder by their *Regal power and authority all the sacrilegious violators of holy things to rob the Church of Christ, and his servants, and to commit the horrible sin of Sacrilege, which is so transcendently abominable in the sight of God, and so infinitely destructive to the souls of men.*

1. The necessity of Cathedral-Churches and other Parochial Chappels for the service of God.

These things ought to be done, as I conceive, by all good and godly Kings and Princes; and whoso doth these things shall never fail. And,

1. In defence of *Cathedral-Churches, we have to alleudge, that till the time of Evaristus and Dionysius, Popes of Rome, no other kind of ministerial Church was ever heard of, from the beginning of the World; for from Adam unto Moses, men did call upon the Name of the Lord, and offered*

Sacri-

Sacrifices, but without any ministerial Church at all. And in Moses time, God commanded him to erect a Tabernacle, which stood instead of a Church for all the Land of Judea, and that was *Tempulum portatile*, as Josephus calls it, to be carried up and down, until the dayes of Solomon. But Solomon erected a Temple, as a standing Church at Hierusalem, to be in the place of the Tabernacle. And then, until the time of the Gospel, there was no other Church for God's people, (I speak not of the Gentiles idolatrous Temples) throughout the whole World. And that Metropolitan Church of Hierusalem was more than Diocesan or Provincial, for it was National, for the whole Kingdom of Iury. And after the Gospel was preached unto the Gentiles, and all Nations began to be converted, then sundry ministerial Churches were erected, according to the number of their Bishops; so that every particular Bishop had his particular Church, after the manner and in imitation of the Jews, which having but one Bishoprick, and one High Priest, or Bishop, had likewise but one Cathedral-Church for that whole Nation. And afterwards, when the Bishops saw the multitude of Christians exceedingly increasing, *Evaristus* first, *Titulos seu Parochias in urbe Roma presbyteris divisit, & post eum Dionysius idem fecit;* And after him Dionysius the Pope, devised Parochial Congregations, and divided every Bishoprick into particular constant Congregations, which were but Members, and their Churches but the Chappels, of the Diocesan and Provincial Churches. And the use for which both the Cathedral and Parochial Churches do serve, was and is, for the service of God to meet in them for to worship God; and this, besides the practice of all times ab origine to this very day, do sufficiently conclude the necessity of them.

1. For as the body politick, or the whole multitude of the Commonwealth, is to be divided into his several Limits, Provinces, Counties, Baronies, and the like; so the collective and mystical body of God's Church, is to be distributed into several Congregations, as the body natural is to be distinguished by the several parts and parcells thereof: and though as we are private and particular men, the place, and time, and form of prayer and service of God are in the choice of every particular man, according to the condition of his necessity and private occasion; yet as every particular man is a member of the publick State, either Temporal or Ecclesiastical, Church or Common-wealth; so the service that he oweth, and ought to perform, either to the King, or to God, must needs be publick, and together with the rest of the members of the State; and so the publick Service is so much worthier than the private, and excelleth the same, as much as a Society or Congregation of men, is worthier and excelleth one particular man.

And S. Chrysostom, to shew the excellency of the publick Service of God, *S. Chrysostomus example to shew the benefit of publick prayer, and how it excelleth the private.* and Common-prayer before and above any private prayer or service, saith, That as the coals of fire being scattered do yield but little heat, and will soon die; but when they are close beaped together, they'll yield much heat, and the fire continueth long; So a multitude of devout and faithful men gathered together, and with one heart and one soul pouring forth their prayers and petitions unto God, their prayers are a great deal more prevalent, and more likely to obtain their request from God, then when they are severed, and offered up by every single person; as a twisted thred, like a threefold cord, is far stronger than any two single ones: So, though the prayers of one man be but weak, yet the supplications of many men are very mighty, and like unto the loud sound of thunder, or the noise of many waters, as S. Basil saith; and the consent of desires, the concord betwixt them, and the united love of joyned Assemblies, are so well-pleasing unto God, that as a holy Father saith, *Impossibile est multorum preces non exaudiri,* It is almost impossible, but that the prayers of such associated Congregations should

*Platina de vita
Ponit.
Garrison annal.
Monarch.
Exod. 25. 40.
Acts 7. 44.
2 Sam. 7. 6.
Acts 7. 47.*

A Declaration

should be heard; because, as S. Ambrose saith, *The publick meeting of Gods people hath a special promise of Gods presence to be with them, as where Christ saith, When two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be there in the midst of them.*

Matth. 18. 20.
And therefore the King of Nineveh called his people together, to joyn with him in prayer to God, that they might not be destroyed; and so besetting God, or besieging God, as Tertullian saith, like an Hoste of men, their prayer was heard, and they were received into grace. And S. Paul, though he might have confidence his prayer should speed with God asoon, and obtain as much, as any other; yet doth he confess, that the prayers of the Church of Corinth, together with his own prayers, did much help and further his deliverance from those great troubles that he suffered in Asia.

Jonas 4. 11.
2 Cor. 1. 11.
2. Publick prayers more justifiab e then the private.

2. The publick prayers and service of God hath this prerogative above the private, that they do assure us they are more lawfull, and shall sooner be heard of God; because the things prayed for, and deprecated, are judged to be good and needfull, and are so approved of by the general judgment of the whole Congregation, when we hear them deprecated or desired by the common consent of all the people.

3. Our devotion and zeal are more and more strengthened in the publick Congregation.
3. The convention or meeting of the people in such publick places to serve God, doth sharpen the edge, and as it were give life and strength to every particular mans devotion; for when, through the frailty of our flesh, our spirit waxeth dull, and our zeal beginneth to grow sluggish to perform these Holy duties, the fervor, that we see in the rest of the Congregation, will mightily serve to stir up our thoughts, and to quicken our devotion to sail along with our brethren to the conclusion of those godly exercises.

4. They are helped by the good examples of others.
Matth. 18. 7.
4. As every particular man is bettered, and much furthered in his devotion and service of God, by the good examples that all the Congregation doth shew unto him; so the whole company that considereth it, is not a little damnified and offended at the waywardness, and neglect of those particular persons, that come not unto the publick service of God: and so, whereas the neglect of our private devotion is only hurtfull to our selves, our refusal or remissnes to come to the publick exercises of our Religion, doth prejudice many, and gives offence to the whole Church; and you know what our Saviour saith, *Woe to that man by whom offence cometh;* and therefore woe to him that despiseth the publick exercises of Gods Church, and refuseth to come unto them.

Psal. 26. 12.
Psal. 35. 18.
Psal. 27. 4.
Obj.

And for the preventing of this woe, and the rest of the reasons formerly shewed, the Prophet David did so earnestly desire to praise the Lord in the Congregations; yea, in the great Congregations, and among much people and so affectionately to say, *One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require, even that I may dwell in the House of the Lord all the daies of my life, to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visite his Temple.*

And therefore, seeing it is so necessary, that the people of God should publickly meet, and be gathered together to serve God; it is most requisite and necessary, there should be Cathedrals and Parochiall Churches, for them to meet in, for to do the publick service of God.

But against this it may be objected, that the necessity of publick meetings, and the benefits that may be reaped from those Assemblies, rather then from any private serving of God, doth no waies prove the necessity of having Cathedrals and materiall Churches: because the presence of a company of Christian people, wheresoever Assembled, and the offices of Religion, as Preaching, Prayer, and Administirng the Sacraments, performed; makes the meeting publick: and the peoples exercising these duties,

duties makes them to be a Church of God. As the presence of the Prince, and his followers; maketh any mans private houle to be the Kings Court.

To this Objection I have fully, and very largely answered, in my second book of the Great Anti-Christ revealed, pag. 84. & deinceps. And therefore I shall referr my Reader thither to be fully satisfied; yet, here I say, that it is not the Assembly, or the popular conflux of a multitude of men, or the duties that they do though they be the very duties of Religion, that makes the meeting lawfully publick, or the place of Gods publick service; but it must be a Convention, and a gathering together of the people, into such a place, that is assigned and Consecrated for Gods publick service, which makes the publick meeting justifiable and lawfull; otherwise, it is but a private conventicle, altogether unlawfull, though it should consist of never so great a company of men: unles if be, as it was in the Apostles time, in the daies of persecution, or that the people have such lawfull lets and hinderances to come to the Consecrated place of Gods service, as I have set down in the book afore-cited. At all other times, the publick service of God must be performed in a publick Consecrated place, as it is meet the Holy service should be done in a Holy place; and you must know, that the ubiquity of Gods presence in every place makes not all places alike sacred; even as the Lord sheweth unto Moses, when he bids him to pull off his shoes from his feet, because the place, where thou standest is Holy ground; for the presence of God is either,

1. Ordinary, or
2. Extraordinary.

And as the extraordinary works of God have distinguished the times, to make some times more Holy then other, so the extraordinary presence of God hath sanctified some places more then others; and the place that he Sanctifieth with his most speciaall presence, is the place, which he appointeth to his servants, for their publick meeting, to do his services; and he hath not left it in the liberty of every man to run at random, to serve the Lord where he pleased; but, as he designed the time, when they should serve him, so he appointed the place, where they should come to serve him. And so Adam in that short time, which he had in Paradise, wanted not a place appointed, no doubt, and usuall to stand before the Lord and to Communicate with him; and the sons of Adam, being out of Paradise, knew the place, where God appointed, and expected they should repair to offer their Sacrifices and oblations unto him; and so the Lord tells the Children of Israel, that they should not discharge their duties and perform his service in any place that they pleased, but they should seek the place which the Lord their God should choose, out of all their Tribes, to put his name there to dwell; and there they should come, with their oblations and offerings, to serve him.

And so, when the Israelites had quite vanquished the Canaanites, and subdued the Philistines, and the other their enemies round about; and, as the Text saith, given rest unto his people, the time was come, that the Lord God thought fit to choose the place, to pue his name there, and where all the people should publickly meet, to do him service; and the Lord marked out Jerusalem for himself, and in Jerusalem he chose Mount Moriah, the very place where Abraham was to sacrifice his son Isaac, to be a standing and a permanent place for his sacrifice, saying, This shall be my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein; and there David now resolved to build his Temple, to be a Cathedral and the Metropolitan Church for the High Priest, to offer Sacrifice and burnt Offerings unto God, and for the rest of the people there publickly to meet to serve the Lord; and his heart was mightily inflamed with zeal and desire to do it; but the Lord accepted

Sol.

Exod. 3.15.

The presence
of God two-
fold.

Gen. 3.8.

Deut. 12.5.

2 Chron. 6.7.

A Declaration

ted of his resolution, and by *Nathan* his Prophet told him, that, because he was a man of War, and had shed much blood, (and his Church must not have her foundation laid, nor her walls erected in blood) he should not build his Temple, but *Solomon* his son, that was a Prince of Peace, should erect it in the Place that he appointed, and with the materialls that he had provided; and so he did, as you may see a *Chron.* c. 3. 4, & 5.

And when this Temple was destroyed, and the people, for their sins and neglect of Gods service, and prophanation of this House of God, were led Captives into Babylon, and when, after the time of their Captivity was expired, that is, the full space of 70. years, they were permitted to return into their own Land, the Lord did put it into the heart of *Cyrus* King of Persia, (as the Prophet *Esay* fore-sawed he should do, long before the birth of *Cyrus*) to cause *Ezra*, *Zerubbabel*, *Nebemiah*, and the rest of the Elders of the Jews, to build another House and Temple unto God, in the same place, where *Salomons* Temple did stand; and when the enemies of Gods people, and the prophaners of Gods House, like our malignants, sought to hinder the building of it, the Lord put it in the heart of *Darius* and his son *Artaxerxes* to cause it to be finished, according to the decree of King *Cyrus*. And the Jews were so zealous to do it, that they made an end of the work in five years: and so, by reason of their enemies and their beste, it was far disproportionable and different from the former, which made the old men, that had seen the glory and beauty of the first, to weep and lament at the mean aspect of the second. And yet it was not so mean, but that it might be admired for the beauty and majesty of it, especially after that *Herod*, surnamed the Great, had repaired, enlarged, and so magnificently beautified the same; so that one of his disciples, in admiration of the work, saith to Christ, Master, See what manner of stones and what buildings are here! And the Jews tell him, that it was forty six years in building, before it was brought to that perfection, which *Zorobabel* did unto it.

Ezra 6. 13.

Josephus Antiq.
L. 13. c. ult.

Mark 13. 1.

Math. 24. 1.

Job 2. 20.

Joseph. Antiq.
l. 11. c. 4.

Exod. 23. 17.
& 34. 23.
& 24.

A&t. 13. 27.
& c. 15. 21.

Origo earum
tempore capti-
vitatis Babyl-
nica cepit.
Sigoni. de rep.
l. 1. c. 8.

Sigoni. de repub.
Heb 1.2. c.8.
Maimon. in
Typhil. c. 11.
Sect. 1. ex
Godw.
Luk 7.5.

Cum inchoatum erat in secundo anno Cyri, qui regnauit annis ————— 30.

Et post eum Cambyses, regnauit annis ————— 8.

Et absolum erat Darii Hystaspis anno ————— 9.

Et sic demptio primo anno Cyri, remanent anni ————— 46.
sicut Judei dicunt.

For of this Temple the Jews here do speak, as *Throphagius*, *Tolet*, and *Calvino* do observe.

To this Temple and Metropolitan-Church, the Jews were all required to meet, and to appear before the Lord, to do him service, three times every year: and because these cities were too seldom, and the waies too far for them to come, from all the parts of *Jury* any oþner, they had from time to time many Synagoges and Chappels, like our Parochiall Churches, wherein they might publickly meet, as they did, every Sabbath to serve the Lord; and because this Cathedrall Church, the Temple of the High Priest, though very large and spacious, yet was not sufficient to contain the many thousands of people that were in the great City of *Jerusalem*, they had very many Synagogues set up in this City, and *Paulus Phagius* reckoneth no less then 480 of them. And *Sigoni* saith, there were 480. And out of *Jerusalem*, they had many Synagogues in other Cities and Provinces, as there were Synagogues in *Galilee*, *Matth*. 4. 23. Synagogues in *Damascu*, *A&t*. 9. 2. Synagogues at *Solamis*, *A&t*. 13. 3. Synagogues at *Antioch*, *A&t*. 13. 14. And their Tradition is, saith *Maimonides*, that wheresoever ten men of *Israel* were, there ought to be built a Synagogue: and the Jews acknowledged it a great favour, and were very thankfull to any man, that built them any of these Synagogues; as the Elders of the Jews besought Christ to heal the servant of the Centurion, because He loved their

their Nation and had built them a Synagogue. And I would our men would be as glad and as desirous to have our decayed Churches built, and not to make such havock to destroy them, as they do, and that without any cause in the World: For

You may see how Christ himself and his Apostles, came and taught very often not only in the Temple, but also in these lesser Synagogues of the Jews: and it is admirable to consider how the primitive Christians, as Eusebius recordeth, erected such Oratories and Basilicae, that is, Royall-houles and Churches, as stately as any Kings Palace, and beautified the same with excessive charges, to make them fit places for the publick meetings of the Christians, to serve their God; and so the Church of Saint Paul in London, and of Saint Peter in Westminster, and the rest of the Catbedrall Churches throughout England, and Ireland, (to pass no further) can bear sufficient witness of the zeal and devotion of our Christian predecessors to erect such Great, and adorn such Beautifull Houses unto God, as became so great Magnis magnis decent. and so glorioue a God, (as our God is) to have.

And as the number of the Christians waxed daily beyond number, and increased more and more, as you may conceive, by the increase, which a few weeks time hath wrought after the ascension of Christ; when St. Peter's sermon converted 3000 souls in one day; so it caused the distinction of Assemblies, and the number of Churches to be increased and multiplied in all Countreys and Cities more and more: So that in Rome, about a hundred year after Christ, the Congregation of the Christians, became so huge great, that Evaristus then Bishop of Rome, for the avoiding of confusion, and the easier and better instruction of them, caused them to be distributed and parted into fifteen particular Parishes, and assigned fifteen severall Presbyters to instruct and govern them: the Presbyters then being honest men, and no waies contradicting Evaristus.

And to prove that the first Christians, who lived under persecutions, even from the Apostles time, had some kind of Churches; though as then not so magnificent, you may see in 1 Cor. 12. 18. &c 22. & c. 14. 19. & 23. And so the most ancient of the Fathers do bear witness, as Clemens, Tertullian, Socrates, and Eusebius, proves the same out of the book of Pilo Judaeus, lib. 2. cap. 17. And Lactantius, In carminibus de passione Domini: faith,

*Quisquis ades, mediusque subis in limina Templi,
Siste parum.*

Whosoever thou art, that comest to the House of God, stay a while, that is, to consider whither thou goest, and as Salomon saith, To keep and look to thy foot, when thou goest to the House of God, which is, as God himself expoundeth the meaning thereof unto Moses, saying, Put off thy shooes from thy feet; that is, to make clean thy waies, and bring no filth, nor any carnall affections, nor worldly desires into the House of God; because, The place whereon thou standest is Holy ground; that is, by reason of Gods gracious and speciall presence in that place, where Moses stood, and where God is prayed unto, and praised by the Minister, and worshipped by the rest of his faithfull servants. And if any man desires fuller proofs of this truth, I refer him to Cardinal Bellarmin, and to that excellent and Learned Sermon of Master Mede upon the 1 Cor. 11. 22.

Yet I deny not, but the prime Primitive Christians, and the Church which was at Jerusalem, and received that Religion, that is, the Faith of Christ, which the Scribes and Pharisees and their laws did not allow of, were constrained, many times, to hide their heads in desolate places, and were inforced by stealth to exercise and discharge the duties of their profession.

A Declaration

fection in *vaults* and private houses, where they might be most safe, though the places were not suitable to their service; the swords of their enemies were so sore against them.

But at length, between times, by sufferance and connivency, and sometimes through favour and protection, they began to be imboldened, and to rear up *Oratories* and *Churches*, though but simple and of mean aspect, because the estates of most of them were but mean and very low, as S. Paul sheweth, *Not many Rich, not many Noble are called*; which was indeed a good way to suppress the danger of malignity, that looks not so much after poor estates; and a good way to increase their number, and propagate their design with more safety. And as by this means the Church began to take root, and to grow stronger; and the wealthier, nobler, and wiser men began to be in love with the Christian Religion; So then they loved nothing

more than to build *Churches* answerable for their beauty, to the dignity of their Religion, and for their greatness to the number of their Professors; And the devotion of these Christians was so large, and did so liberally contribute towards the erecting of their *Churches*, as the *Israelites* in the dayes of Bezaliel did chearfully present their Gifts and Free-will-offerings towards the setting up of the *Tabernacle*: no man was backward, and no man a niggard in this work, which they conceived to be so profitable and so necessary for them to do: and that in two special respects.

§ 1. The good that is effected, § by the publick meeting of the
§ 2. The evils that are prevented people in these Churches.

The double benefit that we reap by our coming to the publick meeting in the Church.

1. Benefit. 1. The meeting of the Congregation publickly in a lawful place, and a consecrated Church, assures them they offend not the Laws, either of God or man, and so secures them from all blame, and prevents the occasions to traduce, and to suspect the lawfulness of the holy Duties, that we perform; when as *Veritas non querit angulos*, Truth and the performance of just things and holy actions, need not run and hide themselves in private, hidden, and unlawful places, but may shew themselves and appear so publickly, as they might not be subject to any, the least unjust imputation.

2. Benefit. 2. The meeting in a publick consecrated Church, and not in a private Conventicle, escapes those dangerous plots and machinations, that are very often invented and contrived in those Conventicles, that are vailed for that purpose, under the mantle and pretence of Religion; And it freeth the comers unto the Church from those seditious Doctrines and damnable Divinity, which the Sectaries and Hereticks do scatter and broach in those unlawful Conventicles, which are the fittest places for them, to effect their wicked purpose, and must needs be sinful, and offend both God and man: because, they are contrary to the Laws, both of God and man; Wheras the coming unto the Church quits my conscience from all fear of offending, because that herein I do obey, and do agreeable to the Laws both of God and man. And who then that hath any *dram* of wit, would not avoid private and forbidden meetings, and go to serve God, unto the publick Church, which is the House of God, erected and dedicated for his Service?

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Answer to the Two Objections that the Fanatick-Sectaries do make. I. Against the Necessity. And 2ly against the Sanctity, or Holiness of our Material Churches, which in derision, and contumuously, they call Steeple-houses.

And yet for all this, and all that we can say for the Church of God, I find Four sorts of Objections, that are made by our Fanaticks and *Skenimastics* against our Material Churches. As,

{ 1. Against the Necessity. } { 3. Against the Beauty & Glory. } of
 { 2. Against the Sanctity. } { 4. Against the impurity & Impiety. } them.

They do object, there is no *Necessity* of any *Material House* or *Church* of God for his servants to meet in to serve God; because the woman of *Samaria*, discoursing with Christ about the place where God would be worshipped, Whether in that *Mountain*, where the Fathers worshipped, or in *Hierusalem*, which, as the Jews said, was the place where men ought to worship; Our Saviour tells her plainly, They worshipped *they knew not what*; for the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this *Mountain*, nor yet in *Hierusalem*, worship the Father; but the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; because, God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth; and such worshippers the Father seeks, and such he loves. John 4:20,23.

And therefore, so we have clean hearts, and pure consciences, and worship God with our souls and spirits, faithfully to pray unto him, and to praise his Name, it is no matter for the place where we do it, in a *Church*, or in a *Barn*; because God looks rather to the inward heart, than to the outward place where we stand.

To this I answer, *Maledicta gloria quae corruptit textum*, and our Saviours words gives them no colour to extort such consequences, and to draw such conclusions from them; for the words are plain enough, that although formerly, before Moses his time, *Jacob* had a Well near *Sichar*, and he with the other Fathers, worshipped God in that *Mountain*, and afterwards God required them to worship him in the place, that he should choose to put his Name there, which, after the time of *David*, and the building of his *Temple* by *Solomon*, was to be *Hierusalem*, and no where else, to perform the commanded *Publick Service* of God, under the punishment of cutting off that soul from his people, that should do otherwise.

4. Sorts of Objections against our Material Churches.

i. Objection against the necessity, that we have no need of Churches.

Sol.

Yet the hour cometh, and now is, that is, coming, or beginning to come, that the partition-Wall betwixt the Jews and the Gentiles shall be broken down, and the bounds and borders of Gods Church, and the true worshippers of God, shall be enlarged, and they may lawfully, without offence, worship God, not only in *Jury*, where God was only formerly known aright; but also in all the Nations, and in any Kingdom of the World, so they worship him in spirit and in truth, as they ought to do: But here is not one syllable, intimating, that they should meet, or needed not, to meet to serve God in the *Publick Church*, but that whenever, and wheresoever, in any Kingdom of the Earth, they should gather themselves together in the *Publick Church*, to worship God, they should worship him in spirit and in truth, otherwise, their worship is to no purpose, and will avail them nothing, though they should do it *publiquely* in the *Church*. This is the true meaning of our Saviours words.

A Declaration

Obj. 2.

2. We have another sort of Sectaries, that yield it regniste and convenient for the *Saints* and servants of God to meet and gather themselves together for the Service of God, and do acknowledg the great benefits, that may accrue and be obtained in a *Congregation*, rather than by any single person; but they think there is no necessity of their meeting in a *Material Church*, or a *Steeple-house*, as they call it, rather than in a *house*, or a *chamber*, or a *barn*, or any other place, where they shall appoint to meet; because God hath made all places, and there is no *reall Sanctity* in any one place, more than in any other; but the *Sanctity* or holiness must be in the hearts of the men, and not in the place, which is not capable of any sanctity; and therefore, it is rather our *superstition*, than Gods injunction, to require and command men to come to such *Material Churches*, as to the more *sainted* places, rather than to such *private houses*, where these *Saints* do publicly meet to serve God.

Sol.

To make a full Answer to this their Objection, you must understand, that the word *ἅγιος*, holy, is derived from the privative particle, *α* and *γά*, which signifieth the *Earth*, as if to be *holy*, were nothing else, but to be *pure* and clean, and separated from all *earthly touch*: And it is taken two ways,

Holiness taken
two ways.

1. Way.

Ezay 6. 3.

Apoc. 4. 8.

2. Way.

{ 1. *ἅπλος*. Simply.

{ 2. *ἅγιον* In some respects: And,

1. Way: God only is *Holy*, and the *Author* of all Holiness; and as the Blessed Virgin saith, *Holy is his Name*: And therefore those *Seraphims*, which *Ezaias* saw, and those wonderous creatures which *S. John* saw, did cry, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts*, three times together, which we do not read of any other Attribute of God. And the *Lord* himself, in that *golden Plate*, that was to be on *Aarons* forehead, caused these words to be engraven, *Ἄγιον οντεις, Holiness is of the Lord*, as *Tremellius* reads it; or, *Sanctum Domino, Holiness belongeth to the Lord*; as the *Vulgar* hath it.

2. Way: Many other things are styled *holy*, by communication of holiness, and receiving their holiness from this *Fountain* of Holiness: And so,

{ 1. The Man *Christ Jesus*,

{ 2. The faithful *Members* of Christ,

{ 3. The *Outward Professors* of the Christian Religion,

{ 4. All things *Dedicated*, and that have relation to Gods

are termed
holy, san-
ctitate re-
lativa.

1. The Man *Christ* is perfectly, and singularly *Holy*, as *Beda* saith; And that,

{ 1. By reason of his *Hypostatical union* with the Godhead.

{ 2. By reason of the most perfect quality of Holiness impressed by the *Holy Ghost* into his Humanity.

2. The true *Members* of Christ are truly styled *holy*, by reason of that holiness which the *Holy Spirit* of God worketh in them, and they practise in their lives and conversations.

3. All those that do outwardly profess the *holy Religion of Jesus Christ*, are called *Saints* by the *holy Apostles*: and so they are in respect of all others, that either do prophanie, abuse, or neglect the same.

4. All the things, that are *Consecrated* by the *prayers* of the *Bishop* for the Service of God, and those things that are *Dedicated* and given for the furtherance, and *maintenance* of God's *Worship*, as *Lands*, *Houses*, and the like, are by a *relative sanctity*, rightly termed *holy things*; because, they are separated and set apart, as *S. Paul* saith of himself, (*ἀπουραντος τοιων γειτονων*) for *holy uses*, to bring men to holiness, to honour, serve, and worship God that is *Holiness* it self.

And in this respect, we say, that the very *ground*, *walls*, *windows*, and *timber*, of the *Material Church*, that are set forth, *Dedicated*, and *Consecrated*

Rom. 1.

erated for God's Service, are *holy things*; not by any *inherent* reall sanctity infused into them; but by a *relative holiness* ascribed and appropriated unto them, by their *Dedication* and *Consecration* for God's *Worship*, which makes them *more holy*, and so to be deemed, than all other *earthly things* whatsoever.

And though I will not lose my time, and waste my paper, to shew the folly and vanity of that ridiculous deduction of the Confuter of *Will. Apollonius*, in the 29. page of his *Gralle*, against secondary or dependent holiness; yet I will justifie the *holiness*, and religious reverence, that we owe, and should render, unto all the *Material Churches*, that are *Consecrated for Divine Service*, against all prophaners of them, *Independents*, and *Fanatics*, whatsoever. And for the satisfaction of every good and sober man, that is not drunk with a *prejudiciale conceit* against God's House, I shall desire him to look into 2 *Cron.* 3. 1. and chap. 6. where he may find the *Consecration* of God's House, and the *prayer* that *Solomon* made at the *Consecration* of it, and the benefits, the manifold benefits, that they should reap which served God in that House: And if he reads over that Chapter at his leisure, and read it often, and then seriously consider it, and withal remember, that of *this House*, and the *like Consecrated places*, that are *Dedicated for God's Worship*, the Lord himself saith, *My House shall be called the House of prayer for all people*: and our Saviour Christ confirmeth the same, that the *Church*, which is the *Publick place*, or *place of Publick Prayers*, is rightly called, the *House of God*, and the *House, which is called by his Name*; and of which he saith, *This shall be my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have a delight therein*; Will he not confess, that *Gods House*, and the *Place where he dwelleth* is *Holy*? The Confuter of *Apollonius* confesseth, That so long as a *Prince* is, and remaineth in *his house*, because of his *Majesty* and *pompe*, there is nothing in the *house*, which derives not thence some *dignitie* and *splendor*; and will you deny that *priviledge* to *Gods House*, which you will yield to the *Palace* of an *earthly Prince*? No, certainly it is an *holy place*.

Therefore, as God will be served in the time that he appointeth, and by the persons that he chuseth, and after the manner that himself prescribeth; so he will be worshipped, not where every one pleaseth, but in the *place*, which is *Consecrated* and *Sanctified* for our *Holy God* to come and to be present with us: as you may see in *Levit.* 17. 8. *Exod.* 23. 19. and chap. 25. 8. where the *Lord* chargeth his people, to make him a *Sanctuarie*, or a *Tabernacle*, that is, an *holy House* or *Temple*; that he might dwell among them.

Gralle pag 23.

Esay 56. 7.
March. 21. 13.
Jerem. 7. 10.
Psal. 132. 15.

*Vide the Great Antichrist Revealed. 1. 3. c. § 2
pag. 88.*

Exod. 25. 8.

Psal. 17. 4.
Psal. 132. 1.
Joh. 18. 20.

Math. 21. 14.

And therefore the Prophet *David* desired, that he might dwell in God's *Tabernacle*, and was glad, when the people said, *We will go into the House of the Lord*. And Christ saith, *I ever taught in the Synagogue, and in the Temple*; that is, for the most part, and ordinarily, and always when he came to the *Temple*, and opportunities offered him occasion so to do. And *S. Matthew* saith, *The blind and the lame came unto him in the Temple, and he healed them*. And so must we come unto him into his *Temple*, if we desire to be healed of our infirmities. And so the *Apostles* and *Disciples* of Christ, after his Ascension into Heaven, met and worshipped God in the *Temple*. And when the Christians began to be mult plied, they presently erected *Oratories* and *Churches*, and consecrated them, as *Solomon* did the *Temple*, for God's Service; as you may see in *1 Cor.* 11. 22. and from the 14. Chapter of the said Epistle, where the *Apostle* bids the women to be silent in the *Church*; for that must not be understood of any other private house or meetings of men, where the women may as lawfully speak as men; or the *Apostle* had laid too great a burden upon them, and such as they neither could, nor would have born; but his meaning is, that the women shoulde

A Declaration

should be silent in the Congregation, that publicly meeteth in Gods House for the service of God.

^{1 Chron. 6.} And because That material house was erected and set a part from all Prophane uses, for to pray to God, to Preach unto the people, and to do all other exercises of Religion, as, Administiring the Sacraments, Catechising the Youths, Collecting the Alms for the Poor, and the like services of the Lord, and was hallowed and Sanctified by the prayers and Consecration of the Bishop, to be used only for that end, and that God hath promised his more speciaall presence for our help and assistance, in a most speciaall manner in that House, more and rather then in any other place, as you may see by Solomons prayer, and by the words of Christ; therefore the true Saints and servants of God, that understood the difference betwixt Holy and Prophane things, did ever Honor and shew a great deal of respect and Reverence to this very place, of Gods Worship; more then to any Chamber of presence of the greatest Monarch of the World: And why not? For if we must be Bare-headed in the Kings Chamber, or the Lord Lieutenants Chamber of Presence, why should not Gods Chamber of Presence have the like Reverence? Surely none, but prophane Atheists, wicked Hereticks, and the members of the beast, that is, the Great Anti-Christ; that are worse then the worst of worldlings, have ever denied it, or abused, prophaned, or blasphemed these, or any of these, material Churches, whereof the Prophet saith, Holiness becometh thy House for ever. For,

^{Psal. 93. 6.} In what sense all things are alike Holy. Though, as I said before, originally and in respect of their own nature, there is no inherent or innate Sanctity in one place more then in another, but all places are alike Holy, and so are all daies, and all meats, and all other things, that are ejusdem speciei, of the same kind; they are all alike Holy, and there is no difference, nor any more Sanctity in any one than in the other, they being all alike created Holily by God, who beheld All the things that be made, and behold, they were all exceeding good:

^{Gen. 1.31.} In what sense some things are more Holy then other things. Yet, if we consider Gods designation of any of these things, and the Sanctification of the same, by Gods own appointment, for such and such ends, and uses in the service of God; then you shall find a great deal of difference betwixt the one and the other, and a great deal of a relative and accidental Holiness in and belonging to the one more then to the other: otherwise, what difference will you make betwixt the common bread that we eat of the finest Wheat-flower, and the most Holy and blessed bread of the Holy Eucharist, or the Lords Supper? But the Sanctifying of this bread by our prayers to this end, and for this use, to be the body and blood of Christ, makes all the difference; so that now after the words of Consecration of it, which are the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this is my body; we cannot, without prophaneness and a mighty offence, give the same to dogs, or unbelieving Jews, or to any other, whom we do know to be altogether unworthy of it, as we can give the other bread, that is made of the same lump to either of these, without any fault or offence at all. Or what difference is there betwixt one day and another? but because the Lord hath de-

^{19.30.} signed the seventh day to be set apart for his service, and hallowed it for that end; therefore it is more Holy then the other six daies: and so are the daies and feasts, that are appointed by the Church to Honor God in them, as the commemoration of Christ's Nativity, Circumcision, Resurrection, Ascension and other daies of Thanksgiving for some speciall blessings and extraordinary favours, which, as on those daies, we have received from God; which daies none will prophane, but the neglecters of Gods Honor, and the prophaners of his service. So what difference, or what holiness is there naturally in one man more then in another? none, or little at all: but when the Lord calleth and chooseth one man before another, to be his servant and to be sent, and his Embassadour, to Preach his Word, to Administer his Sacraments,

craments, and causeth him to be Consecrated by prayers, and imposition of hands for that purpose, as he called *Simon Peter*, before *Simon Magus*; then there is a great deal of difference betwixt them, and much relative and additionall Holiness in the one more then in the other, insomuch that our Saviour saith of these men, which he saith not of all other men, *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and the Lord saith of them, which he saith not of all other men, He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.* Luk.10.16; Zach.2.8.

And you may see this difference in the Embassadors, and other Officers of Kings, Princes, and Potentates, whom we Honor and Reverence more then others; because, they are deputed and Authorized to be our Judges, Sherifffes, or other Officers of the Kingdom, where they are designed so to be.

And so likewise; what difference, or what Holiness is there in one place more then in another? In a Stone-Church ground, more than in a Thatch-barn-floor? Surely, not any at all originally, in respect of themselves, simply considered; but, when such a piece of ground is designed, and dedicated for the Worship of God, and Consecrated by prayers for that purpose, and God promiseth his presence, and favour, to be more especially shewed there for our Instruction and Consolation, than in any other ordinary place whatsoever; Then certainly there is a great deal of difference, and a great deal of Holiness in that place, and much more Reverence ought to be shewed to it, and in it, then in any other place or common ground; though it were the Kings Palace. And I say this is but a sign and a point of true Religion and no branch of Superstition.

Therefore Jacob, that was no waies Superstitious, said of that place, where God shewed his presence to him, *This is Gods House and the gate of Heaven;* Gen.28.17; and the Lord said unto Moses, *Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place where thou standest is Holy ground;* and why was that ground more Holy Exod.3.5; than any other ground? Not in respect of any innate holiness, but because the Lord reveiled himself there to Moses, more visibly and more graciously than in any other place.

And I pray you look what the Spirit of God adviseth, and injoynethe us to do, when we come into the House of God; *To keep thy foot, and much Ecclesiastes 5.1. more thy heart, and thy head, as thou oughtest to do; decently and reverently, when thou goest to the House of God;* and therefore much more Reverently, when thou art and standest in Gods House; *And be more ready to bear, then to give the Sacrifice of Fools;* which they do, that despise this House of God, which none but fools will do; for if we make no difference all the members of these things, but that every man that will, may intrude himself to do the service, which God requireth to be done by another, and he may do it which in that service any where, in any one place as well as in another, in a common barn, as well as in an Holy Church; then surely we need not obseive any time, when any one day is as good, and as Holy as another, the Munday as Religions day, as the Lords-day; and so confounding persons, times, and places, we shall confound all Religion, and we shall suddenly bring Atheism, and all Prophaneness among the people.

For this phrase is a Synecdoche of the part for the whole, of the foot for the body, all the members of the body for the whole, the Church of God ought to be framed to a time, when any one day is as good, and as Holy as another, the Munday as Religious day, as the Lords-day; and so confounding persons, times, and places, we shall confound all Religion, and we shall suddenly bring Atheism, and all Prophaneness among the people.

C H A P. XI.

The answer to another Objection, that our Fanatick-Sectaries do make against the Beauty, and Glorious Adorning of our Churches; which we say should be done with such decent Ornaments, and Implements, as are befitting the House and Service of God; The reasons why, we should Honor God with our goods: and how liberal, and bountiful both the Fathers of the Old Testament, and the Christians of the New Testament, were to the Church of God.

3. Obj.
Against the
beautifying of
our Churches.

Psal. 50: 10.

Mich. 6. 7.

Deut. 10. 12.

Sol.

In the time of
necessity God
accepteth our
service any
where.

Thirdly, There be another sort of close-handed, and covetous-hearted Fanatick Sectaries; that are much offended at our Beautifying, and Adorning our Churches, so as is fitting and meet for the Houses of God; And they do Object, that God is a Spirit, and will be served in spirit and in truth; and therefore he requireth not our goods, our gold, and our silver, which he hath no need of, or our Cattle, when as all the beasts of the Forrest are bis, and so are the Cattle upon a 1000. hills, and be delighteth not in burnt offering: and so the Prophet sheweth, when he demandeth, Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Rams; or with ten thousands of Rivers of Oyl? No, no, the Lord careth for no such things, we may keep them all to our selves: for he hath Shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee, and that is, To do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God. And therefore the Lord saith not, Give me your gold, to make me Palaces; or your silver, to adorn my house, wherein I dwell not; but give me your hearts, wherein I delight to dwell, if they be pure and clean, and void of the filthiness of sin and corruption, *Quia delicia mea cum filiis hominum;* because, my delights are, to be with the sons of men: and I desire no more of them, but, To fear the Lord their God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord their God without their heart, and withhold their soul.

And from these and the like premises our Fanaticks do conclude, that as God was never better served, then when his Churches and Oratories were no better then poor mens Cottages; and when the Christians answered their persecutors, in the time of Julian; who said, their service was not so Solemn, nor their Temples answerable to the Majesty of God, that the best Temples which they could dedicate unto God, wer their Sanctified souls, and clean hearts; so they would have our times to be the like, and our Churches to be no fairer, nor any otherwise beautified then they were in those times of poverty and persecution.

To this I answer and confess, that God delighteth more in the Holiness of the hearts of them that serve him, then in the honor and beauty of the place where he is served. But, though Moses in the mountain, Job on the dunghill, Jeremy in the mire, Daniel in the Lions den, Ezechias in his bed, and the Apostles in the stocks, called upon the name of the Lord and he heard them, and so Christ preached on the Mount, and in the Valley, on the Sea-shore, and in the Ships; and Saint Paul did the like in an upper Chamber, and the people heard them, as well then as in the Temple, and God accepted of their service.

Yet, as Saint Paul demands of the Corinthians, whether they thought it seemly, that a woman should be bare-headed in the Church; so I demand of

of these men, as the Prophet *Haggai* demandeth of the *Jews*, *Is it fit that you should dwell in fielde houses, and let the House of God lye waste?* or, is it meet and Religious that the Church of Christ shoulde be no better beautified than a husband-mans barn? And I may ask of any rational man, if the Sanctity, and Celebrity of the place where God is usually and publickly served, doth not animate the devotion, and stir up pious thoughts in all good Christians, when they come there to Worship their Saviour in that beauty *Psal. 56.9.* of Holiness, as the Prophet speaketh.

Therefore the good and godly King *David*, when he intended to build God an House, saith, That because the Palace was not for man, but for the Lord God; *I prepared with all my might for the House of my God, the Gold for the things that were to be made of Gold, the Silver for things of Silver, 1 Chron. 29. 1, 2, 3.* and the Brass for things of Brass, the Iron for things of Iron, and Wood for things of Wood, Onyx stones, and stones to be set, glistering stones and of divers colours, and all manner of Precious-stones, and Marble-stones in abundance; *How liberally King David moreover, because I have set my affection to the House of my God, I have given to build mine own proper goods, of Gold and Silver which I have given to the House of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy House, even three thousand Talents of Gold, of the Gold of Ophir, and seven thousand Talents of refined Silver, to over-lay the walls of the house withall; The Gold for things of Gold, and the Silver for things of Silver, and for all manner of work to be made by the bands of the Artificers.* And so the chief of the Fathers and Princes of the tribes, and Captains also offered most willingly and gave for the service, the building and beautifying of the House of God, *of Gold five thousand Talents, and ten thousand drams, and of Silver ten thousand Talents, 1 Chron. 39. 7:* and of Brass eighteen thousand Talents, and one hundred Talents of Iron.

And not only this good Kings heart, and his people, were thus enlarged so freely to offer their goods for the building, beautifying, and adorning of Gods House; but also all other faithfull servants of God, that were zealous of Gods Worship, both afore and after Davids time did the like: for if you consider the building of the Tabernacle, and the furniture that belong'd unto it, in the time of Moses; you shall find, that although the people were but wanderers in the wilderness, and therefore could not be very wealthy, nor have any more riches, but only what they brought out of Egypt; yet this was the free and voluntary dedication of the Altar (in the day when it was anointed) by the Princes of Israel: *Twelve Chargers of silver, twelve silver Bowls, twelve Spoons of Gold; each Charger of silver weighing one hundred and thirty shekels; each Bowl seventy cicles, or shekels: all the silver vessels weighed two thousand and four hundred shekels, after the shekel of the Sanctuary; the golden Spoons were twelve, full of incense, weighing ten shekels a piece, after the shekel of the Sanctuary; All the Gold of the Number. 84, Spoons was one hundred and twenty shekels: every shekel weighing half an ounce.* Whereby you may perceive, what care they took in that infancy of the Church, to have all the appurtenances of the House of God so fair and so specious as they could possibly make it, even to the uttermost of their abilities.

And so after Davids time, besides the foresaid moneys, that David left for the use of Gods House, (which came to the rate of eight thousand Talents of Gold; and of Silver, seventeen thousand chikars: and every chikar containing one thousand and eight hundred cicles, and weighing nine hundred ounces,) King *Solomon* was so bountifull, and his donation so exceeding large, that it can very hardly be valued; for, besides the stuffes that he laid in of Timber, Marble, Stone, Brass, Iron, Copes, and Precious stones, he overlayed the greater House, which he fielde with Firr-trees, with fine Gold, and the garnishing of the House with Precious-stones for beauty, and the Gold was the Gold of Parvaim; and he overlayed the House,

the beams, the posts, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof with Gold, and graved Cherubims on the walls; and he over-laid the most ho'ly House with fine Gold, amounting to six hundred Talents, and the weight of the nailles was fifty Shekels of Gold; and he over-laid the upper Chambers with Gold, and the two Cherubims he over-laid with Gold; and he made ten Candlesticks of Gold, and a hundred Basins of Gold; and the Flowers, 2 Chron. 3. & and the Lamps, and the Tongs, made he of Gold, and that perfect Gold; and 4. the Sniffers, and the Censers of pure Gold; and the Entry of the House, the Inner-doors, and the doors of the House of the Temple, were of Gold.

And when all these invaluable Treasures and Furnitures of this House of God were ransacked and carried away by Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon; and Cyrus, after their 70. years Captivity, gave the Jews leave to Return, and gave them power and licence, to re-edifie and to build the House of God again; these captive Jews, newly returned out of bondage, beyond their ability, were most bountiful in their contributions for the setting up of another Temple: which though for Beauty and Majesty it was not correspondent to the former Temple, yet was it very glorious, and finished most readily, and the free Donations of the people were so large, that when all the work was finished, the surplusage of their Gifts, that remained to beautifie the same and provide ornaments for it, and to defray other future reckonings, amounted to 650. Chichars of Silver, and a 100. Chichars of Gold. And to this Nehemias the Tyrshatha gave to the Treasure a thousand drams of Gold, fifty Basins, and five hundred and thirty Priests Garments. And so likewise some of the chief of the Fathers and Heads of houses were not behind, to build and beautifie this House of God, but gave to the Treasure of the work twentie thousand drams of Gold, and two thousand and two hundred pound of Silver; and that which the rest of the people gave, was twentie thousand drams of Gold, and two thousand pound of Silver, and sixty seven Priests Garments.

Nehem. 7. 70.
Verse 71. 72.

Thus you see how the Jews, both in the time of David, and before David, and after David, and both in their prosperitie and in their adversitie; when they were full, in the dayes of Solomon, and when they were empie and weak, after their return from Captivity; were most zealously affected to build and beautifie the House of God, and to spare neither Gold nor Silver to adorn the same, as it ought to be.

And what do we? Surely change the case, instead of giving to build and beautifie the Church, and the maintenance of the Service of God's House, we take away the stones and timber, and all the Furniture of the Church, and, as the Psalmist prophesied of our times, all the carved works thereof; and the goodly Monuments of our pious forefathers, we break down with axes and hammers: and instead of providing the Priests Vesture, for the Church-service, we are more ready to take their garments from their backs, and their bread out of their mouths.

Obj.

But you will say, they were Jews, which so adorned their Temple, as you shewed before, and their Religion consisted in outward pomp, and carnal Service, whereas we are Christians; and the Kings Daughter, which is the Church of Christ, is all glorious within; and her service to God consisteth not, either in carnal Ceremonies, or external Glory, but, as Christ saith, in spirit and in truth.

Sol.

I answer, That I confess the chiefest Glory of the Kings Daughter, is within, in a pure heart, and a sanctified soul; but her clothing is of wrought Gold, and her outward rayment is of needle-work, and her vesture is of pure Gold, wrought about with divers colours, very fair and glorious to behold. So our Religion and our zeal to God's Worship, must not only rest and reside in the heart, but it must bud forth, and appear in all our outward actions;

actions ; and God will be served, not only inwardly with our hearts, but also outwardly with all the other parts of our bodies, *Quia per exteriora cognoscuntur interiora*, and our zeal to Gods Honour must shew it self by our zeal to God's House ; for so King David said, and so Christ said, *The zeal of thine House hath eaten me up.* Psal. 69. 9.
John 2. 17.

And therefore, not only the Jews, but the Christians also, were most liberal and bountiful in their gifts and contributions for the erecting of Oratories, and the adorning of Gods Church ; And although, that while they were under the Sword of persecuting Tyrants, their state and condition permitted them not to have stately Churches, yet when their persecution ceased, and they became into a better case, and had rest, their Churches became sumptuous, and no cost was spared to make them both fair and beautiful.

And we find, that before the time of Constantine, in the reign of *Severus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus*, there were many goodly and spacious Churches builded, which *Dioclesian* by a publick Proclamation caused to be thrown down ; but *Maximinus* hypocritically permitteth them to be re-edified, and made up in a greater heighth, and more beautiful than they were before, as they were indeed exceedingly bettered, immediately after the death of *Maximinus*, as it appeareth by that *Solemn Sermon*, that was made in praise of the building of Churches, and expressly directed to *Pancratius Bishop of Tyre*. And *Theodoret* saith, That the Emperours *Constantine*, and his son *Constantius*, bestowed many rich and precious vessels upon the Church. And when *S. Basil* had converted *Valens* to become a Christian, he bestowed certain lands and possessions unto the Church. And *Nicæphorus* saith, That *Theodosius* and his Wife *Eudocia*, sent monies very bountifully to the Bishop and Church of *Rome*. And *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, are exceedingly praised in the Chronicles of the Church, for their care, and the provision that they made for the Churches of Christ. And *Sozomen* relates, how *Constantius* bestowed upon the holy Church, great summes of monies that did arise to him, out of the *Images* that were molten, and otherwise by way of Taxes and Tributes ; And divers of the Christian Emperours provided, that the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, and the goods of other Christians that had been taken from them, in the times of persecution, should be restored and re-delivered unto the Bishops and Church again. And I hope our most gracious and religious King, will do the like, that, as he is not inferior to them in piety, so he will be no lese in the Rules of Equity, and as, blessed be God for it, he hath most graciously restored very much, and more than any other hath done, already.

And what shall I say more ? It is most apparent to any one, that will read *Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, how the first and best Christians, as they grew in strength, wealth, and power, so they studied and strived to exceed both Jews and Gentiles, in their care and zeal to promote the Honour of God, and to manifest the same unto the World by all the possible wayes they could devise ; And because that, as nature teacheth us, to provide good things, so wisdom and policy sheweth how we should do our best to procure the permanent state and perpetuity of those good things. And so Religion likewise teacheth us, to follow the same course, to perpetuate the Service and the Honour we yield unto our God : and the Saints and servants of God conceiving no Donation of honour to be more permanent and lasting than Churches and Temples, magnificently erected, and sumptuously maintained ; therefore, they were no niggards, and spared no cost to build their Oratories and Churches, that the Worship and Honour of God, might be perpetually continued.

A Declaration

Reasons to prove that we shuld honour God with our riches.

And very many Reasons might be produced to shew, that they should, to the uttermost of their power, honour God with their riches, and to make the benefits they bestow for his Honour, to be permanent and durable: For,

1. Reason.

1. Where any true Religion resteth in the heart, it requireth the uttermost extent that unfaigned love and affections can afford and shew towards God; And, as S. Gregory saith, *Probatio dilectionis exhibito est operis*, Our inward love and affections are to be opened and manifested by the outward effects: And therefore, wheresoever the true Religion swayeth in the hearts of men, as it ought, the outward devotion and zeal towards God's Church, and the Service of God in his Church, will be shewed, so far forth as they are inable to do.

2. Reason.

2. As Religion requireth, so Nature teacheth us to honour God with our goods: which is, not only *honestely* and inoffensively to use them; but also to alienate, separate, and set apart some portion of them from our own occasions, to the use and service of God, not as gifts or supplies of his wants,

*Quia offerimus
Deo bona nostra
ut signa gratia-
tudinis pro illis
donis quæ à Deo
recepimus.*
Irenaeus. l. 4.
c. 34.

Prov. 3. 9.

Malach. 3. 20.

Origen. in
Numb. c. 18.
Hom. II.

3. Reason.
Prov. 3. 9.

Malach. 1. 8.

Verse 14.

that is the Lord of all things, but as the signs of our thankfulness and acknowledgement, that he is the Donor and Giver of them all to us, and as the means to set up, and to shew forth his Honour, by the erecting and beautifying his Churches, and the maintenance of his Worship and Ministry in those Churches: For why should any man think, that God hath given us such variety of all good things, as Gold, Silver, Cattel, Wine, Oil, and abundance of most excellent beauty, to be employed only upon our selves, and for our pleasures, and, it may be, in mere vanities, without any regard or reservation of any of them to be bestowed, for the upholding of his Honour, and the Duties of his Service? When as Solomon saith, That be will be served with the chief of thine increase: And the Lord himself bids thee to bring all the Tythes, or Tythes of all kinds into his House: And therefore Origen, the greatest Clerk that lived in his dayes, saith, *Qui colit Deum, debet donis & oblationibus agnoscere eum esse Deum omnium*, He that worshippeth God, must by his gifts and oblations unto God, acknowledge him to be the God and Giver of all things.

3. Seeing God requireth to be honoured with thy substance, and with the first frutes of all thine increase, and to testifie thine inward love, by thine outward gifts and oblations to him; you know then, that the greatness and goodness of our gifts doth set forth and shew the greatness of our love, and the sincerity of our affection towards God: For, *Juxta mensuram honoris erit mensura donationis*, According to the quality and condition of the person, whom we honour, so should our gifts and our presents that we offer him be; as the greater they are, whom we honour, the greater regard we should make of the gifts and oblations that we offer unto him: As it is unseemly, and a shame for us, to present unto our Kings and Princes, or any other person of Honour, any poor, mean, base, or paltry present; So it is, if we do the like to God: And therefore the Prophet Malachy demandeth, *If you offer unto God the blind for Sacrifice, is it not evil? and if you offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Governour, will be pleased with thee?* saith the Lord of Hosts. So, the Lord was no wayes pleased with Cains offering, because, that having enough, and all good things from God, he kept the best for himself, and gave a little of the meanest and worst unto God: And you know what God saith, *Cursed be the deceiver, which hast in his flock a male, and vowest and sacrificest unto the Lord a corrupt thing, and so, like unto Cain, keepeth the best for himself; for I am a Great King, saith the Lord of Hosts, and my Name is dreadful among the Heathen, and therefore you should not offer unto me the poorest and the basest things you have, but the best and the greatest of all your substance.*

There-

Therefore the Gentiles, by the light of nature, and the Jews, by the example of Moses, David, Solomon, and the rest of Gods Prophets, that were inspired by Gods Spirit, and all the godly and zealous Christians, that were illuminated by the light of truth, considering the greatness and the glorious Majesty of our Great God, that is *Optimus Maximus*, The Best and the Greatest of all the things that you can imagine, and is most wonderful in all his Works, conceived it fitting to erect and build such great, magnificent, and most glorious Temples, and Churches, as might seem fitting, and, so far as they were able, to make them correspondent to the Greatness, and the Glorious Majesty of that Great God, for whose Honour, Worship, and Service, they erected and dedicated the same. And such were the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, of Diana at Ephesus, of Amphiaraus, and Jupiter Olympus, and the Temple of Solomon in Hierusalem, and the Churches of S. Paul in London, and S. Peter in Westminster, and abundance more, which you may see in these Kingdoms, that our most zealous, religious, and godly forefathers built, and spared no cost nor charges to adorn and beautifie them most gloriously with all necessary Furnitures, for the Honour and Worship of their God, and the Service of Jesus Christ.

And shall we throw down these Houses, and lay waste these Temples of God, or think much to bestow a little of our wealth, that God hath so liberally bestowed upon us, to keep them up, and to have them competently trimed and beautified? God forbid, that our love to God's Honour, and our thankfulness to Jesus Christ, should be so little, as to do so.

How that the
Heathens, Jews & Christians,
erected great
and glorious
Houses for the
Great & Glori-
ous God.

And Plutarch
seteth down
what an infinite
charge it
cost Tarquinius
Sylla, Vespasian
and Domitian,
to build the
Temple of Ju-
piter Capitolini-
nus in Rome.
Plutarch in the
Life of Publio-
cota, pag. 107.
& 108.

CHAP. XII.

The Answer to another Objection, that our brain-sick Sectaries do make for the utter overthrow of our Cathedrals and Churches, as being so foully stained and profaned with popish Superstitions; and therefore being no better than the Temples of Baal, they should rather be quite demolished, than any wayes adorned and beautified.

Fourthly, we have some other Sectaries more brain-sick than the former; and these, under the pretence of zeal to the purity of Religion, do hotly plead for the destruction of our Churches, and cry out in the language of the Edomites, *Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground;* for they have been defiled and profaned by the Idolatries and superstitions of the Popish Bishops, and their Mass-Priests: and therefore as the Lord, by a flat Precept, commanded the Israelites, saying, *You shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the Nations, which ye shall possess, served their gods, upon the high Mountains, and upon the Hills, and under every green Tree;* and you shall overthrow their Altars, and break their Pillars, and burn their Groves with fire; and you shall hew down the graven Images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of the place: And as Jebosaphat, according to this Precept, took away the High-places, and Groves out of Juda; and Hezechias also, removed the High-places, and brake the Images, and cut down the Groves, and brake in pieces the brazen Serpent that Moses had made, because the children of Israel did burn incense to it: So should we subvert, and throw down all the Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition, and all the places where the true Religion, and the Service of God have been abused: And accordingly, these frantick Zelots have, wheresoever they came, and could

4. Objection ag-
ainst the be-
ing of our
Churches.
Psal. 137. 7.

Deut. 12. 2, 3.
2 Chron. 17. 6.
2 Reg. 18. 4.

A Declaration

could do it, thrown down many of our Churches, and brake in pieces the Fonts wherein they were Baptized, and threw down the Tombs and Monuments of their Fore-fathers, and made such havock of Gods Houses, and destroyed all Holy places so, as is lamentable to consider it: And they tell us most impudently, that to hold up such places to serve God therein is nothing else but with King *Saul*, to reserve the execrable and accursed things for Gods Worship, which is abominable in the sight of God.

Sol. 1.

The discreet
answer of A-
lexander Se-
verus.

To this I Answer, 1. That it is better to serve God in those places that have been superstitiously abuled, (as formerly all places were Idolatrously defiled by the Heathens) than not to serve him in any place; for as when certain Christians found a vacant and a void place in the City of Rome, where they thought they might conveniently build a Church, and certain loose companions, that were *Vivuallers*, made claim, and pretended a Title unto it, and told *Alexander Severus*, it was not so fit, to make a House to serve God in, as it was for them to sell and vent their commodities; the Emperour, led by the light of nature, being no Christian, answered most Christian-like, that he thought it better, God should be worshipped any way, and in any place, rather then that they should have their way, to make it a place for their shambles: so say I, that it is a great deal fitter, to serve God in these Houses, that were so Zealously erected and so Religiously Consecrated for Gods service, howsoever they were afterwards soyléd with some vanities, and perhaps defiled with some Idolatries, then that they should be thrown down, or be made a Stable for their Horses, or a Kitchin to dress meat for their tables, as some of these Sectaries have made these Houses of God to be.

2. I say that there is no more affinity or likeness between those times of the *Israelites* and our times, and betwixt that people, who were *Jews*, and us, that are *Christians*, then is betwixt *Simon Peter*, and *Simon Magus*, or *Philip* the Apostle, and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; for we are not commanded, to do against *Idolaters*, as they were commanded to do against the *Canaanites*: as, they were forbidden to make Covenants of peace, or to have any commerce with the inhabitants of that place, and they were commanded to root out and to destroy all that people, and we have no such injunction, to prohibite us to trade and traffick, either with *Papists*, *Jews*, or *Gentiles*; neither may the *Reformed Churches* and *Protestants* put others their neighbours to the sword, only because they are *Idolaters*, or of a contrary Religion, but they are rather to labour for their Conversion, as *St. Paul* did the *Idolaters* of *Athens*, and not to work their destruction.

3. I say, that the examples of *Jehosaphat* and *Hezechias*, are no commanding precepts, and have not the force of laws, and you know that *Vivitur preceptis non exemplis*, men are to live by laws, and not by examples, whereof we have more bad then good; but were they never so good and so godly, yet are they no Commanders but Councillors, and no laws to injouy us, but less to direct us, and that in the like cases; for where the proportion and the equality, betwixt the example and the following of it, faileth, there we must likewise fail to follow it; and we find a great deal of disproportion and inequality betwixt the groves and high places of the *Jews*, and our *Cathedrals* and *Churches*, that were the *Papists*; because their groves and high places were very dangerous to be left, for the just fear of a secret access and coming unto them, by the superstitious *Jews*, that were alwaies so apt and so ready to fall into *Idolatry*; and our *Cathedrals* and *Churches* are freed from this fear, when as they are throughly cleansed and purged from all the former superstitions by the pure Preaching of the Word of God, and no *Idolatrous Papist* comes unto them, nor any other,

other, but only those that professe themselves to be of the pure Religion.

And therefore learned *Zanchius* saith, that *Ubique locorum in omnibus fere Regnis & Provinciis, que amplexa sunt evangelium, Templa ipsa in quibus Idolatria admissa fuit, tot annos retenta sunt;* In every place, and in all Kingdoms and Provinces wel-nigh, which have imbraced the Gospel, the *Churches* themselves, where *Idolatry* hath been committed, have been retained so many years together.

And why should they not be still used? For what *evil* have the *Churches* committed, that they, which were dedicated to such an *Holy use*, as is the true service of God; should be now so severely handled, as to be either quite demolished, or diverted and turned to any other purpose? For the senseless creatures cannot be said to be *sinful* and so not to be censured; and therefore the *Leprous mans house* was rather to be purged then to be pulled down; and where the *malady* is *uncurable*, there, as the Poet saith,

— *immediabile vulnus
Ense recidendum, ne pars sincera trabatur.*

The part only infected and putrified, is to be cut off, and not to cast away the whole; and so the wiser Divines threw down the *Altars* of those *Churches*, where *Idolatry* and *superstition* were most used; but they thought good to keep the *Churches* still to their former uses.

And so, when the two hundred and fifty men offered *incense* unto the Lord, in the Rebellion of *Kora*; God himself bade *Eleazar* the High Priest, not to throw away those brazen Censers, which those men offered, but to employ them for his service, and to make of them Broad plates for a covering of the *Altar*. And when *Jericho* was taken by the *Israelites*, *Joshua* caused the Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron that were execrable goods, not to be thrown away, but to be brought into the *House* of the Lord, and put into the *Treasury* of Gods House. And it is very well worth your observation, to consider what the Lord himself commandeth *Gedon* to do; namely, to take his Fathers young *Bullock*, even the second *Bullock* of seven years old, (that was fed to be offered unto *Baal*) and throw down the *Altar* of *Baal*, and cut down the grove that is by it, and Build an *Altar* unto the Lord thy God, upon the top of this rock: and Take the second *Bullock* and offer a burnt *Sacrifice*, with the wood of the grove, which thou shalt cut down.

And according to these Presidents the Law provided, that the houses wherein the *Hereticks* did meet, and broached their *damnablie Divinity*, should be adjudged to be united to the *Orthodoxal Churches*, as were also the houses and habitations of the *Celicoles* that were *Hereticks* so called: and in *Saint Augustines* time, the *Churches* that the *Donatists* possessed, were not destroyed but they were taken from them, (as we took ours from the *Roman-Priests*) and were given to the *Catholick Bishops*.

And therefore, why should not we use those *Churches*, that were Religiously dedicated, and Holily Consecrated for Gods service, and could not themselves commit any offence, nor be so Prophaned, as the accursed things of *Jericho*, or the *Bullock* and groves of *Baal*, or the *Churches* of the *Arians* and *Donatists*, to be the Temples and Sanctified Houses, wherein our people should meet to hear Gods Word, to pray unto him, and to receive his Holy Sacrament?

But I remember *Plutarch*, and *Titus Livius* tell us how that the Romans *Plutarch*, after they had expelled *Tarquinius Superbus*, when his son *Sextus Tarquinius* had most shamefully ravished *Lucretia*, they all took a Solemn oath, *tit. 12. leg. 11. Honor.* they would never suffer any King to Reign over them; and because this was not sufficient to free them from the fear of a Regal Government, the

*Hieron. Zanch.
de operibus redemp-
tionis. l. 12.
c. 12.*

Consul *Brunius*, in the behalf of the people, makes a solemn Oration to his fellow Consul *Tarquinius Collatinus*, to give over his Consul-ship; and to depart the City, to free the people from that fear ; because that, although he was a very honest man, and was a principal actor, in expelling *Tarquinius Superbus*, and they could lay nothing to his charge, that ever he did or said against the liberty of the people, or for the Government of Kings ; yet seeing his name was *Tarquinius*, the freedom of the City could not be fully secured, nor the men free from the fear of Tyranny so long as a person of that name, how just and innocent so ever he were, continued within the City : So I believe, it is not for any evil, that these men can, or could ever espy in our Churches, they cry so much, and yell like Wolves against them ; but only for the name, that they are said to be built by *Roman Catholicks*, and that Popish Priests have served in them : but it is nothing to us, who built them, or who served in them, so we serve God aright in them ; this is all that we are to look unto.

For so we find, that our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, in their time frequented the Temple, not that which *Solomon* built, nor that which *Zorobabel* erected ; but that which *Herod*, that fought our Saviours life, builded and beautified ; and that which the Scribes and Pharisees had, as much as in them lay, defiled with their false-glosses, and the other Jews had made it a den of Thieves : and though *Castor* and *Pollux* were become Idols, and worshipped as gods among the Heathens ; yet Saint Paul refuted not to sail in a Ship, whose badge was *Castor* and *Pollux* ; and Saint Luke is not afraid to set down those Titles of the Paganish Idols.

Socrat. Ecclesi. And therefore, as *Eunomius* was most foolish for refusing to enter into the Temples of the Martyrs, lest he should be thought to worship the dead ; and *Eustathius* was most fantastical, for detesting all publick Churches, and leading his Schollers to private Conventicles in ordinary houses, for fear they should be defiled with the memorial of the Saints, that were mentioned in the Churches ; so these our brethren of the Separation are most simple, for disclaiming our Churches, Prayers, and Ministry ; and, like the Elder brother in the Parable, hearing afar off, the melody of our prayers, and understanding of our entertainment into our Fathers House, are very angry, and will not come into Gods House for fear of infection, but will convene in private houses, and run abroad into the fields like *Esau*, to hunt there for the blessing, which with *Jacob*, they might get nearer home, in their Fathers House ; and when we would, according to our injunction, seek to compel them to come, out of the *Higb-wais* and *Hedges*, to the marriage of the Kings son, they will waste their wealth, leave their mansions, and, like *He-liodorus* the fool of *Athens*, sail beyond the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and make Ship-rack before the Tempest ; rather then they will come into Gods House, whereby they might sit still, under their own Vines, enjoy the food of their Fathers House, the safe-gard of their wealth, and the safety of their soules : which they do hazard, by their own simplicity, in being like the Jews, zealous, but not according to knowledge,

CHAP. XIII.

That it is a part of the Office and Duty of Pious Kings and Princes, as they are God's Substitutes to have a care of his Church, to see, that, when such Cathedrals and Churches, are built and beautified as is fitting for his service, there be Able, Religious, and Honest, painful and faithful Bishops placed in those Cathedrals, that should likewise see able and Religious Ministers placed in all Parochiall Churches; and all negligent, unworthy, and dissolute men, Bishops or Priests reproved, corrected, and amended; or removed and excluded from their places and dignities if they amend not.

IT is well and truly observed, as the holy Scripture sheweth; That although the wise God hath most mercifully decreed, and accordingly exhibited and gave a Saviour, in himself altogether sufficient, for the saving of all Man-kind, and all the lost sons of Adam; and he hath most wisely and graciously taken a course, on his own part, and in it self also, fully sufficient; and appointed a course and order on mans part, that, being duly observed, might make the same sufficiently effectuall unto all: yet, it so fals out, that very many men attain not to that end, for which God did send his Son, to save them, but are seized on by Gods Justice, and cast to eternal condemnation. And that chiefly by mans own default, and partly in some respects, through the default of his Rulers and Teachers; yet so, that he dies and suffers only for his own sins.

Mens destru.
tion.

1. Through their own default, when Kings and Princes, whom God hath appointed and set to be their Governors and Rulers, do by their under-Majesties, and their just laws prohibit them from all evil and wickedness; and require them to imbrace all virtues and godliness of life, and to this end, do appoint their substitutes, the Bishops and other Teachers to guide them, and to instruct them, to let them know what is good and what is evil; and so what they ought to believe, and what not: and these do faithfully discharge these Offices, as Moses and Aaron, David and Nathan, and many other godly Kings and Bishops did; yet, men will not obey their Governors, but Rebel like Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and, as of late, we have done; they will not hearken to the voyce of their Teachers, but say to the Prophets, *Prophesy not unto us, and say to God himself, Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy Laws:* or they relye upon their own wisdom, and account the Preaching of the Gospel of the cross of Christ foolishness; or they follow the ill examples of their Fathers, and do worse than their Fathers; or they do addict themselves to the pleasures and vanities of this World, that do choke the seed of Gods Word in them; or when crosses, afflictions, and persecution come, they are offended, and start aside like a broken bow.

Then, God seeing these courses that they take, contrary to the course, that he had set down for their Salvation; he complaineth of them, that *His people would not bear his voyce, and Israel would not obey him, therefore He gave them up unto their own hearts lusts, and let them follow their own imaginations.*

A Declaration

2. Mens destruction much increased, by the apostasy of their Prime-Governours, or at least through their neglect, and default of their subordinate Magistrates and Ministers, the Bishops and Governours. Preachers that are under the Kings and Princes, the Governours of God's Church. For God, having set these Rulers, the Supreme and subordinate, to be the Watchmen and Shepherds over his people, to govern them, and teach them, how to live justly and holily, that they might attain to eternal life: if by their default, their misleading of them out of the way, or neglect to shew them the right way, the people do miscarry, the men, so misguided, and not instructed, shall die in their iniquity, and God will require their blood at the Shepherds and Watchmens bands.

Ezech. 33. 8. And yet Cain, a principal Ruler of, and over his Posterity, misleading, and not teaching them the right Worship of God, perished himself, and brought all them that followed him, and his wayes, to the like perdition. And so Nimrod, Esau, and Ismael, falling away from God, and Jeroboam setting up his golden gods, and many other Kings and Princes, neglecting their duties, apostatizing from God, and misleading their people, brought them in like manner to their utter ruine;

Scilicet in vul-
gus manant ex-
emplare gentium,
utque ducum li-
tios, sic mores
castra sequun-
tur. Claud. i. And as many times the people are brought to their ruine, by the evil example, and wicked Government of their Prime-Leaders, when as the Poet saith,

Regis ad exemplum totum componitur orbis.

Isay 1. 23. And the Souldiers would imitate Alexander in his stooplings, and in his vices, as well, and sooner, than in his vertues; So many times, and oftener too, they are brought to the same pass, the same pathes of perdition, through the lewd examples and neglect of the subordinate Magistrates of the Common-wealth, and the Governours and Ministers of the Church of God: As, when the Princes, or Nobility, are rebels, and companions of Thieves, or, as Zephany saith, like Lions, and the Judges are evening-Wolves, that judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them: And when the Prophets are leight and treacherous persons, and the Priests have polluted the Sanctuary, and have done violence to the Law, either by corrupting it, with their false glosses, or locking it up in prison, and not publishing the same unto the people; for, where there is no vision, the people perish, saith the Wise-man. And so by their false teaching, or no teaching, they thrust forward the poor people into perdition.

Prov. 29. 18. And therefore, Kings and Princes, to whom God, in the first place, hath committed the Sovereignty and Charge, both of Church and Common-wealth, ought, not only to chuse such Judges and Magistrates, as Jetbro described unto Moses, Able men, fearing God, men of truth, and hating covetousness: But, when the Cathedrals and Parochial-Churches are built and beautified for God's Worship, and for the people of God to meet in them, to serve God, as they ought to be, they shoulde also take care and see, that such Bishops and Priests, as S. Paul describeth, in 1 Tim. 3. 2, &c. be settled in those Churches, to worship God, and to bring the people to do their duties, that they may attain to eternal life: Lest that which S. Hieron complained of in his time, should be true in our time, That the Altars shined with Gold and pretious Stones, Sed ministrorum nulla erat electio, There was no good choice made of good Ministers; whereby it was said, That they had golden Chalices, but wooden Priests, as S. Bernard saith, it was, not much better in his dayes; there was not such care taken for good Ministers as they shoulde do. For as in Nature, we see every thing for its Creation requires a Divine hand, and a Miraculous power to produce it; but

What manner
of Judges and
Bishops, Kings,
ought to chuse

Bernard ad Ab-
bat. Cluniacen.

but the same being once produced, God's hand is not so conspicuous, but he leaves it to the *soyl*, as it were, to stand and grow by the innate vertue planted in it; So it seems to fare with Religion it self, which is such a superstructure above Nature, that although it be planted by God, as both the Jewish and Christian Religion were, with signs and wonders, and a strong miraculous hand, yet men must now conserve it by those ordinary means, that God appointed: the Church of Christ, being like the Garden of God in Eden, which the Lord made, and then set it to our Parents, to keep it, and to dress it.

And, though this Religion, which at first is thus powerfully planted by God, and is the principal Pillar that upholdeth States, and makes all Kingdoms happy; yet, after the inward vertue of the Doctrine of Christ, the Bishops and Priests, are the main props, and the ordinary means, that God hath appointed to uphold his Religion, and to continue his Service in his Church; because, Religion can neither plant it self, nor sustain it self alone, and what support soever it hath from the Prince or the Laws of any Nation; yet the Bishops and Priests are, as it were, the soul of that power, in the execution thereof, when as all the substance, circumstance and ceremonies, have their life from them; and our consent and belief in their holy Calling, is that, which doth, and should keep us, from the singularity of our own misguided imaginations.

And therefore that Prince, that is truly religious, and bath a special care of God's Service, must likewise with King David, (and as good King Charles ever had) have a special care to see that godly and learned Bishops and Priests, be appointed in God's Church to instruct his people.

And you know what S. Paul saith, That a Bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, not a novice, (or a young new Divine) lest being lifted up with pride (as young men commonly are) he fall into the condemnation of the Devil: Moreover, he must have a good report of them that are without, lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the Devil. All which large description of those parts and vertues, that every Bishop, and faithful Minister of God's Church ought to have, may for order and method sake, be reduced into these two Heads, which are the Urim and the Thummim, that Moses put upon the Breast-plate of Aaron, and for which he did so earnestly pray that God would grant them unto all the Tribe of Levi, saying, Let thine Urim and thy Thummim be with thy holy one, or with the man of thy mercy: And they signifie,

{ 1. The uprightness of his life and conversation.
2. The sincerity of his doctrine & teaching of his people. }

For so Moses sheweth, that Levi did; as every Bishop and Priest should do.

The two special vertues that ought to be in every Bishop and Priest.

1. Carry himself most dutifully and obedient in his life, and all his actions i. Virtue, towards God, as, when God proved him at Massa, and strove with him at the waters of Meriba, he said unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children; Verse 9; but he observed Gods word, and kept his Covenant, and preferred the keeping of God's Laws, and walking dutifully according to his will, before father or mother, wife or children, which every Christian, and especially every Christian Bishop, and true Levite, ought to do.

2. To teach Jacob the judgements of God, and Israel his Laws, to put 2: Virtue incense before the Lord, and whole burnt-Sacrifices upon his Altar; which is the second duty of every Bishop, and every faithful Minister of Christ, to Verse 10. teach the people of God, and to administer his holy Sacraments: For his

A Declaration

1 Tim. 3. 2.

first care and chiefest duty should be to look to himself, *avertantem omnia*, to be blameless ; And his second care is *ad amandum omnia*, to be apt and able to teach the people : And so S. Paul tells, and adviseth all the Clergy of Ephesus, that they should first look and take heed unto themselves, and then to all the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood ; And therefore,

2. How blameless Bishops and Ministers should be.
Luke 1. 6.

Hierom. in E. pist. 43.

1. A Bishop, and a Minister of Christ, must have a special care to carry, and behave himself so, as that his life and conversation may seem blameless in the World, like unto *Zacharias*, the father of *John Baptist*, that walked in all the Commandments of God without reproof. And S. Hierom saith, That *talis, & tanta, debet esse conversatio & eruditio Pontificis, ut omnes motus & egressus, & universa ejus opera notabilia sint, veritatem mente concipiatur, & eam toto habitu resonet ornatus*; ut, quicquid agit, quicquid loquitur, doctrina sit popularum : The life and conversation of a Bishop, and to likewise of every Minister of the Gospel, should be such, so grave, and so holy, that all his motions, and progressions, and all other his works, should be notable and worthy to be observed ; he should conceive the truth in his mind, and sound out the same by his habit and ornament, that whatsoever he doth, and whatsoever he saith, may be a lesson of instruction unto the people, who do look more unto the examples that we give them, and the actions that we do, than to the Precepts that we preach, or the Doctrine that we declare unto them. And another Father saith, that, *Nemo plus in Ecclesia nocet, quam qui perverse agens, nomen vel ordinem sanctitatis habet: delinquenter namq; bunc redarguere nullus presumit; & in exemplum vobementer culpa extenditur, cum pro reverentia ordinis peccator honoratur* : No man doth, or indeed can do, more hurt in the Church of God, than he that doth wickedly, and lives dissolutely, and hath the name or order of holiness, that is, *bony Orders* ; because no man presumeth, or dares to reprove such an one, when he offendeth, and his fault exceedingly reacheth to the example of others to do the like, when, for the reverence of his Order, they see such a wicked man so honoured ;

And therefore, I may say to such a one, as *Claudian* saith to *Honorius*, changing only but one word,

Claudian: de 4.
Consolat. Honori.
iii.

*Hoc te preterea crebro sermone monebo,
Ut te totius medio telluris in orbe
Vivere cognoscas; cunctis tua gentibus esse,
Facta palam, nec posse dari presulib; unquam
Secretum visiu; nam lux altissima fari
Occultum nil esse finit, latebrasq; per omnes
Intrat, & abstrusos implorat fama recessus.*

For such men are like a City that is set upon a Hill, and all mens eyes are upon them : and therefore, their lives and their actions, cannot be concealed ; but their doings are more conspicuous, and their danger far greater, than any other men : And that, as *Aquinas* saith, in a threefold respect.

First because, the Dispensers of the holy Sacraments and the holy Word of God, which ought not to be handled but by *bony men*, in which respect a holy Father saith, *Mallum sustinere penam Caipha, Pilati, & Herodis, quam Sacerdotis indigno celebrantis*, That he would rather chuse to suffer the punishment of *Caipha*, and of *Pilate*, and of *Herod*, than of a wicked Bishop, or Priest, that doth unworthily administer the Blessed Sacrament.

Secondly, because these men are to render their account more strictly, being looked into more narrowly, than other men ; because, as *S. Bernard* saith,

faith, Those faults and transgressions, *quæ in aliis nūgæ sunt, in Sacerdotibus* *Cuius vita def-*
sunt blasphemie; And those sins that in others seem to be but *slips,* and *pictur restat ut*
trifles, & venia digna, and may easily be pardoned; yet in *Bishops,* and *eius prædicatio*
the Ministers of God's word, they are heinous offences, and worthy to be *contemnatur.*
punished heavily, with many stripes, seeing they knew their Masters will, and *Gregor. super*
did it not. *Evangel. 1. 1.*
Hom. 6.

And thirdly, because that by their Places, and *Offices,* they are to teach other men, not to offend; and to answer for their sins, if through their *neglecti* they do offend: and yet by their ill lives and examples, they teach them to offend.

2. As they are, in these respects, to have a special care of their own *lives* 2. How careful
and conversations, to live *justly* and *holily,* as the servants of Christ ought the *Bishops &*
to do; so they are likewise obliged to be *sedulous* and diligent in the in-*Priests ought*
struction and tuition of the people committed under their charge; for to be to teach
they are made the *Watchmen* and *Shepherds* over God's people, to teach *the people.*
them and instruct them, what they should do, and what they should believe; *Ezech. 3. 17.*
even as our Saviour saith unto his Apostles, *Go ye and teach all Nations,* & c. 33. 7.
baptizing them, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy *Matth. ult. 19.*
Ghost, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded *you.* *20.*
And therefore S. Paul chargeth Bishop Timothy before God, and
before Jesus Christ, that he *preach the word, and be instant in season, and out* 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2.
of season, reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine: 1 Cor. 9. 16.
and he saith, *Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel.* And S. Gregory saith,
Oportet ut predicatores sint fortes in præceptis, compatientes infirmis, terrifi- *Greg. in Mor.*
biles in minis, in exhortationibus blandi, in ostendendo magisterio bimiles, in 30. super Job
veram temporalium contemptu dominantes, & in tolerando adversitatibus ri- *39.*
gidi: It behoves, that Preachers should be strong and strict in their pre-
cepts, compassionate and pitiful to the weak, terrible in their threatenings to
the impenitent, smooth and gentle in their exhortations; in shewing their
power and authority, humble; in despising the world, and all worldly
things, stout and domineering; and in suffering and bearing adversities firm
and constant; And the same S. Gregory saith also, that *Non debet predica-* *Idem. Moral.*
tor infirmis insinuare cuncta que sentit, nec debet predicare rudibus quanta cog- 1. 17.
noscit; which is a very good lesson.

And so you see partly, what the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, ought to do, and how to behave themselves in the Church of God.

Yet I must confess, we and our Predecessors, the Bishops of God's Church, have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from God's Precepts, and neglecting the performance of our duties; for whereas,

Exemplar vite populis est vita regens.

And as S. Gregory saith, *Lux gregis est flamma doctoris,* The light whereby the flock walketh, is the shining flame of the Shepherds life; Yet many of our Predecessors, I am sure, and I pray God that none of our present Prelates may do the like, have given very evil examples unto the people, if the example of covetousness, injustice, and the obstructing and neglect of Gods Service, and the furtherance of mens salvation be evil examples; for, letting passe what we find written of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, of whom this Epitaph was made:

*Sixte, jaces tandem, fidei contemptor & equi,
Pax is not hostis eras, pace peremptus obis.*

And

A Declaration

And of Alexander the sixth, that made a league with the Devil; as *Bal-
leus* saith, to obtain his *Papacy*, and of whom it was said, as I shewed be-
fore.

*Venit Alexander, crucis, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.*

And of Boniface the eighth, and divers others wicked Popes, that pretended to be the *Bishops* and *Vicars* of Christ, but were indeed the *limbs* of Anti-Christ: We find nearer home that what pious men and good Christians had formerly most zealously bestowed upon the *Church* and *Churchmen* for the Honor of God, the relieving of the poor, and the promoting of the Christian faith, many of our own *Bishops* most wickedly and *Sacrilegiously*, either through *Covetousness* for some *fine*, or for *love* and *affection* to their *Children*, friends or servants, have alienated and *made away* the same from their *Successors*, in *Fee-farm*, or long leases, some for one thousand, some for one hundred years; and some for other *longer term*, reserving only some *small rent* for the succeeding *Bishops*, as in my *Diocese* of *Ossory*, that *Lordship* was set for ten pound yearly, that is well-nigh worth two hundred pound; and that was set for four pound, which is better worth then fifty pound, with many others in the like sort; whereby we that come *af-
ter them*, and they that shall come *after us*, are neither able to keep *Hos-
pitality*, nor to feed the *poor*, nor scarce our *selves*, and our own families; nor indeed to do any other work of *priety* and service of God, which the *Scripture* requireth us to do.

And if these things be not *wickedness* and a high degree of *abominable Sacrilege*; mine understanding fails me; and this, being *Sacrilege*, I know not what *Laws* can make it good. Let them have what *Laws* and what *Acts* of Parliament soever they please to *justify* their doings, I know not how those *Laws* and *Acts* of Parliament will or can justify them, before the Throne of the just God.

And therefore, not to do my self, what I *blame* in others, lest God should condemn me out of mine own mouth: as my good God hath hitherto preserved me, and kept my hands clean from all *Corruption*, and from taking any the *least bribe* or *gift* from any man, or any *service*, but what I paid for, even in my *poorest state*, and *meanest condition*, when I had not for *many years* together twenty pound *per annum* to maintain me; so I have resolved, and do pray to God continually to give his grace to perform it, and do hope that God will grant it me, that I will never take either *bribe* for any thing, or *gift* from any man, or *fine* for any *House*, *Land*, or *Lordship*, that belongs either to my *Deanery*, or *Bishoprick*, while I live, if, I should live a thousand years: but, what shall be for the repaire of the *Church*.

And besides all this, and many other faults in their *own lives*, of less moment, I have often bemoaned one offence of some of my brethren above all the rest, when I considered how they, not following the Counsel of St. Paul in the Ordination of *Priests* and *Deacons*, To lay bands on no man rashly; but to see that the persons that are to be admitted to holy Orders, should be no novices, that is, no young Divines, because as Saint Gregory saith, *Nequaquam debent homines in etate infirma predicare*, Men ought not to Preach in their young and tender years; *Quia juxta rationis usum, sermo do-
ctrine non suppetit, nisi in perfecta etate*, because that according to the use of Reason, Learning, and Wisdom, is not attained unto, but in perfect ages; *Et Redemptor noster, cum Cœli fit conditor & Angelorum Doctor, ante tricennale tempus, in terra magister noluit fieri hominum*; ut videlicet precipitatus vim sa-*luberrimi timoris infunderet, cum ipse etiam qui labi non posset, perfecta vita
gratiam, non nisi perfecta etate predicaret*: And our Redeemer, that is the

*Greg. sup.
Ezech. Ho. 2.
& in Pastor.*

Creator

Creator of the Heavens and *Teacher* of Angels, would not be made the Teacher of *men* here on Earth before he was *thirty years of age*; that so he might powre forth the force and fruit of wholesome *fair* to them that are fallen, when as he also, that could not fall, did not preach the *grace* and *waises* of a *perfect life*, but in a *perfect age*; and to see likewise that they should be no *waises unworthy* of so high a calling, but every way *qualified*, both for life and doctrine, so, as the Word of God doth require: have notwithstanding, either by the solicitation of friends, or for some other respects, and perhaps worser *Corruption*, many times made *young novices*, illiterate men; and, which is far worse, men of *corrupt minds*, and of bad lives, of loose dissolute carriage, the Priests of the most *High God*, to wait at his *Altar*, that were not worthy to wait on our *Table*. And therefore, as those *Bishops* that did thus, did herein falsify their *Faith* to God, and betrayed his service to these unworthy men; So, the just *God* hath most justly suffered these *perfidious men*, to betray their *makers*, to spit in their *Fathers* faces, and to combine themselves with the *enemies* of Christ, to destroy the *Bishops* of Gods Church, and so, as the Poet saith in another kind,

Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.

This wicked brood that we our selves begat and made, would drive their *Sires* from their hives, and from our offices.

And I know not by what fatality, unless it be by the just *wrath* of God, to intail the *wickedness* of the Fathers, like the *Leprosy* of *Gebezi*, unto the Children, for the sins and *injustice* of the Fathers that are so well known, and *engraven* in the consciences of the Children; yet, so it is most generally found, that the Children of the precedent *Bishops*, that have most wronged the Church and their *Successors*, are in all things most *contrariant* and opposites, I will not say *spiteful*, or envious to the succeeding *Bishops*: because, as I conceive, their *hearts* tell them, what injuries their Fathers did them, for their *sakes*, and themselves continue therein; and therefore do conceive, that the present *Bishops* cannot think well nor *love* them, that have so much wronged, both *them* and the *Church* of God, and to requite them, according to their own thoughts, with *bate for bate*, they are of all others most *spiteful* crossing and prejudicall unto them: or else, because they do imagine, that the present and succeeding *Bishops*, will be as *wicked* and as *unjust*, as their Fathers, and their predecessors were, and therefore deserve neither *love* nor *favour* from them; And I heard many Parliament men say that in the *Long Anti-Christian Parliament*, none were more violent against the *Bishops*, then the sons and posterity of Precedent *Bishops*: I found it so.

And I have espied another fault in some of our former *Bishops*, not a little prejudicall to the *Honor of God*, and the *good* of the *Church* of Christ; and that is, not only to give *Orders* to unworthy men, but also to bestow *livings*, upon unworthy *Priests*; for, as the old saying was,

Rector eris presto, de sanguine praesulio effos;

Or, as another saith,

Quatuor ecclesiæ portis intratur in omnes:
Prima patet magnis, nummati altera, tertia charis,
Sed paucis solet quartæ patere Dei.

Why the sons
of Bishops are
most spiteful
unto the Suc-
ceeding Bi-
shops.

As Alexander
the Copper-
smith with-
stood S. Pant;
So the last
Bishops son
withstandeth
me, to recover
the rights of
the Church;

So it was their *practice* to bestow *Livings*, *Rectories*, *Prebends*, and other

A Declaration

And so to the lessor and to the lessee of the Church-Lands, to the prejudice of the Church, the like curse and Anathema is due.

*Habentur 1. q.
1. Can. Quicun-
que.*

Preferments, not on them that best deserved them; but, either upon their Children, friends, or servants, or on them that could, as the story goeth, tell them, who was Melchisedecks Father, that is, to say St. Peters lesson, *Aurum & argentum non est mibi*, in the affirmative way; which is a fault worthy to be punished by the Judges. For as it is most truly said, *Quicunque sacra vel sacros ordines vendunt aut emunt, sacerdotes esse non possunt*, whosoever do buy or sell holy orders, or any holy things, cannot be Priests, *Vnde scriptum est Anathema danti, Anathema accipienti*, whence it is written, Let Gods curse be to the buyer, and the curse of God to the receiver; because this buying and selling of Holy things, and things dedicated for the service of God, is the *Simoniaca Heretie*, or Heretie of *Simon Magus*; *Quomodo ergo, si Anathematizati sunt, & sancti non sunt, sanctificare alios pos- sunt?* How then, if they be accursed and no Saints, can they make others Saints, or sanctify them? *Et, cum in corpore Christi non sint, quomodo Christi corpus tradere vel accipere possunt?* Et quis maledictus est, benedicere quomodo potest? And seeing such men are not in the body of Christ, how can they deliver or receive the body of Christ? and how can he that is accursed himself, bless any other?

And therefore, seeing the Word of God requireth, the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of Christ should be so *Holy* in their lives, and so *qualified*, with knowledge and learning, for the *instruction* of the people, as I shewed to you before, and is typified by those *Golden Bells*, and the *Pomegranats*, that were to be set in the skirts of *Aarons robes* round about, the *Bells* signifying the *teaching* of the people; and the *Pomegranats* the sweet smelling fruits of a good and godly life; It behoves the *Kings* and *Princes*, to whom God hath given the prime *Sovereignty*, and commandeth them to have a care of his *Honor* and the service of his Church, to see, so far as they can, that the *Bishops* and *Prelates*, which they place over Gods people, be so qualified, as God requireth, and to injoin these, their prime *Substitutes*, to look that those *Priests* and *Deacons*, which they make, and place in the Church, be likewise such, as I have fore-shewed; for this, God requireth at their hands; and this, *David*, *Jebosaphat*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*, and all the good and godly Kings of *Israel*, and *Juda*, and all the pious *Christian Kings* and *Emperors* did; and I do know, how zealously and carefully our late most gracious King *Charles the I.* was, to place *Able*, *Religious*, and *Godly Bishops* over Gods Church; which is a special duty of every King.

And because also the *Prelates* and *Bishops* are not all, or may not all be, no more then the *Apostles* were all, such as they should be, but some of them may be such, as I have shewed to you before, either like *Simon Magus* selling what they should freely give; or like *Demas* embracing this *present World*, or like *Baalam*, loving the wages of unrighteousness, or perhaps doing worse then those, Apostatizing like *Julian*, and starting aside like *Ecclesiasticus*, or devising wicked Heresies, like *Arius*, or renting the unity of the Church like *Donatus*, then, as *Solomon* deposed *Abiather*, and divers of the good *Emperours* deposed wicked *Popes*, and the godly Kings have pull'd down ungodly *Bishops*, as our late Queen *Elizabeth* did degrade *Bishop Bonner*, and divers other *Popish Prelates*; so should all good and godly Kings reprove and correct, and if they amend not, expel and remove all scandalous and ungodly *Bishops*; and the *Bishops* do the like to all debouyt and dissolute *Ministers*: that so the old and *sowre leaven* may be purged out of Gods Church, and the builders of Gods Tabernacle be like *Bezaliel*, and *Aboliab*, such as can and will do the work of the Lord carefully and Religiously.

CH AP. XIV.

*Of the maintenance due to the Bishops and Ministers of Gods Church,
how large and liberal it ought to be.*

THirdly, When the Kings and Princes, which are the Supreme Magistrates, and, as Tertullian saith, *Homines à Deo secundi, & solo Deo minores*, are the men, that are next to God in power and Authority, and therefore ought to have the prime and chiefest care of Gods Honour, and his worship in the Church of Christ; have, as I have formerly shewed, with King David and Solomon, provided that Temples and Churches be erected and beautified, as fit houses of God, for his people and servants to convene and meet in them to Worship God, and have likewise taken care, in the next place, to see that good men and godly Bishops be appointed over those Churches as their substitutes, to Rule, Govern, and Teach the people of God; how to live and to believe as they ought to do, and to require the Bishops, Prelates also to see, that all the inferior Clergy do the like: then, that they may be enabled, with joy and comfort, to discharge their duties, and to perform Gods service aright; they should do their best indeavour to see, that there should be large and liberal maintenance provided, and set out sufficiently for them, to sustain and keep themselves and their families, to keep Hospitality, to relieve the poor, and to do all the other works of piety and charity, which they are injoyed to do, and which, without such means and maintenance, they are now aies able, possibly, to discharge. For if such liberal maintenance be not provided for them, the want thereof will make the whole company of the Clergy men to be contemptible, their names in obloquy, and their unworthy and poor condition will fright away the better sort of men from imbracing this calling, that in it self is so honorable a function, as to be the Embassadors of Jesus Christ: for though the name of a Bishop, and the Priest or Minister of Jesus Christ, be great, and of great account in Gods book, and with the Saints of God; yet men are but flesh and blood, whose nature is to be inticed and toled on with rewards, as the best Sollicitors and mediators, to spur them forward to undertake any profession; and they are most apt and ready, to undertake tollas? that, which they see most profitable, and makes them best able to live in the world.

And therefore Cicero, the best of the Orators, said, *Honos alit artes*; That Reward and Honor is the nourisher of Arts and Sciences, and makes the Schollars to fall to their Study; and Aristotle, the chiefest of all the Philosophers, confirmeth what the Orator said, and addeth, that, *Honor est premium Virtutis*, Virtue and learning ought to be honored and rewarded; and when it is rewarded it will flourish and be increased; and Martial the best Epigrammatist justifieth, what the others affirmed, saying,

*Sint Mecanates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.*

Which I may (with leave) thus Translate,

Where Patrons well present their Clerks, there Preachers will abound,
In every Town and Village then, good Prophets shall be found.

*Colimus impe-
ratorem ut ho-
minem à Deo
secundum & so-
lo Deo minorum,
Tertul. ad Sca-
palum.*

*And Juvenal
faith, Quis e-
nim virtuem
amplectitur ip-
sam, Pramia si-
sat, Satyr. 10.*

A Declaration

And therefore the w^est men, have alwayes promised great Rewards to all that would attempt any great Service ; as Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-seper, and taketh it, to him will I give my daughter Achsa to wife.

Joth. 15. 16.
1 Sam. 17. 25.
2 Sam. 5. 8.

And Saul promised to do the like, to him that vanquished Golias : And so King David promised no small Reward to him, that got up to the gutter, and smote the Jebuzites in the siege of Hierusalem ; because the wages and reward, that men expect for their labour, are as the spurs that drive and prick them forward, to every profession, and to every work and great Exploit.

And on the other side, when the World seeth the Ministers of the Gospel rewarded none otherwise now, when we have a gracious King, than the Levite in the old Testament was, when there was no King in Israel, with bare meat and drink, and a single simple suite of apparel, and ten Shekels of Silver, which was his yearly pension, for all his pains, then, as Juvenal saith,

*Quis, quis virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Præmia si tollas ?*

Who will be willing to enter into the Ministry, and to imbrace this high Calling ? especially when they do througly perceive, how this inexcusable covetousness, & the unresistable power of the men of War, doth still increase more and more, to eat up, and, like a canker, to waste and consume the possessions of the Church, and the maintenance of God's Ministers ; whereby the Honour of God is blemished, his Worship obstructed, the people deprived of the spiritual food of their souls, and the poor of their relief and food of their bodies ; which the Bishops and Ministers of Christ, if they were made able, are bound to bestow upon them, as the men that best know the duty of charity, how acceptable it is in the sight of God.

Why there were no Professors of Physick in the City of Athens, whereby the whole Art and Profession was decayed ; the answer was made, It was because there was no Reward or Stipend set out and allotted for the Teachers of that Science : So when the reward and maintenance of the Bishops and Ministers, is purloyned and taken away by

* For they are the men that hold our lands and seek to take our houses from us.

* For they are the men that hold our lands and seek to take our houses from us.

For, as when Antigonus asked the Philosopher Cleanthes, that was Zeno's Scholler, and had learnedly written of the Sun and Moon and Stars, and other points of Astronomy, Why he carried water in the night, and did grinde at the Quern or Mill ? Cleanthes answered, He was inforced to be thus occupied, to get his living, when he had no other means to maintain himself. So, when God shall demand of the Bishops and Ministers, Why they do not study to teach his people, and bestow alms on his poor creatures, but look after their busbandry, and follow after the affirs of the world, and to do, as many times my self have been inforced to do, many base and servile works, for want of means to hire other labourers, and we shall answer as Cleanthes did, This strange indignity is done unto us, that we have no money to buy Books to study, and to relieve the poor, and to repair thy ruinous House, nor scarce meanes to maintain our selves, but by these unworthy wayes to get some small means of subsistence, lest otherwise we should be forced, with the Levite and his wife, to lodge in the streets. And when God shall reply again, and demand, How cometh this to passe ? when as the Kings, Princes, and other Noble men of the World, the more excellent,

tent, powerful, and illustrious they are, the more excellent and beneficial are the Places and Offices of their servants; from whence it became a Proverb, That no fishing to the Sea, and no service to the Court. And I, that am the Great and Almighty God of Heaven, and the King of all Kings, that do take pleasure in the prosperity of my servants, and have promised riches and honour to them that serve me, and accordingly have allowed and commanded my Tythes and Oblations, and the free gifts and will-offerings of my people, to be inviolably set out, and preserved for them that serve at mine Altar; and yet, notwithstanding all this, that my Servants and Embassadors, that are legati à latere, should be in a poorer and a sadder condition, than the servants of many mean Gentlemen? and we shall answer; It is true, O Lord, that thou art the Best Master in the World, thy service is the most Honourable, and the allowance that thou hast appointed for them, is very ample and large, and a most plentiful Royal Reward, and we know, that they which will faithfully serve thee shall want no manner of thing that Psal. 34. 10. is good.

But the sons of Belial, the off-spring of Baalam, that loved the wages of unrighteousness, have violated the covenant of Levi, and rose up against him, and being too strong for him, have taken away the Tythes and Oblations, the lands and the houses of thee our God, into their possession; and left the Church of Christ bare and naked, to cry out, *Pellis & osse sum miser;* and that is the reason, why we do not, and cannot, perform and do the service that thou requirest, and we desire to do.

And then, let the sacrilegious persons, and the violators of holy things, The Soldiers that take away. the goods and lands of the Church, see, what the Prophet saith of Levi, and of his enemies; for of Levi he saith, *Blessed, O Lord; bis substance, and accept the work of bis hands:* And of his enemies, he saith, *Smite thorough the loynes of them that rise up against him, and of them that hate him, smite them thorough and thorow, that they rise not again.* And I do wonder, that this Deut. 33. 11. prayer of Moses doth not take the hearts of all Church-robbbers to shake and tremble when they do consider it.

But the enemies of God's Church, that care not how much they pill and pluck from the Patrimony thereof, and would have the Ministers and Bishops, that are like fixed Stars in God's right hand, to be like the Planets in the Zodiack, that have no settled place; but are carried about by an erratical and uncertain motion: Yet cannot they endure to be termed sacrilegious; but they cry out, and say, No, and God forbid, that they should take away any thing from the Church, that belongs unto the Church; So, like the Jews, that cried, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini,* when they profaned the same most of all; their words are smoother than oil, when in very deed, they are very swords, and will not be kept back, from piercing us, and Christ himself through our sides.

Therefore I will endeavour to shew unto them the truth, and the equity of that large and liberal maintenance, that God alloweth, and is therefore the large and due, and not to be denied, to the Bishops and the Ministers of the Gospel: and this truth the Holy Scripture confirmeth many wayes: As,

1. That they should have maintenance, it is manifest, and few but mad men will deny it; because the labourer is worthy of his hire; and the Apostle Luke 10. 7: demandeth, *Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?* or, *Who feedeth a flock, and doth not taste of the milk thereof?* And no man can deny, but the Bishops and Ministers of God's Word are the Husbandmen, and the Dressers of God's Vineyard, and the Shepherds of his Flock. And the same Apostle saith, That they which minister about holy things live of the things of the Temple, and they which wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar: Even so, hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel: And the other reasons, that this our Apostle produceth, are,

Psal. 35. 27.
Prov. 3. 16. &
c. 22. 4.

Deut. 33. 11.

liberal main-
tenance of the
Clergy.

1 Cor. 9. 13. 14.

A Declaration

1. *A minori*, the mouth of the Oxe, that treadeth out the corn, is not to be muzzled.

2. *A majori*, the Preachers of God's Word do minister unto the people spiritual graces ; therefore the people should not muzzle the mouths of their Preachers, and keep back their carnal things from them. They are so plain and so pregnant to prove, that Ministers should have maintenance, that our very adversaries cannot contradict it.

Obj.

Nehem. 5. 15,
16. & v. 10, 12.

Yet for all this, some fanatick spirits, void of all reason do object, That as *Nebemiah*, because he feared God, spared the people from those exactions of money and corn and wine, which other *Governours* had taken from them, and prayed the Nobility, that they should exact no such things from their brethren, and called the Priests also, and took an oath of them, that they should do accordingly. So, the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of Christ should much rather spare their people, and not exact such parts and portions from them, as they do.

Sol.

Verse 17.

Verse 3, 4, 5.

To this I answer, That *Nebemiah* was a potent and a powerful man, that was able to maintain at his Table an hundred and fifty of the *Jews* and *Rulers*, besides those that came unto him from among the *Heathen* round about him : and the people, newly returned from their *Captivity*, were very poor and miserable, and the exactions that were taken from them were too heavy, and very unjust ; therefore this godly *Governour* took pity upon them, and in piety forgave it them.

But this particular example, is no Precept for us to obey, or Rule to follow it ; especially considering the disparity betwixt us, and *Nebemiah*, and betwixt our people now, and the *Jews* at that time ; and the great difference that is betwixt their taking of most unjust taxations, and our requiring the just reward and wages of them that are far better able to pay it, than we to forbear it, for our just and great pains : Yet,

Obj.

Act. 10. 33. 34.

2 Cor. 11. 9.

2. They do object the example of the *Apostles*, and especially of *S. Paul*, who made the labour of his hands, the porter that brought in his living ; and protested before the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, that he coveted no mans Silver, or Gold, or Apparel, but his hands ministered to his necessities : and tells the *Corinthians*, That in all things he kept himself from being burdensome unto them.

Sol. 1.

It is answered. 1. That our Ministers cannot possibly do as the *Apostles* did, unless they had the same spirit, the same grace, and the same extraordinary gifts of inspiration, and in the same measure as the *Apostles* had ; for they were immediately and extraordinarily inspired with abilities, to preach, and to answer, whatsoever should be demanded of them in illa hora, even in an instant, and to do miracles, when need required : But we cannot attain to any learning or knowledge, without industry and study, and great pains-taking : And therefore we cannot be *Preachers* of Gods Word, if we be forced to be *Traders* in the World, to work with our hands, and to live by our works.

2.

2. *S. Paul* doth not say, That he never took wages of any Church ; but that he coveted no mans Silver, and forbore to charge the Churches, when he found it was meet and best to do so, for the Churches edification, which he spared ; otherwise he tells the *Corinthians*, That he robbed other Churches, taking wages of them, to do the *Corinthians* service.

3 Cor. 11. 8.

1 Tim. 5. 7.

And to shew, that their maintenance should not be sparing and niggardly, but large, bountiful, and honourable ; *S. Paul* saith, Let the *Elders*, that is, the *Bishops*, and *Ministers* of Christ, that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine : By which double honour, *S. Chrysostom* understandeth. 1. A respect and reverence unto their persons : And 2ly a liberal maintenance for their lively-hood, because honour signifieth all necessary provision, needful for the person that

that is to be honoured: As where the Lord saith, Honour thy father and thy mother, and Honour the King: And where the Apostle saith, Honour widows that are widows indeed; that is, have such a care of them, that a sufficient, and a liberal maintenance be provided for them. And so should they do for the Bishops and Ministers, answerable to their Dignity, Places, and Calling.

But all this while, we walk about the bush, and are in generalis, Et in universalibus latet error: And so, though it should be granted, that our maintenance should be very large and liberal; yet it is not agreed, how far it should extend, and what the same should be: But, as the enemies of the Church, and the haters of the Bishops, do think any thing that they have, too much; and would have them, as S. Bernard saith, adib⁹ & sedibus effugari, to be chased out of house and home, and have their lands sowed with salt, that they might never bring forth fruits to them, or their successors, while the world lasteth: So the best friends of our Presbyterians do think, some standing Salary or stipend, which their people conceive to be competent for them, is to be understood by this double honour, and by all that is required in the new Testament to be given unto them.

To this I say, That for the provision and proportion that is to be given to the Rulers and Teachers of the people, we yield not, that it should be arbitrated and set out by the covetous hearts and shallow heads of them; that would rob the Church, and denude the Spouse of Christ of her precious Garment; and with Dionysius, give her a base woollen coat, instead of her golden Vesture: But we refer the decision of this case to the heavenly Oracle of God himself, who best knoweth what is fit for his servants to have, and what is the maintenance, that he alloweth them, and admits not other Masters, to set down the wages of his servants, which is not usual nor tolerable among men: And therefore,

God is the best Judge to determine what wages is fit for his servants to have.

1. Let us consider what maintenance he thought meet to be sufficient for the Levites, and the Ministers of the Law; and by that, you may guess what is fit for the Ministers of the Gospel: And you shall find,

1. That they had 48. Cities to dwell in, out of all the other 11. Tribes What wages of Israel; as you may see how many they had from every Tribe in Josh. God appointed 21. per totum. And the children of Israel were commanded to set out for the Ministers of the glebe-lands, to be consecrated for the Church, to every City by measure Law. from without the wall of it on the East side, 2000. cubits; and so on every side round about, and the suburbs of their Cities should be for their cattle, Numb. 35.43. for their goods, and for all their beasts, which in a Kingdom, not so big as Great Britain, being not above 300. miles in length from Dan to Beersheba, as S. Hierom saith, was a very great proportion.

2. They were to have the Tythes, that is, the tenth part of all profits of all their yearly increase, either of cattle, fruits of trees, or lands, of all which ^{Vide Godwin. l. 3. c. 3.} they were to pay their Tythes, even to Mint, Anise, and Cummin, which, as Christ saith, ^{March. 23.} they ought not to leave undone; And the Husbandman paid two sorts of Tythes: For,

1. When the Harvest was ended, he laid aside his great Therum, called the first fruits of his threshing-floor; and this was of, 1. Wheat. 2. Barley. 3. Grapes. 4. Figs. 5. Pomegranates. 6. Olives. 7. Dates: which the Talmudists called Biccurim: And then under the same head of the first fruits of the threshing-floore, was paid the Tythe of Corn, Wine, Oil, and the Fleece, yea, and of all things else, that the earth brought forth for mans food.

And when the first fruits of the threshing floore was paid them; 1. Out Tob. 1.7. of the remainder, he paid a tenth part unto the Levites; and this they termed, the first Tythe, and this was always paid in kind, and, as it seem- eth, not brought to Hierusalem by the Husbandman, but paid unto the Levites in the several Cities of tillage.

2. When

A Declaration

*Mosés Korssen,
in tractatu de
decima secunda.
Fol. 199.*

2. When this *first tythe* was paid, the Husbandman paid out of that which remained a *second tythe*, which he might either pay *in kind*, or by commutation in *money*, and which for two years he was to make a *Love-feast at Jerusalem* with it, and every third year still at home; but in each place to invite the *Levite*, the *Fatherless*, the *Widow*, and the *Poor*, unto it. *Deut. 14. 18.*

They paid likewise the *tythes of their Cattel*, their *Bullocks*, *Sheep*; and of all that passed under the Rod, the tenth was *Holy unto the Lord*. *Levit. 27. 32.*

And that our Husbandmen may see what the *Jews* paid out of the *Fruits of the Earth*; this *Synopsis*, taken out of *Scaliger*, as *Goodwin* saith, will declare unto them, *Videlicet*

The Husbandman had growing

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 76000. | Bushels of Corn in one year, whereof |
| 100. | Bushels was the least that could be paid by the Husbandman to the Priests for the <i>first-fruits of the threshing floor</i> . So |
| 5900. | Bushels remained to the Husbandman; whereof he paid two <i>tythes</i> . First |
| 590. | Bushels were the <i>first tythes</i> that he paid to the <i>Levites</i> ; whereof, they paid 59. Bushels to the Priests; which was called, <i>decime decimorum</i> , the <i>tythe of tythes</i> . So |
| 5310. | Bushels remained to the Husband-man, whereof |
| 531. | Bushels, were paid for his <i>second Tyte</i> , to the <i>Levite</i> , <i>Fatherless</i> , <i>Widow</i> , and other poor men. So |
| 4770. | Bushels remained to the Husbandman, as his own when he had paid all that was upon him to be paid; and so |
| 1121. | Bushels are the sum of both <i>tythes</i> , joyned together; which is above a <i>sixth</i> part of the whole, and no less then 19. out of a hundred, which the Husbandman hath paid. |

And what would our men say if they were in joynd to pay so much? And yet, besides all the *tythes*, that the *Priests*, and *Levites* were to have, without any diminution, you may

Exod. 13:15. 3. Note, that the *Priests* and *Levites* were to have a *special share* of all the *first fruits*, of their *Cattel* of all kinds, as of *Bullocks*, *Sheep*, *Goats*, and the *Fruits* of their *Trees*, and of their *Corn*, both the *Iberimoth*, and *Thenuphoth*, their *Heave-offering*, and *Wave-offering*; and the *firstlings* or *first-born* of every man, the *Lord* challenged as his *own*; and they were to be redeemed, for five *silver shekels* of the *Sanctuary*, which were to be paid unto the *Priests* for each of them. *Num. 18. 15,* 16.

And so you see, how God would be *Honored*, and how great was the portion of the *Priests*, which received Gods part by the *firstlings* of men, and of *Cattel*, and by the *first fruits* of the *Trees*, and of the *Earth*, in the *Sheafe*, in the *Threshing-floor*, in the *Dough*, and in the *Loaves*; which should teach us, to Consecrate the *prime* of our years, and of all that is good unto the service of the *Lord*.

3. The divers kinds of *Sacrifices* and *Oblations* of the *Jews*, whereof the *Priests* had their part.

3. Besides all this, you must observe that the *Jews* had divers kinds of *Sacrifices*, and *Ceremoniall oblations*, instituted by *God*, and administered by the *Priests*, which were either

1. ἱλαστήριον, Pr pitiatoy and Piacular, that was also two fold.
2. Διαλαύτικον, Reconciling, which the Grecians called Holocaust, because it was wholly burnt.
3. Ἀπολυτητικον, Redeeming,
1. Pro peccato
2. Pro delicto.
- The 1. A sin-offering.
The 2. A trespass offering.
2. Εὐχαεστήριον, Gratulatory, for the manifold benefits that they had received from God: and this their thankfulness they attested three manner of waies.
1. By their Peace-offering.
2. By their Oblations.
3. By their Sacrifice of praise.

And out of all these things, and whatsoever things were devoted to God, in any waies, by Oblations or Vowes, for their sin-offering, or trespass-offering, and all the gifts of the Children of Israel, which were beaved, waved ^{Numb.18. 9;}
^{10,11,12.} or shaken, and the Shew-bread, and all that was sacred and sequestred from the Common use, the portion of the Priests must indispensably be laid out & 30. for them; Because God had given it unto them by a Covenant of Salt for ever; and so out of every Eucaristical Sacrifice, the breast and the right shoulder, were the Levites fees; and from every Holocaust, or whole-burnt Sacrifice they had the skin.

And whensoever they detained any of these, either in whole or in part, the Lord required them to make a plenary satisfaction, and to offer up a Ram for that detention.

Out of all which, it is most evident, that the maintenance of these Ministers of the law was both liberal and honorable; and so much the better, because it was perpetual and entailed to their posterity: whereas our means is transient, and dieth from our children when we die.

Yet you know how Saint Paul reasoneth, if the Ministrion of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of Moses, for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away: How shall not the Ministrion of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the Ministrion of Condemnation be glory, much more doth the Ministrion of Righteousness exceed in glory; So, if their Ministry, which was the Ministrion of the Law, and of Death, had such glorious allowance for their service, I wonder how our Ministry, which is the Ministrion of the Gospel should be so mealy rewarded; and our maintenance so far short of theirs; when, in respect of our more glorious service, and far more beneficial unto our people, it should exceed theirs in all glory.

C H A P. XV.

That the payment of Tythes unto the Church, is not a case of custome but of Conscience; When as the tenth by a Divine right is the Teacher's tribute, and the very first part of the wages that God appointed to be paid unto his Work-men; and therefore, that it is as haynous a sin, and as foul an offence, to defraud the Minister of this due; as it is to detain the meat, or money, of the Labouring-man, which is one of the four crying sins.

Having seen, that it is a part of the duty and charge of all Christian Kings and Princes, to have a special care to uphold Gods service and the true Religion; and to that end,

1. To cause Churches to be built and Beautified, for the people to mee in them, to serve God. And
2. To appoint Worthy men, Bishops and Priests, to supply those Churches, and to instruct the people. And then
3. To see that those servants of God should have that allowance and wages, which God himself hath appointed and commanded to be paid unto them, for their pains and service of his Church.

We are now to examine what their means and maintenance should be, that God appointed for their wages: And I say that he is a most bountiful Master, that takes pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, as King David speakeith; and therefore gives them a very large reward, which doth chiefly consist in these two things.

The two special portions of the Clergy.

1. Tythes.
2. Donations.

- ¶ 1. The Tythes, or tenth part, of his peoples goods.
¶ 2. The Free-will-offerings, Oblations, and Donations of the people.

The 1. He commandeth to be paid them.

And the 2. He alloweth to be given them; and being given, he requireth that they should not be alienated and taken from them; no, not by the givers themselves; therefore much less by any other.

1. That tythes are due to our Ministers.

1. Reason.

Ante legem datum, sacrificium impensis & rebus aliis ad externum Dei cultum conservandum pertinentibus, decima applicabatur. Franc. Sylvius.

1. That Tythes, or the tenth part of our goods and substance are due to them, that discharge the service of God, by the instruction of his people, to Worship God, as well under the New Testament as the Old; it may be manifested by these Reasons.

1. Whatsoever nature and Humane Reason teacheth to be justly due to any man or society of men, the same doth the Scripture, both the Law and Gospel, teach to be due, and ought to be paid unto them; *Nam, sicut Deus est Scriptura, ita Deus est Natura*, for as God is the Author of the Scripture, so he is the God of nature; and whatsoever is true in nature, I speak not of deskt nature, but of pure nature, the same is true in Scripture; And therefore Saint Augustine faith, that as, *Contra Scripturas nemo Christianus, & contra Ecclesiam nemo Catholicus*, No Christian will speak against the Scripture, and no Catholick will gain-say the Church; so *contra rationem nemo sobrium*, No sober man will deny, what Reason avoucheth.

But the law of Nature and Reason teacheth, that no pension which is indifferent and tolerable ought to be denied and detained from the Common use

use and the good of publick weale; for so *Plato*, and *Cicero*, and many more, that knew no more, but what the light of nature shewed them, do say, We are born on that condition, not only to provide for our selves, and our offspring; but also for our private friends, and especially for the publick good of our Countrey; which is the common parent of us all, and the examples of *Theseus* the *Atbenian*, *Demaratus* the *Lacedemonian*, *Epaminondas* the *Theban*; *Curtius*, *Decius*, and *Coriolanus* the *Romans*; and among the *Jews*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Gideon*, *Sampson*, *David*, *Zorobabel*, and abundance more in all Nations, that underwent all charge, and exposed themselves to endure all adventures, for the furtherance of the common goods; do sufficiently confirm this truth unto us.

That every man is to do his best for the publick good.

But the tenth part or portion, that we have from the Fruits and commodities that we receive from the earth, is of the most indifferent condition, competent for the receiver, and tolerable for the giver, as being of a middle size, neither too little for the one to take, nor too much for the other to pay, for the publick service of God.

The tenth the most indiffe- rent part.

And this will easily be confirmed, if we compare this tenth part with the taxes and impositions, that are of other nature, and are required and payable in very many Nations; for the men of *Cholchi*, beside their subsidy of money, were forced to deliver abundred male Children, and as many maidens, by way of task or tribute, unto their Princes; And *Heredotus* writeth of very strange distributions that do arise from the waters of *Nilus*, to the proper use of the Inhabitants about that River; and of the mighty subsidies, that do grow from thence unto the Kings. And the *Egyptians* have been forced to pay the first part of their estate unto their Kings: and *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that a certain King of Egypt gave the yearly custome of the fishes, which were taken out of the pooles of his subjects, to find reayment and other ornaments for his Queen, and that the same amounted to a Talent of silver, for every day in the year. And *Dion*, in the life of *Augustus*, relateth how he levied the twentieth part of every mans estate, and of such Donations, Legacies, and Gifts, as were bequeathed at the time of their death, and said, that he found some Records of that custome, formerly used in the Registers of *Cesar*, and it is written that the *Thuringi* exceeded this payment, in the taxes that were imposed upon them: For they were forced to pay yearly to the Kings of *Hungary*, not only the tenth part of their goods, but also the tenth number of their children; and yet they that are under the Tyranny of the Turks must indure a Heavier yoke, and a far greater slavery; for they pay the fourth part of all their fruits and increase of the earth, and of their labours in their several trades; and they pay toll-money for every servant that they keep: the which, if their estates be not able to do, yet must they make it good, or sell themselves for slaves to do it.

The tenth compared with the taxes imposed upon the people, in divers Nations.

And now judge you, what rational man comparing the tythes, with these tributes and the taxes of other Nations, will not conclude that the tenth part is the most equal, just, and indifferent portion, that can be allotted, and adjudged fit, to be given and paid, for such a publick good, as is the service of God, and the Ministry of the *Gospel*, without pressing too heavy upon the giver, or paying too slight a portion, to the receiver.

2. Whatsoever things have their foundation, and introduction, in the Law of Nature, the same things ought still to be observed and continued; but natural Reason suggesteth and telleth every man, that is not void of Reason;

What natural Reason sheweth.

1. That as they which serve the Common-wealth, Kings, Magistrates, and Governors, should live upon the taxes and Contributions of the Common-wealth; so they that serve the Church of God as Bishops and Priests,

1. That publick Ministers should be by the publick State min- aimed.

A Declaration

Judg. 17. 5.

Priests, shoulde be maintained by the Church: and the Histories of the Gentiles do bear witness, that all the Nations of the World have alwayes fully and sufficiently provided maintenance for their Priests. For so Michah, having set up his Temple, and made an Ephod, and his Teraphim, consecravit ministerium unius & filii suis, he made one of his sons to be his Priest, and implevit manum ejus, which [consecravit ministerium] signifieth, saith Tremellius, in his notes upon that place, that is, to give him an estate, and the maintenance of a Priest: and so he did to the Levite, that succeeded him, consecravit ministerium ejus, id est, implevit manum ejus, He filled his hand, and satisfied him with certainty of maintenance. And Pharaoh, and the rest of the Egyptians allowed lands and possessions, and other sufficient maintenance unto their Priests and Magicians. And the Babylonians were very bountiful to their Wise-men, and the Professors of the Mysteries of their religion. And so was Jezebel also to the Priests of Baal, making them to sit at her own Table.

2. That the Tythes are the first part, and the most indifferent proportion, that we can assign and fittest part to lay out for the maintenance and allowance of the Priests and Ministers of publick Religion: for not only Moses, by the instinct and inspiration of God's Spirit, appointed and commanded the tenth part to be paid unto the so given by Priests; but also, many good and godly men, before Moses time, were by the secret instigation of the same Spirit, and the innate light of their natural reason, directed, before God commanded the same, to give the Tythes of their whole Estate unto God, and to deliver it into the hands of his Receivers, the Priests: As among the people of God, Abraham, and Jacob, paid Tythes of all, and that long before Moses time. And among the Gentiles, Plutarch recordeth, that when Hercules had vanquished Geryon, King of Spain, and by a strong hand, had taken away his Oxen from him, he made an oblation of every tenth Bullock unto God. And it is said, that Cartagin was sent by the Cartaginians unto Tyrus, to offer unto Hercules the tenth part of the spoils, that he had gotten in the Isle of Sicily. And the Histories do relate further, That the Tythes of the prey, that was taken in the Platean Wars, were dedicated, and offered up unto the gods.

And Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical Histories, saith, That the Famous Writer Xenophon, both in the sixth Book of Cyrus his Expedition, and in the first Book of the Acts of the Grecians, maketh mention of a Town called Chrysopolis; which Alcibiades walled about, and assigned a place therein for the payment of Tythes and Tribute; and so, all that loose out of the main Sea, and sail from Pontus, and do arrive at that place, did use there to pay their Tythes, saith mine Author. And Titus Livius writeth, That when the rich City of the Veii, was besieged by Furius Camillus, he spake these words, and said, By thy conduct, and the instinct of thy divine power, O Pythian Apollo, I set forward to the winning of the Town of Veii, and now to thee I vow, the tenth part of the spoils thereof; and after the Veii were captivated, and peace concluded with the Volscians, and the spoils of the City brought to Rome, Camillus said, There was one thing, that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace, That out of that booty only, which was of moveable things, the tenth part was appointed to be levied; but as for the City and ground, that was won, which also was comprised within the vow, there were no words at all made of them: whereupon, the debating of this matter, (which to the Senate seemed doubtful and hard) was put over to the Priests, and Prelates; and their Colleges, calling to them Camillus, thought good that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow was made, and whatsoever, after the vow was made, came into the hands of the people of Rome, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to Apollo; and so, both the City, and the lands were valued,

Veteres ex una-
quaque re deci-
mam offerre di-
solebant. Fran.
Sylvius Insul.
And Plautus
saith, ut deci-
mam solveret
Herculis.

Socrates Scho-
last. 1. 7. c. 25.
Titus Livius. 1.
5. pag. 159.

lued, and money taken out of the *City-Chamber*, for the payment of this tenth ; and because there was not *tore* enough to do it, the *Dames* of the *City* consulted *thereabouts*, and by a common Decree made promise unto the *Tribunes Military*, to supply their *want* ; and to that end they brought into the *Exchequer* their own *Gold*, and all the *Ornaments* and *Jewels* that they had, for the payment of this tenth unto the god *Apollo* ; And this was as acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the *Senate*, as ever any thing had been, saith *Titus Livius*. And it is reported by *Plinius*, That the *A-^{Plinius. l. 12.}rabians* worshipped a god, whom they surnamed *Sobis*, and that they used *c. 14.* to pay the *Tythes* of all their goods unto that *imaginary god*.

And what is the cause, that these *Heathens*, which knew not the *True God*, did these things ? but that the light of reason, which the *God of Nature*, imprinted in their minds, informed them, that the tenth part of their fruits and increase, should appertain to the provision of those Priests that served their god : And the reason, why they conceived the tenth part to be more properly due to their gods, rather than the eighth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth, or any other number more or less, was because the tenth number is the perfectest, and the greatest number that is, beyond which, there is no other number, but by the addition and re-iteration of the same former numbers thereunto, which you may observe in all Languages ; and in the *Arithmetical* explanation thereof, you have no figures, as *Aquinus* well observeth, that reach any further than 9. to which you add the cypher 0 to make up 10. and that cypher 0, being circular and round, is the *Hieroglyphic* expressing the *Eternal God*, which, like unto this cypher, hath neither beginning nor ending, and doth therefore challenge this number, that is like himself, unto himself. And the highest reach of mans natural reason, could not any better way acknowledge the Power and Eternity of the *God of Nature*, than by assigning that quantity of their goods which they offered to him, by this number 10. which is the highest, and the most perfect number that is, and containeth all other numbers within it ; when as after 9. you have no more figures, but adding this cypher 0. And the re-iteration of the same figures from 1. to 9. with the cyphers unto them, it makes up all numbers from 10. to 10. thousand thousands.

And therefore this payment of the *Tythes* unto the Priests, being a truth which *Nature* teacheth, and which I believe was the proportion of the offering and oblation that *Cain* and *Abel* brought to *God*, it must needs be the truth of *God*, that the *Tythes* are due unto the Priests by a Natural and Divine Right, and so never to be altered nor repealed.

3. That the *Priests* of *God*, which serve at his Altar, and the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, that publish the glad *tidings* of *Salvation* unto the people, Of whatthings none will seem so unjust, as to deny but that they ought to have their Reward, and be sufficiently maintained : The *Scripture* is plain enough for *Priests* should that, the labourer is worthy of his hire. But the question is, What that hire should be. And I say,

1. That the fittest course, the most agreeable to reason, and the most acceptable to *God* is, that his hire and pension should be paid him, of that which is justly and honestly gotten, and with the least stain of unlawful procurement ; for, as the Lord saith, Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog, into the House of the Lord thy *God* ; and the reason is, because, these are an abomination unto him. And the son of *Sirach* saith, Who bringeth an offering of unrighteous goods, or of the goods of the poor, doth Deut. 23. 28. Eccles. 34. 18. 21. as one that sacrificeth the son before the fathers eyes : So he that out of his monies gotten by usury, extortion, or any fraudulent wayes, would pay for *God's Service*, must needs be an abomination to the Lord ; because that, as the very *Heathens* were wont to say, Nothing ought to be given and consecrated for the Service and Worship of *God*, quod prophanum, quod non

A Declaration

purum, aut quod non suum est, which is not *true* and honest, and which is not *justly* his own that gives it :

But the *fruits* and *increase* of the *earth*, that ariseth to the *honest Husbandman*, that *tills* his *ground*, *fenceth* his *fields*, and *dresseth* his *Vineyard*, and looks for *Gods blessing* upon his labours, for all his pains; are free from those *corruptions*, and therefore *fittest* to be given to *God*, and for the *Service of God*.

2. Answer.

2. I say, That because the *value* and *prices* of all other commodities, do *vary* and *change*, either according as they are *esteemed*, or as they are *plentiful* or *rare*; but the *increase* and *fruits* of the *earth*, being *alwayes* of the *same nature*, the *portion* of the *Priest*, given out of that *increase*, will be *correspondent* to the *portion* of the *Husbandman*, more or less, as the *Corn* in his *Barn*, and the *abundance* or *penury* of his *Wine-presse* and *fruits* shall be; and according to *God's blessing* upon the *earth*, so shall the *Priest* and the *Husbandman* be both *alike* partakers of *God's blessings*, that both might be *alike thankful* unto *God*: Whereas, if the *Priest* receives a *portion* *alwayes alike* in *money*, when the *fruits* and *increase* of the *earth* are *plentiful* the *Priest* hath *more* than his *due*, and when *scarce*, then *less*; then is *due*, according to the *proportion* of *God's blessing*.

And therefore it is *apparant*, that the most *even* and *equallest* way *continually* to pay the *Minister* his *bire*, and the most *acceptable* unto *God*, is, to give it out of *Gods blessing* of the *increase* and *fruits* of the *earth*. And,

3. Answer.

3. I say, that out of the *increase* and *fruits* of the *earth*, the *tenth part* thereof, is, not only by the *dictate* of *Nature*, and the *light* of *Reason*, as I have *already shewed*, but also by the *Law of Moses*, and by the *Rules of Christ*, and the *Gospel*, the *right* and *due proportion*, that should be set forth and paid, for the *bire* and *maintenance* of the *Priest* and *Minister* of the *Gospel*: For,

1. The *Tythes* are due under the *Gospel*.

1. The *Priesthood of Christ*, is an *everlasting Priesthood*, both, *ex parte ante*, and *ex parte post*, before his *incarnation*, and after his *incarnation*; and *Christ*, as he was *Priest*, did *alwayes receive Tythes* before his *incarnation*; therefore as he is *Priest*, he is *alwayes to receive the Tythes after his incarnation*.

That the *Priesthood of Christ*, is an *everlasting Priesthood*, as well *ex parte ante*, as *ex parte post*, the *Scripture* is *plain enough* to prove it; for the *Prophet David prophesying of Christ*, saith, *The Lord sware, and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedec*. And the *Apostle commenting upon this oath and promise of God concerning Christ*, provereth these *two things* that I speak of:

2. Points provd.

1. That he was a *Priest continually*, as well before, as after his *Incarnation*.
2. That he received the *Tythes alwayes*, as he was this *Eternal Priest*.

1. That *Christ* was a *Priest* before his *incarnation*, and after his *incarnation*.

The 1. Point he provereth; First because, that *Melchisedec*, which received the *Tythes* from *Abraham*, is said to be, *without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of dages, nor end of life*, but abiding a *Priest continually*.

2. That *Christ* was the *Melchisedec* which received *Tythes* from *Abraham*.

And aly, Because, that *Melchisedec*, which is there spoken of, and received those *Tythes* from the *Patriarch Abraham*, was none other person, than *Christ himself*, in an *assumed shape* and *manhood* for a *season*, though not *hypostatically united to the Divine Nature*, so to remain for ever: which may easily be proved.

1. Reason to prove it.

1. Because the *Apostle* saith, That he was *greater than the Patriarch Abraham*, who is termed, *the friend of God*, and the *father of the faithful*; which *Epistole*, with the words, *χωεις ἐπίστολα αὐτούς*, τὸ θάνατον τὸν τοῦ κριτή.

τον οὐκογένειαν. Without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the better, or of the greater, as the Geneva Translator reads it, doth sufficiently shew Him to be Divinioris cuiusdam nature, of a far more excellent, and Divine nature than Abraham was.

2. Because the Apostle, going about to speak of this Melchisedec, and to 2. Reason, let them understand, who he was; faith, *τι εἰ καὶ μάλιστρος ἀπόστολος, πειρώντος λόγους, concerning whom, we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered,* Heb. 7. 7. or explained: which certainly, so great an Apostle, and so expert in all the Jewish Rites, would never have said, had he not understood this Melchisedec to be *υτός οὐχίς*, some excellent and ineffable Person; because he doth never say thus, when he speaks, either of the Angels, or of any other of the Types and Figures of Jesus Christ. Which you shou d mark.

3. Because the Apostle doth not say of this Melchisedec [Whose death is 3. Reason, not set down or mentioned by Moses]; for so he might be dead; though his death were not spoken of; but he saith, *καὶ οὐ μαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ θάνατῳ, that David testifieth or witnesseth, that he liveth;* to shew the difference betwixt this Priest that always liveth, and those Levitical Priests, that ever died; and therefore, comparing the Priesthood of Aaron, and of the Levites, and the Priesthood of Christ together, he saith, *καὶ οὐδὲ μόνον οὐδικός ἦργον αὐτούς, καὶ οὐ μαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ θάνατῳ.* And here, that is, among the Levitical Priests, men that die receive Tythes; but there be, that is, Melchisedec, or Christ, receive themself when it is witnessed, that he liveth: Wherein I would have you diligently to observe, that the Apostle would have us to understand,

S. 1. That Aaron and the Levites were *ἄνθρωποι, men.*

S. 2. That they were *ἀνθρώποις, mortal men, that died:* But this Priest, by the Antitypis, must be neither man, that is, simply a man, and no more but a man; nor mortal after the manner of other men, because the Prophet testifieth in Ch. that he liveth; and therefore going to prove the necessity of the change of the Law, he saith, it is evident, because our Lord sprang out of Judah, of which Tribe Moses spake nothing concerning the Priesthood: And he addeth, that it is yet far more evident, because that after the similitude of Melchisedec, there ariseth another Priest who is made, *καὶ κατὰ σχέσιν ἀνθρώπου γένος οὐτούς;* not after the Law, of a carnal commandment, *καὶ κατὰ σχέσιν ζωῆς αὐτούς;* but after the power of an endless life: and, Who hath the power of an endless life, but Jesus Christ? Therefore this Melchisedec can be none other than Jesus Christ, because the Apostle saith, he was of an endless life; or otherwise the similitude doth not hold, that Christ was of an endless life, *καὶ τὸ διατομήμα τοῦ Ιησοῦ, after the likeness of Melchisedec,* if his life was none otherwise endless, than what is, or may be, collected out of Moses, touching the endless life of Melchisedec; but the Apostle provereth Christ to be so, of an endless life, not by what Moses said, or said not, of Melchisedec; but by the testimony of the Prophet David, which saith, The Lord sware, that He (i. e.) Christ, is a Priest for ever, and so is of an endless life, which cannot be said of that Melchisedec, spoken of by Moses, unless that Melchisedec be Jesus Christ: Because, that if he was not Jesus Christ, we are sure that he died, and therefore could not be of an endless life.

4. Because the Apostle (to answer and prevent an Objection that might be made, because, he had said, that Melchisedec, *ἀπουλαργός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, was made like unto the Son of God) means no otherwise by this *ἀπουλαργός, made like unto the Son of God,* but that he was indeed the Son of God. Even as Nebuchadnezzar saith, The fourth man, that walked with the three children in the fiery-Furnace, was like unto the Son of God; whereby Dan. 3. 24. he meant, that he was none other than the Son of God, that came there to preserve his servants: So here the Apostle, in saying that he was

Verse 14.

Hebr. 7. 3.

A Declaration

επομένων τούτην τὴν διη, made like unto the Son of God; meaneth (without question) that this Melchisedec, or, this Christ, that met Abram, assumed now a body of the same likeness, habit, and countenance, as afterward he meant to unite personally unto himself: for that it is unusual thing in Scripture, to say, that he, which is, is like unto himself; as that Saint Paul is like Saint Paul: as where the Apostle saith, that Christ was found in shape or fashion, as a man, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: that is, he was made indeed, a true, perfect, and a natural man.

Phil. 3. 7, 8.

3. Reason.

Levit. 27. 30.

6. Reason.

Petrus Cunaeus
de Repub. Heb.
1. 3. c. 3. pag.
402.

7. Reason.

Job. 8. 13.

This point is
more fully
handled in my
book of The
best Religion
in the Treatise
of the Incar-
nation of
Christ.

2. Point, that
Christ received
tythes as he
was Priest.

5. Because Abraham did give unto this Melchisedec, the Tythe of all that was taken from four Kings, a great booty, as perceiving under that visible shape and form of man, an invisible deity to subsist; to whons, the tythe of all things, is only due, and everlasting due to him, and to none but to him (as the Lord saith himself, All the tythe of the land is the Lords, that is the Lord Christ's) because he is the everlasting Priest, which Melchisedec, if he was a mortal man and not Christ, could not be.

6. Because Saint Paul, confirmeth the perpetuity and eternity of Christ his Priest-hood, with the testimony of the Prophet David, who, speaking of Christ, saith, Thou art a Priest forever, *αρά ταξι*, according to the order of Melchisedec saith the Greek copy; but, *Sicut vel quemadmodum Melchisedecus, even as, or in like manner, as Melchisedec is a Priest forever,* saith the Hebrew text, as *Aben Ezra* doth expound it; and so makes it clear that that Melchisedec was Jesus Christ.

7. And lastly, Because all they, which do affirm this Melchisedec, to be either *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, or any other King of *Salem*, and a Mortal man, *Fateri coguntur ea omnia, que de illo Apostolus dixit, etiam Melchisedec convenire*, saith Cunaeus, are compell'd to confess, that all those things which the Apostle speaks of Melchisedec, do very well and literally agree with Christ, but cannot agree with any other mortal man, without admitting many mystical and figurative interpretations thereof.

And therefore I do say, that this Melchisedec, which received these tythes was no mortal man, but the immortal son of God, to whom all tythes are due; and he, assuming a visible shape, did appear unto Abraham, after his great victory, which he had over his enemies; and is the first victory that we read of in the Holy Scripture: and may typifie the spiritual Conquest of our enemies by our Saviour Christ, who offered unto Abraham, bread and wine, as the type of our blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and it is probable, that our Saviour had respect hereunto, when he said unto the Jews, that Abraham saw his day and rejoiced, that is, not only with the eyes of faith, (as all the rest of the Patriarchs, and Prophets did see him) but also in a visible shape, which he assumed; like unto that, whereunto he was afterward to be united, and which many Prophets and just men desired to see, and have not seen; God yielding not such a special favour unto them, as herein he did unto faithful Abraham.

And so you see the first point sufficiently cleared, that Christ was alwaies and continually an eternal Priest, as well before as after his Incarnation. And

2. For the other point, that he alwaies received the Tythes, as he was this eternal Priest, the Scriptures make it plain; for here you see, this Melchisedec, which is Christ, receiveth the tythes of Abraham; and Saint Paul saith, that he, whose descent is not counted from them, that is from the posterity of Aaron, that is Christ, received tythes of Abraham; and all the Levitical Priests, that were as then in the loyns of Abraham paid tythes to Him, to whom only all tythes are due; and the Levites to whom Moses, under the law, commanded the tythes to be paid, were but his substitutes and Tythe-gatherers, and receiving what is due to him, unto themselves, for his service.

And

And seeing Christ himself received tythes, as due to him before the law, and received them, by his servants, the Levites under the law; Why should he now be deprived of them, and not receive them also by his Ministers under the Gospel? Especially considering he hath now accomplished, fulfilled, and wholly discharged, the Office of his Priest-hood, which was to offer that propitiatory Sacrifice unto God; which should fully satisfy and appease his wrath for the sins of the people, which as then he had but only promised, and at large shadowed out the same, in types and figures, unto the fathers:

More reason to pay Tythes now to Christ, then in the time of the Law, proved

Or, is it possible to imagin that they which paid him their tythes under the law, were more obliged to him for those shadows, and the expectation of accomplishing his promises, than we should be, for having already obtained the real substance? Or, shall we believe the whole generation of men to be such, as will promise any thing, and do any thing, that they can, to obtain what they desire, and when they have obtained their desires, will do and perform just nothing. So while Christ was desired and expected to come, men duly paid their tythes unto him; but now being come, and having done his work, and discharged his Priestly Office, they will pay him no tythes at all; which is the propertie of ill natures. To promise any thing, while they seek, and to do nothing, when they obtain their desires.

But the consideration of the persons, that paid their tythes to Christ, before his Incarnation, is an unanswerable argument to prove, that all Christians should much rather now pay their Tythes to Him after his Incarnation; for if they, that had all things more imperfect then we have them, and but in shadows under a vail and curtainis, that were drawn over them; did then so fully and so readily pay their Tythes to Christ, and to his servants that gathered them; How can we now, when the night is past, and the Curtains of those Types are drawn aside, and the substance of those their shadows are perfectly shewed unto us, be any waies excused, if we refuse and deny to pay our Tythes to him, and to his Ministers, that gather them? Because it is an uncontroulable Maxim, *To whom much is given, of them much shall be required*: And God having given us far better, and far more perfect things, then he gave unto the Jews; he looks that we should be more thankful, and more ready to pay our Tythes, and to do him service, then they were; and therefore Christ saith, *That except our righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

And yet you know what they did, fast twice every week, and pay Tythes of all that they had even of the smallest things, mint, and annises, and the least herbs they had; and How doth our righteousness exceed their righteousness, if we deny our Tythes to Gods Ministers? I would we were as righteous as they were.

And as the Consideration of the Persons paying their Tythes, so the consideration of the Persons, to whom they were paid; as to the substitutes of Christ, as well before as after the coming of Christ, doth sufficiently prove, that we Christians have more reason to pay our Tythes now under the Gospel, then the Jews had to pay them under the law; for, if the Tythes were payable, and to be given to those servants of Christ, that were of the lower degree, and did the meaner offices, and brought least benefit unto the people of Christ; then certainly they should be much rather payable to those Ministers of Christ, that are of a far higher degree, and do the more honorable offices, and bring the rarest and the greatest benefits unto the people; but the Ministers of the Gospel, in all the foresaid respects, do far exceed and excel the Priest-hood of the law; because, as Saint Paul sheweth, the Levitical Priests were but Lecturers of the letter, which killeth; but the Ministers of the Gospel, are the Interpreters of the Spirit, which giveth life; 1 Cor. 3, 6,7,8; they expounded the shadows, these the substance of Religion; and they had 9,10,11.

A Declaration

committed unto them the Ministrion of *Condemnation*, and these have the Ministrion of *Kighteousness* and *Glorification* delivered unto their charge.

Therefore, seeing the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, do thus far and in these respects excel the *Priests* of the *Law*, there is no reason their *bire* and *maintenance* should be less then the *bire* and *maintenance* of the *Levitical Priests* but that the *Tythes* should be as well paid to these as the other.

S. i. de decimis.

Suus ergo est portio una ex decem.

Extra de decimis. Cum non sit.

Augustinus de doctrina Christiana.

The damage of detysning our Tythes.

That all tythes are of three sorts.

And the *Civilians* tell you, that, *Decima est omnium bonorum mobilium licite quasitorum, pars decima; Deo data, & Divina constitutione debita:* The *Tythe* is the tenth part of all moveable goods, lawfully gotten, given unto God, and due to be paid unto the *Priests* by the *Ordinance* of God. And *Innocentius* saith, that God by a special title hath reserved the *Tythes* unto himself, in token of his *Universal Dominion, Power, and Right* that he hath over all. And therefore *Saint Augustine* saith, that the *Tythes*, being thus due to God, *Li qui dare nolunt, alienas res invadunt,* They that will not pay their *Tythes* do take away others right, and hold that which is none of their own. And therefore *Cum decimas dando, celestia & terrena possis promereri, pro avaritia tua denegando, duplice benedictione fraudaris;* When by paying thy *Tythes* to Gods Ministers, thou mayst gain both *Celestial* and *Terrestrial* blessings, according as the Prophet sheweth, thou by thy *Covetousness* in denying thy *Tythes*, dost deprive thy self of this double benefit: because this is the most usual proceeding of the just God, That, *Qui decimam non dedit, ad decimam reducetur;* that many times, the man that will not pay his *Tythes*, shall be reduced unto the *Tythe* when either the fire, or canker-worm and Caterpiller, shall consume thy store, or the wicked Soldier will Plunder, and take from thee, what thou wouldst not give to Gods Minister.

Therefore it is apparent, that no wise man, which loveth his own good, will deny the payment of his *Tythes* unto the *Ministers* of *Jesus Christ*: and that you may rightly understand this case concerning *Tythes*, you must observe that they are of three sorts.

1. *Predial.*
2. *Personal.*
3. *Neutral.*

1. They are called *Predial*, which do naturally arise out of the fruits and increase of the Earth.

2. They are styled *Personal*, which do accrue out of the fruits, gain, and labour of the person, that getteth them, either by *Traffick, Warfars, Hunting*, or any other exercise of his hands.

3. They are termed *Neutral*, that are not simply of either of the two former kinds, but do partly accrue from the increase and fruits of the Earth, or the Cattle that are increased, by their feeding thereon; or otherwise are brought up under the care of mens hands.

And all these are the *Tythes* that are due, and properly due to our High Priest *Jesus Christ*, and ought to be justly paid to the *Ministers* of *Christ* for the *Worship* and *Service* of God.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

*The Answer to the choicest, and chiefest Objection that the Schoole
of Anabaptists have made, and do urge against the payment of
Tythes now, in the time of the Gospel.*

But, though the truth of this point, that all Tythes, as well in the time
of the Gospel, as under the Law, and before the law, are continually due
to Christ, our eternal Priest; and so at all times payable, and to be given to
his Substitutes and under-Priests, is as clear as the Sun: yet, such hath been
and is the malice of Satan against Christ and his Church, that he hath raised
up, and stirred a whole Army of Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Worldlings,
that with might and main do fight against this Truth, and labour with all
their wits, to suppress the same, and to drive it quite out of the World:
And to that end, they do Object.

1. If all Tythes be thus due, as you say, by the Law of God, then they
are every where due, and all they do sin, and grievously offend that do de-
tain them.

Obj. 1:

But many Countreys, and some Christian Common-wealthes, no doubt,
pay no Tythes at all, and are not acquainted with this fashion of paying
Tythes, and yet do sufficiently and honorably maintain their Ministers for
the service of God.

Therefore, questionless, the payment of Tythes is not due by the Divine
Law.

Sa.:

To this Objection, I conceive Dr. Gardiner doth reasonably well answer,
though, I think, not fully sufficient to take away the strength of this Argu-
ment, in his large and rational discourse, which he makes in answer to
this their Objection; for he saith, and that truly,

*Cicero in Orat.
pro Balbo, 200.*

That many things are of such Nature, (though I think Tythes are not
so) as will not be fitting to every place, or all places, alike; but may, in
some places, be well performed, and in some other places be prohibited; be-
cause, as Cicero saith, the different state of Cities inforceth a necessity of
different Laws: for, as all meats are not alike pleasant to all Palats, and
every air agreeth not with all Constitutions; so all manners belong not to all
men: but some Laws are suitable to some peoples, and some other Laws are
more convenient for some other; and all, or the same, are not expedient
for all.

i. Answer.

And as every shooe will not be drawn on every foot, and one kind of Me-
dicine, is not to be Administred to every Stomack, but that Physick, which
may fit the younger age, may be unkind for the same disease when a/d age
hath seised upon us: So one discipline may be fitting for a City, which
may not be so fitting, either for another City, or especially for a Kingdom;
and one Ceremony may sort with the Church, in times of peace and pros-
perity, which holdeth no correspondency with the seasons of War and
Persecution.

We may alter
the Ceremo-
nies of the
Church, as the
times and
state of the
Church do
require.

Neither should we look, that the same uniform regiment is to be obser-
ved, In ecclesia Constituta, as in Ecclesia Constituenda, as well in an infant
Church, as in a Church of riper age; or in a Church persecuted, when she
flyeth with the woman into the Wilderness, or is fain to lie desolate in the
caves of the earth, and a Church in peace when she sitteth as a Queen in
her

A Declaration

It is hard to
make a fit coat
for the Moon.

her Throne; or in a Church under Heathen Emperours, and a Church under Christian Governours, when she sojourneth as a captive in Babylon, and when she dwelleth at liberty in Jerusalem; for as no one garment can fit the Moon, which is subject by nature to an often-change, and is sometimes in the Full, and afterward in the Wayn, and never continuing in one stay; So the Church of Christ, being like the Moon, sometimes high, and sometime low, often in the Full, and as often in the Wayn; it cannot be, that the same uniform Government should fit the Church in all places, and at all times. And therefore, the Prophet speaking of the Kings Daughter, that signifieth the Church of Christ, saith, That although her chiefest glory is within, yet her outward Attire is likewise glorious, and it is of divers colours; and so are the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, of divers sorts, as the times and places do admit them. And Musculus to the same purpose, saith, *Si illorum temporum mores revocas, tum conditiones & statum quoque illorum temporum primum revoca*: If thou wilt call back again, the manners, customes, and practise of those times, wherein the Apostles and primitive Christians lived; then first call back again the state and conditions of those times; that both the times and the manners may agree; when, as I told you before, many things may serve at one time, that will not serve at another time; *Ut musica in lucis est importuna narratio*, As Musick is unseasonable in the time of mourning, saith the Wise-man.

Tertull. in L
De veland Vir-
gin.

And indeed, what Tertullian saith, is beyond all contradiction, *Regula fidei immobilius & irreformabilis est*, The Rule and Canon of our Faith is, and must alwayes be, unmoveable, and unreformable, not to be altered; *at cetera discipline & conversationis novitatem correctionis admittunt*; but all other things, that appertain to discipline, and government, and conversation, may admit the newnes and change of a Reformation: And so the Eucharist, the holy Communion, being to succeed for our Sacrament, in the room of the Passover, it was most convenient, that it should be celebrated by Christ at supper-time, in the evening, because the Passover was commanded by the Law, to be eaten between the two evenings: And yet the Church thought it more convenient to alter that fashion, and to take it in the morning. So likewise, Christ was baptized in Jordan, and the Apostles baptized men in Rivers, and Fountains of waters; and would you have us to imitate their example, to forsake the Christian Assembly in the holy Church, and to carry our Infants, with the fanatick Anabaptists, to be baptized in the Rivers?

The first Chris-
tians did ma-
ny things that
we are not
bound to do;
and we do ma-
ny good things
that they did
not.

But seeing that in the Apostles time, the good Christians sold their lands and possessions, and laid down the prices and monies, that they received for them, at the Apostles feet; I demand, Why do not our Anabaptists, that would have all things reduced to the Primitive time, imitate them in this their Devotion, and lay the prices of their lands at their Preachers feet? I know they will answer, That this extraordinary Devotion, is not of necessity to be drawn into imitation: and I confess it;

But in the Apostles time, there were no Universities, no Schools of Learning, no Hospitals, nor Alms-houses, no Book of the Holy Scriptures divided into Chapters, nor Chapters into Verles, no distinction of Parishes, and many other good things were not then in being; And shall we now cast them all away, because the Apostles and the first Christians had them not? Or will not the giddy-heads understand, that, as the Sun in the firmament, goeth bigger and bigger, unto the noon and perfect day; so the truth, and knowledge of the Sun of Righteousness, and the perfection of his Service, groweth more and more unto the fulness of the knowledge of Christ: and even as Christ himself increased in wisdom and knowledge, and in favour with God and men; so doth the Church of Christ.

Luke. 2. 52:

And so to return, and to apply our selves to the case of Tythes, though some places,

places, as it may be in the Low-Countries, and the Reformed Churches in France, have their immunities by themselves, and are not charged with the payment of Tythes, (their state and condition not admitting it) yet in lieu of their Tythes, their Ministers are maintained with as sufficient supplies: and necessity excuseth even in greater matters, as in not praying, and not receiving the Sacraments, as well as in not paying Tythes, when the case cannot be otherwise. As S. Paul, for some special exigency, took no stipend of some Churches for his labours, in the preaching of the Gospel; Yet, he tells them, that by right he might have claimed it; and therefore inferreth, that what he did for some special causes, should not be drawn into an example, to prejudice and defraud others of that which was their due.

So we say, That in those Churches, which pay not their Tythes in kind, there is an allowance, equivalent to the Tythes, given to those Ministers that have no Tythes. And as the Kings of Persia imposed no Tribute upon those subjects, that brought in their voluntary contributions, that increased their Exchequer more than their Tribute; So their Preachers have no cause to complain, for not receiving their Tythes, when they have as much, or more, than their Tythes are worth: And the example of these, that live by their set and certain stipend, ought not to be alledged and pleaded, to the hurt and prejudice of them, that are sustained by their Tythes.

And though all this that I have said be very true; yet, because, as I conceive, it taketh not away the strength of the foresaid Argument, which is, That if it be a Moral Precept, that doth oblige us to observe it, semper & ad semper, then it obligeth all men, and in all places, to pay their Tythes, and they sin, that pay them not, though they do pay some other stipend, be it more or less in lieu of them; because it lieth not in man to alter or change the Commandment of God, but to do what he commandeth them; Therefore,

2. I say, and yield, That the Precept of paying Tythes for the Service of God, being a Moral, perpetual, and universal Precept, it obligeth all men, fully. in all places, and at all times, as well, before the Law, as after the Law, and as well after the incarnation of Christ, as before his incarnation, to observe and to obey the same, and that they sinned which did it not: for as God hath imprinted it in the heart of man, and the light of nature teacheth him, that God must be served; and a set time must be appointed for that Service; and a standing proportion of our goods allotted for them; that do him service, and teach others so to do: and God hath strewed unto us, that the set time for his Service should be every seventh day, which we should keep holy, and keep Holy for that end; and the standing quantity and proportion of our goods, that we ought to set forth for his Service, should be our Tythes: So accordingly, every man, among all the generations of men, ought to do; to sanctifie the Seventh day, to serve God, and to pay their Tythes, for the performance and continuance of his Service.

What all the generations of men are bound to do.

And if man, by his transgression, hath obscured this light of nature, and obliterated that impression, which God had imprinted in his heart, and through his own negligence or forgetfulness remembreth neither the day that he should keep holy; nor that part that he should pay for his Service: Shall that make the Commandment of God of none effect, or acquit man, for the not performance of his duty? By no means; for you know, what the Prophet saith, of the children of Israel, when God had done his wonderful works for them in Egypt, and fearful things by the Red Sea; they soon forgot what he had done, and were not mindful of his Covenant: So did all the sons of Adam forget not only these, but also all other the Commandments of God, especially in many, if not the chief points thereof; and neither their negligence, nor forgetfulness, can excuse them herein from sin, in the breach of his Commandment.

R. c. p. s. f. o.
Gen. 4. 3.
Chap. 4. 26.
Chap. 8. 20.

Else these Services had been
but *obligatione*,
a Will-
worship, and
no wayes ac-
ceptable unto
God.

Obj. 2.

Math. 28. 20.
Act. 20. 27.

Sol. 1.

Math. 5. 17.

Sol. 2.

But you will say, This Commandment of keeping the *Seventh day*, and giving the tenth part of our goods for his Service, was never directly, and precisely, or expressly given in terminis, until Moses time; and where there is no Law, there is no transgression: therefore they did not sin, when they had no Commandment.

I answer, That when Cain and Abel brought their Oblation unto the Lord, and when children were born unto Seth, and men began to call upon the Name of the Lord; and when Noah built an Altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings upon the Altar: And so likewise; when Abram did the like, and called on the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God, we read of no Command in terminis that they had, to do these things; but God had written these Commandments in their hearts, with the Pen of Nature: And so, as the Apostle saith, having no Law, they were a law unto themselves, and having no Commandment, they were commandments unto themselves; and whosoever transgresse the same, transgresse the Commandments of God.

And therefore, these things being imprinted in mans heart by the Pen of Nature, I say, that what Nation soever, and what Church soever have not, or do not serve God, and pay their Tythes to Christ and his servants, for the Service of God, and the continuance of his Service, they do transgresse the Commandment of God.

But I do not say, it must be precisely the tenth part of our goods, and no more; for as we may keep holy some other day, besides the *Seventh day*, so we miss not to keep the *Seventh day*; So, we may give more than the tenth for the Service of God, if we please, so we neglect not to give the tenth. And as the Jews having a Commandment, that they should not punish any Offender with any more than 40 stripes, did not transgresse, when for fear of misreckoning, they never gave but 39; So when God commandeth us to give the tenth, we do not break his Commandment, when for fear of giving too little, we give more than the tenth: But,

2. They do object, That what neither Christ, nor his Apostles have commanded us to do, we are no wayes obliged to do; but neither Christ nor his Apostles have commanded us to pay Tythes: for Christ biddeth his Apostles to teach the Nations and people, to observe all things that he commanded them: And S. Paul saith, That he had shewed unto the people the whole counsel of God: and yet in all the Sermons of Christ, and in all the Writings of the Apostles, there is not any Precept given for the Christians to pay Tythes.

Therefore the Christians ought not to be compelled to pay Tythes.

To this I answer. 1. That the payment of Tythes, is a Precept, imprinted in our hearts by the Law of Nature, and afterwards confirmed and explained unto us by the Law of Moses, and practised by many Nations of the Gentiles, as I shewed to you before. And our Saviour saith, *I think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets*, that is, to give liberty, and to free men from the obedience and performance of either of these Laws, that is, the Law of Nature, and the Moral Law, as the 19. and 20. verses do shew the same most plainly. And when John Baptist would have hindred him to be baptized, he telleth John, That it behoved them, not only himself, but John also, and so all others, as well as John, to fulfil all righteousness: And how shall we fulfil all righteousness, unless we render to Cesar what is Cesa's, and to God what is God's? And as S. Paul saith, *To owe nothing to any man*, but to yield Honour to whom Honour belongeth, Tribute to whom Tribute; and so Tythes to whom the Tythes do belong.

2. I say, That Christ and his Apostles do plainly enough enjoyn us to pay our Tythes; for Christ, reproving the preciseness of the Scribes and Pharise-

Pharisees in paying Tythes of Mint, Anise, and Cummin, and neglecting the greater matters of the Law, saith, *These things ye ought to have done, and Math. 23. 23. not to leave the other undone*: And it you say, These words are to be restrained to that time, wherein the Ceremonial Law was in force, and not to the times of the Christians; I answer, Not so but they are rather to be referred to the Christians, than to the Jews; for all Tythes being due to Christ, as he is our Eternal Priest, as I have fully proved to you before, Who should now have most right unto the Tythes, the Preachers that are followers of Christ, or the Scribes and Pharisees that rejected him? But now, when Christ and his Apostles preached, the Scribes and Pharisees had all the Tythes in their own hands, and would not suffer Christ and his Apostles to take them from them; and therefore, seeing they would neither believe and follow Christ, nor yield the Tythes, to them that preached the Gospel of Christ, it fell out by the just judgement of God, that when Nero sent Felix to be the Governor of Jny, the Priests were deprived of their Tythes, Josephus l. 20. c 13. and many of them perished with Famine, as Josephus witnesseth.

3. I say, That Christ by these words, *teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded*, meaneth not, that they should only observe what he commanded, and no more; but that they should likewise observe what Moses, and David, and the rest of the Prophets, yea, and what the Scribes and Pharisees commanded them to do, while they sat in Moses Chair, and whatsoever he commanded them to do, besides all, that was formerly commanded; because he commanded a great deal more, to make his people more perfect then ever was commanded before his time; for you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, but I say unto you, *Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery*: And you heard it was said of old, *Thou shalt not forswear thy self*; but I say unto you, *Swear not at all*: So you heard it was said of old, *Aye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*; but I say unto you, *Resist not evil*: And so you heard, it was said of old, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy*; but I say unto you, *Love your enemies, and so forth*.

And therefore the meaning of Christ's words in the 28th of S. Matthew and the 20th verse, is as I said, That they should observe and do, not only what was commanded them before, but also whatsoever he, and his Apostles by his Spirit, commanded them besides; as, to believe in him, and to follow him, and so forth.

4. I say, That S. Paul in saying, that, as they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the Temple, and they that wait at the Alter, are partakers with the Altars; even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel; doth herein fully and plainly prove, that the Tythes should be as duly, and as justly paid to the Ministers of the Gospel, as they were to the Priests and Levites under the Law: For by the Alter, and they that wait at it, the Priesthood is understood; and by the fruits and profits of the Alter, the Tythes and Oblations are plainly meant; and then adding, *τότα γε οι κυριοὶ θυσίαι*, Even so, that is, in like manner, or by the like means, which σήμα signifieth, the Lord hath ordained, that the Ministers of the Gospel, should have all the fruits, profits, and benefits of the Alter, which are the Tythes and Oblations, as well, and in like manner, as the Priests of the Law have had them.

3. They do object, if we compel the Christians to pay Tythes, we make their yokes more grievous, and their burden more intolerable than the burden of those Fathers, that lived before the Law was given; for that in the time of the first Patriarchs, the Tythes were never demanded as a duty, but Abraham freely, and not forcedly, gave them to Melchisedec; and Jacob conditionally, and not absolutely, made his vow to pay them unto God; but we ought not to make the yoke and burden of our people now, in the

March. 5. 27.

&c.

¹ Cor. 9. 13;

¹⁴

Obj. 3.

A Declaration

time of grace, more intolerable then they were in the time of nature: therefore *Tythes* ought not to be required as a duty.

Sol. 1.

To this I answer, 1. That although, in those Primitive times, the *Tythes* were not demanded, nor by any Positive Law, commanded by God; and therefore not paid, until *Abraham* and *Jacob* had paid them: yet this proveth not, that it was not due because it was not paid; as it is no consequent, that because God commanded not *Cain* and *Abel* to offer *Sacrifice*, nor the sons of *Seth*, To call upon the name of the Lord; therefore it was not their duty to do it; for it is our duty, to do many things that we do not. And so I have proved, It was their duty to pay *Tythes*, though they paid them not.

Sol. 2.

2. I say, that before the Law was given, the Fathers of the first age, had many things in use, which were not answerable to that Perfection, which Christ requireth in his followers; and therefore he in joynd us to do many things that they did not; and so did the Law it self, both inhibite them to do some things, that they did amiss, and commanded many things to be observed, which they neglected: and therefore that first age of the World, being but the Infancy of Gods Church, and the daies of Initiation, they are not to be alleagd, as examples for our imitation: For, w^t I was a Child, I did as a Child; but when I was a man, I put away childish things: saith the Apostle.

Sol. 3.

3. I say, there was no such need nor reason, for the payment of *Tythes* then, though they were due, to maintain the Priests and Ministers of God, as afterwards, and especially, as now, in our times; because then the first born of every family was the Priest, and he, by the prerogative of his Birth-right, was to have a double part and portion of inheritance; and therefore,

Sol. 4.

4. And lastly I say, that if the Patriarchs, in those times, when there was no Positive commandment, to pay *Tythes*, did notwithstanding pay them even to those Priests, that had means enough of their own to live by it, and had no need of *Tythes* to sustain them: then much rather should we now pay them, to those Ministers of Christ, that have no other maintenance, and therefore can not labour in Gods Vine-yard, and discharge the duties of their calling without them, especially considering, how often, and how earnestly Christ and his Apostles do command us, and exhort us to do it, and with such promises of Blessings, if we do it; and Curseing, if we refuse it.

Obj. 4.

4. They do Object, That the Commandment for paying *Tythes* is not Moral, but either Judicial or Ceremonial: and we that are Christians are not obliged to observe either the Ceremonial or the Judicial Laws of the Jews; because all the Ceremonial Laws were but shadows, types, and predictions, shewing the coming, doings, and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and when the true light and substance of those shadows, the Sun of Righteousness was come, all those shadows were at an end, and vanished away; and the Judicial Laws of the Jews were only proper, and peculiar to that people, and do not oblige other Nations to observe them. And therefore the Christians are no wayes obliged to the payment of *Tythes*.

To this Objection, which some of our opposers think, to be invincible, I answer (and it may be contrary to the opinion of many Divines, of no mean or usual Learning) and I say for *Tythes*,

1. That they are due to Christ, as he is a Priest for ever, by a Divine, Natural, and Moral right, as I hope, I have sufficiently proved to you before.

And if they do Object and say, that if the precept of paying *Tythes* be of a Natural right, and a Moral precept, then the payment thereof is, or ought to be, commanded, within one of the ten Commandments of the

Moral

Moral Law; because, all Moral precepts are comprehended within those ten Commandments: but the precept of paying Tythes, is not in any one of the ten Commandments of the Moral Law; and therefore it is no Moral precept.

I answer, That the payment of Tythes is commanded, in four special Commandments of the Moral Law, as, in the first, the fourth, the sixth, the eighth. For as the Prophet David saith, Thy Commandments, O Lord, are exceeding broad; and do comprehend abundance of things more then you see *prima facie*, in the outward letter of the Commandment; as when the Commandment sayeth, Honor thy Father and thy Mother, it injoyneth thee, to feed him, and to maintain him, as Joseph did his Father Jacob, when he wants, and is not able to maintain himself; and when it saith, Thou shalt do no murder, it forbids us to hate, or to be angry with our neighbour; So when the Lord saith, Thou shalt have none other gods but me, he commands us to render unto God, what is God's; as well, to maintain his outward service, by tythes and offerings unto his Priests, and alms unto his poor members, as by serving him with our inward service of faith, hope, love, fear, and the like; So when he commands us To keep Holy the Sabbath day, he commands us, to do all things, that do further and do appertain to the Sanctifying of the Sabbath: and, Who can deny, but that the payment of our Tythes to the Preacher and Minister of Christ, is one of the most principal means to further and cause the Sanctifying of the Lords day? When, as the Artist cannot work without his tools; so the Minister cannot discharge his service, on the Sabbath, unless he is maintained all the week: And so when he bids us to Honor our Father and Mother, he means that we should as well, or rather in the first place, Reverence, and with our Tythes and Offerings relieve and maintain our spiritual Fathers, the Ministers of Christ, and the Church our Mother, as our natural Father and Mother: and so likewise, when he saith, Thou shalt not steal, he commands us, not to detain and keep back the Tythes, and Offerings from Gods Ministers: Whereby you may see, that this commandment of paying our Tythes is a Moral precept, and implicitly contained and comprehended in the Moral Law.

Many things
are included
that are not so
clearly expres-
sed in the ten
Command-
ments.

Obj:

And if you say, The maintenance of the Ministers may be included in those Moral commandments, to be commanded, for the performance of Gods outward service, and to uphold and further the Sanctifying of his Sabbath; yet there is no proof, that, that maintenance, which is implied in those precepts, must be the Tenth part, rather then the eleventh, fifteenth, or the twentyeth part of our goods.

I answer, That I have proved already, That the very Tythe, or tenth part is the continual due that belongs to Christ, as he is a continual Priest for ever; and all the precepts of Christ, and commandments of God, being Brevia, levia & utilia, very compendious and short, that they might not be forgotten; for which cause, the Ten Commandments are stiled, decem verba, ten words: and these ten words are contracted, into one word, which is but one syllable, and all the Commandments of God are comprehended in that one syllable, Love: For love is the fulfilling of the Law: There is no reason, we should look, that all the inclusive particulars, contained in that one word, or in those few short precepts, should or could be particularly expressed therein. But they are alwaies left to be understood and explained by the Preachers and Commentators. As when he saith, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, the Sanctifying of the Sabbath, you must confess, is therein concluded; and yet, that the Sabbath shall be the seventh day, is not therein mentioned; So when he saith, Thou shalt have none other gods but me, the Tythes, that are a special means to uphold and further his outward service must of necessity be understood, to be therein comprehended, though in direct terms, the tenth part is not expressed. And

Sol.

The Com-
mandments
are very short
that we should
not forget
them.

O

Further,

A Declaration

Further, I answer to their fourth Objection; That although a *Judicial* and a *Ceremonial* consideration may be rendred, for the payment of *Tythes* among the *Jews*; As, that *equality* might be preserved among the tribes of this people; that, because, in the *Division* of the Land of *Canaan*, the *Levitites* had no part of the Land, *Moses* thought it fit, the *Tythes*, which were to be paid to God, should be given to them out of every tribe; and that would make their estate and maintenance proportionable to the other tribes; yet this *judicial* consideration of paying the *Tythes* unto the *Levitites*: doth no waies infringe or weaken the equity and morality of this precept, for the *perpetual* payment of the *Tythes* to Christ, and his Ministers, to further and uphold the service of God.

Any Kingdom
may take laws
from other
Kingdoms,
when they are
seen good.

And, besides the *equity* and *morality* of this precept; seeing *Moses* was so just and so excellent a Law-giver, far beyond and much better then all the Law-givers of the *Gentiles*, *Greek* or *Latin*; there is no reason, why other Kingdoms, or Nations should not use the same judicial Laws, as were used among the *Jews*: for the politick powers of any Kingdom, may take Laws from any other Kingdom, where they see the best Laws made; as the *Romans* took their Law of the twelve Tables from the *Athenians*, and the Cities of *Germany* from the *Venetians*: and then, *Sicut leges quo^r Athenis Romani transtulerunt, cum ab ipsis comprobata & confirmata fuissent, eas nibilominus Jus Civile Romanorum nominarunt*: As the Laws, which the *Romans* took from *Athens*, when they were received and confirmed by the Senate of *Rome*, they were styled, *The Civil Laws of the Romans*, saith the Lord *Cook*:

so when any Kingdom or Common-wealth takes those Laws of the *Jews*, that were meerly *Judicial*, and not any waies *Moral* precepts, or the like politick Laws of any other Nation, and confirm them for Laws, to be observed in their Territories; they have the force of binding-Laws, and may not, with a safe Conscience, of any of the Subjects of those Dominions, where they have their Sanction, be voided or violated.

*Cokk, de jure
Regis Eccle-
siast.*

C H A P. XVII.

What the ancient Fathers of the Church, and the Councils (collected of most Learned and pious Bishops) have left written concerning Tythes: And of the three-fold cause, that detains them from the Church.

What the Fa-
thers say of
Tythes, and
Oblations.

Iren. l.4. c.34.

*Origen. in num.
Hom. II.*

*Extra de de-
cim. c. Cum
non sit.*

And now having seen, by the Testimony of the *Holy Scripture*, and by many Reasons, that the *Tythes* are by a *Divine right* due to *Christ*, and his Ministers; Let us hear, what the *Fathers*, and *Councils*, and the *Canons* of the *Church* have said of this point, concerning *Tythes*: and I do find that *Irenaeus*, who was Scholler to *Polycarpus*, that was the disciple of *S. John the Evangelist*, saith, *Offerimus Deo bona nostra, ut signa gratitudinis pro illis donis que a Deo recepimus*: We offer to God our goods, that is, our *Tythes* and *Oblations* to God, as the signs and tokens of our thankfulness unto God, for those gifts, which we receive from God: And *Origen* saith, *Qui colit Deum, depet donis & oblationibus agnoscere cum Deum & datorem omnium*: He that Worshippeth God, must by his gifts and oblations, that is, his *Tythes* and *Offerings*, acknowledge God to be the Lord and giver of all things: And *Innocentius* saith, *Deus speciali titulo decimas sibi ipsi reser-
vavit, in signum dominationis & jurisdictionis super omnia*, God hath, by a special title, reserved and kept unto himself the *Tythes* of all things, to shew

shew and put us in mind of that *Universal power, right and Dominion,* that he hath over all things, *Itaque Iudei decimus persolvendo testabantur,* quod omnia sua, seque ad eis ipsos, Deo auctori & omnium bonorum largitori debent: And so the *Jews* by the payment of their *Tythes* testified, that they owed all that they had, and themselves also, to God, the Author and the giver of all good.

And what God hath reserved to himself, he hath resigned and given to his Ministers, that do serve at his Altar: because, the Lord requireth none other reward from us, but what tendeth to his *Worship*, to *Praise him and magnify him for ever:* And it is an argument of his *Infinite loving kindness*, that for all the fruits and profits, that he bestoweth upon us, he requireth, by way of precept, as a *Rent-charge*, to maintain his *publick Worship*, but the tenth part, to be restored back to him again; and that only to this end, that his people might not forget him, to be their God, and the giver of all the good that they have.

And in that respect S. *Gregory* saith, *Cum non ab hominibus sed a Deo ipso decima sunt institute, quasi debitum exigi possunt:* Seeing the commandment of paying *Tythes* is not from men, but from *God himself*, they may be required by Gods Ministers, as due debts, that do belong unto them.

But to let pass, what I might collect from all the rest, Saint *Augustine*, that in my judgment is the most learned, and most judicious of all the Fathers, is most plain and plentiful in this point, saying, *Hec est Domini iustissima consuetudo, Si tu illi decimam non dederis, tu ad decimam revocaberis, id est, demonibus, que est decima pars angelorum, associaberis.* This is the just proceeding of the Righteous Lord, that if thou wilt not pay thy *Tythes* to him, thou shalt be reduced unto the tenth, and associated unto the *Devils*, which is the tenth part of the Angels, and in the interim, the mean while, *Dabis impio militi quod non vis dare Dei Sacerdoti.* What thou wilt not give to Gods Minister, thou shalt give to the wicked Souldier, or it shall be consumed some other way; but on the other side, *Si tu decimam dederis, non solum abundantiam fructuum recipies, sed etiam sanitatem anime & corporis consequeris; sic decimas dando, & terrena & caelestia possis premia promereri;* quia *Dominus qui dignatus est totum donare, decimas & nobis dignatus est recipere;* If thou dost willingly and justly pay thy *Tythes*, thou shalt not only reap and receive abundance of fruits, as the Lord hath promised, but thou shalt likewise obtain health of body, and forgiveness of thy sins, and eternal life, (as *Rainerius* observeth) and so by paying thy *Tythes*, thou doest procure unto thy self both *Earthly* and *Heavenly* blessings; because the Lord, which vouchsafeth, most bountifully, to bestow all upon us is most graciously pleased, to receive the *Tythes* from us; and that, *non sibi sed nobis proculdubio profuturas*, not for any benefit to *himself*, but altogether, without question, for thy profit, that thou mayest be instructed to serve *God*, and that his *Priests* may pray to *God* for thee, when thou doest work for them, that *God* may bless thee, and bless all, that thou takest in hand.

*Decret. Greg.
l. 1. tit. 30.
c. 34.*

Aug. de doctrina Christiana.

Malach. 3.

And what madness is it then in all covetous worldlings, to deny their *Tythes* unto their *Ministers*, when, as I said before, *Decimas dandas possint terrestria, & caelestia promereri, pro avaritia sua denegando, despiciendis & fraudari?* By paying their *Tythes* they shall receive both *Earthly* and *Heavenly* blessings; and by denying them through their *Covetousness*, they shall deprive themselves of this double blessing; and, as S. *Jerome* saith, make themselves liable to many judgments; for, *Quia non reddidisti decimas, idcirco in penuria & fame maledicti es tu*; because you have not paid your *Tythes*, you are accursed; and do often perish with hunger and want, *Quia dum parva subtrahitis, subtertam possessionem vestram & totam abundantiam frugum perdidistis;* Because that while you detain this small

A Declaration.

Hieron. in
Gloss. super
Malach. 3.

What the
Councils and
Synods do say
concerning
Tythes.

^{supponit,}
heap or pile.

part, which is the tenth, you lose the plenty of your possessions, and all the abundance of your fruits : *Sciatis enim vos idèò abundantiam perdidisse, quia fraudatis me parte mea;* For you may understand, that you do therefore leese your plenty and abundance, because you have deceived and deprived me of my part : and therefore, if you desire that I should blesse your labours, *Moneo, ut reddatis mibi mea, & ego restituam vobis vestra :* I advise you, to render to me, mine, and I will bless yours : which is a good counsel, for our own good.

Thus you see what the Fathers say, concerning the payment of Tythes to God's Ministers ; *Quo autem tempore, & à quibus consuetudo invaluerit, ut decime ad Christianas Ecclesias pervenerint, non satis certè liquet :* But, at what time, and by whom, the custom of paying Tythes, came to the Christian Churches, it is not certainlie enough known, saith Fran. Sylvius. And Hermanus Gigas saith, Constantine the Great was the first that, by his Imperial Decree, commanded, *Ut de rebus omnibus decima Ecclesiis solveretur,* That, out of all our goods, the Tythes should be paid unto the Churches. Yet, ex Synodo Matisonensi, 11. which was held about the year 587. it seemeth to me, that they were usually paid by the Christians before Constantines time ; for in the 5th Canon of the said Synod, we find such a Decree, concerning Tythes, *Leges Divine, consulentes Sacerdotibus ac Ministris Ecclesiistarum, pro hereditaria portione, omni populo praecepunt, Decimas fructuum suorum locis sacris prestatr;* The Divine Laws counselling us, have commanded all people, to bring the Tythes of all their fruits unto the holy places, that is, the Churches, for the Priests and Ministers of those Churches, for their hereditary portion ; *ut nullo labore impediti, per res illegitimas, spiritualibus possint vacare ministerii,* That, being no waies, or by no labour hindred, through unlawful affaires, they might wholly apply themselves to their spiritual Ministeries ; *Quas leges Christianorum congeries, longis temporibus, custodivit intemeratas,* which Laws, the whole heap or multitude of Christians have of long times, (therefore no doubt but long before Constantines time) observed inviolable : *Vnde statuum, ut decimas Ecclesiasticas omnis populus inferat ; quibus Sacerdotes, aut in usum pauperum, aut in captivorum redemptionem, prorogatis, suis orationibus pacem populo ac salutem impetrant ; & si quis contumax nostris statutis fuerit, à membris Ecclesie omni tempore separetur ;* Therefore we do ordain, that all people shall, and do, bring their Ecclesiastical Tythes, whereby the Priests bestowing, what they can spare, either upon the poor, or for the redemption of those that are held captives, might by their payers, obtain at the hands of God, peace and health unto the people ; and if any man will be refractory, and not obey this our Decree, let him at all times be separated from the Members of God's Church.

And so Duriensis Synodus, held under Charles the Great, about the year 779. ordained in the tenth Canon, *Ut decimæ solvantur ; & dare nolentes, non Ecclesiasticis excommunicationibus tantum, sed à Republica quoque ministerios coercantur,* That the Tythes should be paid, and they that would not do it, should not only be forced by the Ecclesiastical Excommunications, but also be compelled, by the Magistrates of the Common-wealth, to pay the same. And in the Moguntine Synod, held by the Command of the same Charles the Great, Anno 813. we find it thus written in the 38th Canon, *Admonemus, or, as it is in some Copies, Præcipimus, ut decima de omnibus dari non negligatur ; quia Deus ipse sibi dari constituit : & idèò imminentia est, ut quisquis Deo debitum suum abstrabit, ne forte Deus propter peccatum suum auferat ei necessaria sua :* We admonish or command, that none neglect to pay their Tythes, of all their goods ; because God himself hath commanded us to pay them to him : and therefore it may be feared, that as any man doth withhold his due from God, so God will, for his sins, withdraw

draw from that man, those things that are needful for him.

And the Council of Aquisgrana saith, *Attende diligens lector, quod omnes cncil. Aquisgranae primitia, & quicquid ad Sanctuarium oblatum est, Sacerdotis sunt, & ad jus ejus granense. l. t. pertineant :* Mark and attend, thou diligent Reader, that all the first-fruits, ^{c. 34.} and whatsoever is presented and brought unto the *Sanctuario*, (as all the Tythes was wont to be) pertained unto the Priest, and doth by law, and of right, belong to him.

And so *Concilium Cavilionense*, cap. 18. saith, in one Canon, That *Qui unque decimas dare neglexerint, excommunicentur*; And *Concilium Ticinense*, that was held under *Ludovicus Pius*, hath ordained, *Ut non pro libitu suo, laici decimas clericis tribuerent*, That the lay-people should not pay their Tythes, as they listed, unto the Clergy : but, as the *Augustane Synod* saith, *Qui justas decimas non solvunt, ter moniti, eis neganda est Communio*: They that pay not their just Tythes, being three times admonished, let them be denied to receive the holy Communion.

And thus have these *Councils* and *Synods* determined concerning *Tythes*. *Et plurime alia extant de decimis Conciliorum Sanctiones*: And there are many other Sanctions and Decrees of Councils to the same purpose, saith *Francis Sylvius*; whereby you may see, that the Tythes are determined to be a debt due to God, and a duty of our obedience unto him ; and therefore Tythes a due not to be detained from his Ministers, nor to be given to them, as alms or debt, and neither alms nor voluntary benevolence.

1. Because, God hath no need of alms, who is *Lord* of all things, and giveth all things unto us, and requireth nothing, but what is of right due unto him from us.

2. Because, alms do always exceed the *desert* of him, that receiveth them, and they shew the *benevolence* and *bounty* of the Giver, and not any worth or merit in the Receiver : But the *preaching* of the *Gospel*, and the works that the Ministers of Christ do for the people, do exceed all *Tythes*, and excell all the *temporal* gifts and oblations, that the people can do for the Ministers : And therefore the Apostle demandeth, *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter, if we reap your carnal things?* ^{1 Cor. 9. 11.} And therefore, seeing the Ministers gifts unto the people, are far better, and more excellent than the peoples gifts to them, whatsoever they give is of *desert*, and a due debt, and no alms or benevolence.

3. Because, the *Tythes* are due to Christ, as he is our *Priest*, and so they are the *portion* of the Lord, as the Lord professeth, and he gives them over to his Ministers, that are his Embassadors, and teach his people, ^{in his stead,} ^{Deut. 18. 21.} as the Lord himself saith, *I am the inheritance of the Priests*. Therefore to deny the *Priests* of that portion, which God saith is his, and promiseth to give it them, for his *Service*, is to mock God, and to make a derision of his promises, as the Apostle sheweth, when he saith, *Let him that is taught in the word, make him that teacheth him, partaker of all his goods*, ^{Gal. 6. 6, 7.} and then immediately addeth, *Be not deceived, for God is not mocked*, and will not be mocked ; intimating, that to deal otherwise with God's Ministers, is none other thing, than to mock God ; because God had promised this part and portion to them, that stand in his stead, as the Apostle ^{2 Cor. 9. 20.} sheweth.

And so you see, how the *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, and *Councils*, and all, conclude, that the *Tythes* of all our goods, are due, and perpetually due to Christ, and by him given over, by an *indispensable Law*, unto his Subjects, the *Priests* and *Preachers* of the *Gospel*.

But then I may demand with *Francis Sylvius*, *Quomodo faciunt sit ut decime, tot Imperatorum Christianorum donationibus, & decretis Synodorum Ecclesiis (in usus Canonicos, piros, legitimos, nempe Ministerii Sacri conservar Francise. Sylvius de decimis. almonia;*

A Declaration

alimonia, captivorum redemptione, & locorum Sacrorum reparacione & fabrica) destinate, ad laicorum, ut vocant, manus pervenerint? How comes it now to passe, that the Tythes, appointed and ordained by the Laws and Donations of so many Christian Kings and Emperours, and by the Decrees of so many Councils and Synods to be paid unto the Churches, for such regular, pious, and lawful uses, as to uphold and preserve the holy Ministry, and publick Service of God, the honest stipend and maintenance of the Church-Ministers, the relief of the poor of divers kinds, the redemption of captives, the reparation of Churches, and other sacred places, or the erecting and building of such places, and the like, should notwithstanding be

AlbertusKrantzijus Metropol. I answer and say, That, letting passe what *Albertus Krantzijus* relateth, I find three special authors and caules of this mischief.

3. Special causes why the Tythes are detained and alienated from the Churc.
1. Cause,

- 1. The malice of the Devil.
- 2. The pride and arrogancy of the Pope.
- 3. The covetousnesse, and the injustice of the wicked worldlings.

1. Satan is the Grand enemy of all mankind, and therefore laboureth by all means to bring both the Service, and servants of God into contempt, and he knoweth nothing makes them more contemptible than want and poverty, *quæ cogit ad turpia*, which makes them unable to discharge that honourable Service, which they owe to God, and forceth them to do many base and dishonourable actions; and because their Lord and Master Christ, which taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, hath very bountifully allowed them his own portion of Tythes and Oblations, for their maintenance, whereby they might most honorably proceed in their Profession, and so enlarge the Christian Religion; this deadly enemy of all goodness, most cunningly and insensibly brought it so to passe, that almost the whole portion of Christ is alienated from the Church, and his Ministers are left like Pharaohs lean kine, poor and meager, whereby instead of the double honour that S. Paul saith is due unto them, their ears and their souls are filled with the scornful reproof of the wealthy, and the despitefulness of the proud.

And because this mischief could not so easily be done, if he had come to do it, like the prince of darkness; therefore he changeth himself into an angel of light; and as he persuaded Judas, the Treasurer of Christ, to betray Christ himself; so he got the Pope, the Vicar of Christ's Church, to betray and to undo the Church of Christ; and all under the shew and shadow of Religion, because he knew, that, as the Poet saith,

Tuta frequensque via est, sub amici fallere nomen.

Though, as the same Poet saith,

Tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet :

but that was his desire: And therefore,

2. He persuaded the Pope, to become the first founder of all our impropriations, by alienating them from their proper use, and from the Churches of Christ, and conferring them on Monasteries and Nunries, to maintain the Abbots, Monks, and Nuns, that were the first nursing fathers and mothers of this devouring Harpie: And as the Devil said to Christ, *All the Kingdoms of the earth will I give thee*, as if he had been Lord Paramount of all the World; So the Pope, in the pride of his heart conceiting, that, being Christ's Vicar, he might dispose of all that is Christ's, as pleased himself, destroyed the servants of Christ to make his own parasites; so that he

appro-

appropriated 384*s.* of the fattest and largest Benefices in England, either to his out-landish and Italian Harpies, or others his creatures, of whom, no thing could be expected, but that they would feed themselves, like *Ephesians*, and never take care for the Church of Christ.

Church-lands
not to be sold,
pag. 31.

And though the godly Bishops of England that saw the mischief of that practise, by the neglect of God's Service in the Parish-Churches, and the abominable evils committed in those *Abbies* and *Nunries*, so plentifully set down by *Cornelius Agrippa*, and others, did in the time of *Henry the third* direct a suite to *Alexander the fourth*, for the restitution of those impropriations, to their proper uses, and primitive ordination; Yet, the Devil would not permit that Pope to do that service unto God, as to be obedient to the Ordinance of God.

Cornelius Agrip-
pa de vanitate
Scienc. cap. 49.

And though it be against all reason, that the *Tythes* which are appointed for God's Service, should be transferred to any *lay person*; because that where *Tythes* are paid, there must be a matter of giving and receiving; as the Apostle sheweth, *We give unto you spiritual things, and ye receive your temporal things:* but the *lay men* that have the impropriations do receive the *Tythes*, but can give no spiritual gift unto the people. And therefore *Damasus* demandeth, *Quia fronte, aut qua conscientia, decimus & oblationes vultus accipere, quum via valetu pro vobis ipsis, ne dum pro aliis Deo preces offerre?* With what face, or conscience, can the *lay persons* demand the *Tythes* and *Oblations*, when they are scarce able to pray for themselves, much less to offer up prayers and supplications for others?

Damas. Decret.
part 1. c. 1.
man. 1. 1.
. p. 1. 1.

Yea, though their own *Canons* and *Orders* speak against the impropriating of Benefices and *Tythes* to *lay persons*, as the Council of *Lateray*, held under Pope *Alexander the 3d*, decreed, That, *Qui decimam sacerdoti, in seculo manentem, concesserit, deponendus est.* The Priest which shall pass away the *Tythes* to any secular *lay man*, is to be deposed: And the Canon, *Si quis a modo Episcopus, &c. saith, That if any Bishop hereafter do pass away the Tythes and Oblations to *lay men*, let them be numbered amongst the greatest Hereticks:* And, the *lay men* that receive the *Tythes*, as to be their own proper inheritance, either from the *Bishop* or *King*, do run into the danger of their souls, saith another Canon.

Cncil. Lateran.
part 26. c. 8.
Causa 16. q. 7.
c. 3. Oreg. 7.
Causa 19. q. 7.
c. 1. Periculum anima.

Yet, as if all these were but *tela atanea*, a Spider's web, nothing would avail with the *Pope*, to make him to desist his wicked practice, of making these impropriations to whom he pleased:

Therefore the *wrath* of God, being exceedingly kindled against the abominations of these wicked *houses*, that were thus maintained with the *Revenues* of the Church, and upheld in their wickedness by the usurped power of the *Pope*, the good God, that could bring *light out of darkness*, could likewise punish and destroy wickedness by wicked men: As he did *prophesy Saul* by the uncircumcised *Philistines*; and *Idolatrous Manasseh* by the idolatrous *Babylonians*: So now he stirreth up a King, bad enough, *Henry the Eighth*, to be, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was unto the *Jews*, the *Rod of his fury*, to whip and scourge these *idle, loose and lewd wantons*; for when the King began to be weary of the *same dish*, and, to satiſh his palate, desired licence of the *Pope*, to change meat, and to be divorced from his old *Wife*, and the *Pope*, rather for fear of offending the King of *Spain*, than any true fear of God, as some conceive, knew not how to yield to his unmerciful lust; the King, to be revenged, deviseth to overthrow the *Pope's* former wickedness, by a greater wickedness; even as *Phystius* sometimes doth allay poison with a stronger poison.

which act
begun on 11
September 16.

And because wickedness can never want *Confessors* and *Abettors*, the King had a *Cromwell* at his elbow, a name as fatal unto the Church, as *Tarquin* was to *Rome*; and many others, to please their Master, gave their *Vote* to the same purpose, That the only way to be thoroughly revenged was, not

A Declaration

to stand trifling about small matters that might soon have an end: but to give such a perpetual wound, as might not be cured; and that was utterly to destroy the delights of the Pope, by taking away and rooting out all the Abbes, Monasteries, Nunries, and Religious houses, within his Dominions, so far as he could possibly reach: and it is strange, If the Lord himself had not been on our side, that the Cathedrals and Bishops had not been destroyed likewise.

And, lest the Pope, by the persuasions, flights, and eloquence of his Envies and Clergy, should gain them to be reduced and restored, either to these Houses, or to the Church again; the only sure way, to keep out the Popes fingers from them, is, to bestow both their Lands and all these impropriations upon his Nobility and Gentry; and so he shall not only perpetually be revenged upon the Pope, but he shall also most infinitely oblige his friends and his servants, who will be tenacious enough to detain them, and keep them, ad Grecas velandas, from returning unto their proper sphere any more: and this Counsel pleased the King and his Master: and though Arch-Bishop Cranmer did what ever he could, to get these impropriations restored unto the Church, by his manifold persuasions unto the King, and especially by a message purposely sent to Mr. John Calvin, by one Mr. Nicholas, to intreat Mr. Calvin likewise, most earnestly to write to King Henry the 8th, and to persuade him by all means to restore these impropriations unto the Church of God: And so Mr. Bucer, and all the godly Protestants of that time, did their best, to persuade him to restore them: yet all could not prevail, to have them restored. For that now

3. Covetousness, and the greedy desire of wealth, and love unto this present World, hath seized upon the hearts, and filled the souls of those Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, and the posterity of them likewise, which had taken bold of these impropriations, that they cannot endure to part with them any more; But as Kites and Cormorants do seize upon a Carrion, so do they engross unto themselves the portion of their God, and the inheritance of the Church of Christ; and such a sweet favour and pleasant taste of Tythes, and Church goods hath been taken, ever since the birth of this monstrous Sacrilege, as that now, many Noble men, and almost every Knight, and Gentleman of any note, hath got to themselves the Tythes, or some part of the Tythes of an impropriate Church, for the enlarging of their Larder-house. And that you need not doubt of this, I must here set down, what you may find in Mr. Crashaws Epistle to Mr. Perkins second Treatise of the Duties of the Minister, that in one County of the Kingdom of England, (the East riding of the County of York,) there are contained one hundred and five Parishes; whereof, nigh an hundred, or the full number of an hundred, are of this bateful name, and bastardly title of Impropriations; and some of them are of yearly value of four hundred pounds, others worth three hundred pounds per annum, others two hundred pounds, and almost all worth one hundred pound a year; and yet the Minister's part is ten pound-stipend; yea some have but eight pounds, and some but six pounds, and some but four pounds to live upon, for the whole year; and out of the Great Benefice of four hundred pounds a year, the Minister had but eight pound per annum, until of late, with much labour, ten pounds yearly for a Preacher. And, saith mine Author, the most of the Churches, in the properest Market-Towns of this Kingdom, are thus held and retained by our Nobility and Gentry.

Dr. Gardner
in his Scourge
of Sacrilege,

And so, I found it in my Diocese of Offory, in the Kingdom of Ireland, that the Impropriations had so swallowed up the Tythes, and the Revenues of the Churches; that, as I shewed it in my Remonstrance to his Majesty, six or seven Vicaridges, united together, will scarce make twenty pound a year for the Preacher; Et durus est hic sermo, for hereby the people perish, and

as the Prophet saith, *The poor Children cry for Bread*; and, for want of means, to maintain the Ministers, there is none that is able to give it them.

I know, King Henry the 8th. that could cause his Parliaments, as I ever understood, from the old Parliament men of those times, to make what Laws and to conclude what Acts of Parliament he pleased, got many Laws to be made, and many Acts to pass, to justify, and to make good and Lawful, the Taking away, Leasing, Selling, and Alienating the Tythes, Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church; and of our High Priest Jesus Christ, from his servants, to be inherited by lay persons, and many other Acts of Parliaments have been made, since that time, to the same purpose; which very thing, we conceive, as I have shewed, to be very High Sacrilege, and a robbing of Jesus Christ, and the obstructing of his service, and we fear, the cause of the perishing of many souls.

And therefore, how the Shield of the Pope's Authority, that was the first Foster-Father of this execrable and accursed title, of *Inpropriation*; or the power of King Henry the 8th. that would expunge the Pope's Sacrilege with a greater Sacrilege, and be the second Patron of this Bastard brood, or all the pretences of the now detainers of the Tythes, and portion of Christ, and the Lands, Houses, and Possessions of the Church by these Humane Laws, can bear off the blow of Gods wrath, and turn aside the fierceness of his vengeance; when in the day of his fury, he shall powre out the full vial of his indignation, upon the head of all Sacrilegious persons, and upon the children and posterity of them, that have devoured the Lords inheritance, and laid waste his dwelling place; I can no waies understand; neither do I know how to give them any comfort, or counsel, but to advise them, to a full and timely Restitution of that, which, otherwise, will be their utter destruction; *Quia non remittitur peccatum, donec restituatur oblatum, cum restituui potest.* The sin shall never be remitted, and blotted out of Gods book, until the Tythes and goods of Gods Church be restored, when men can restore them and will not do it.

August. ad
Maced. Epist.
54.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the second part of the Stipend, Wages, and Maintenance of the Ministers of the Gospel; which is, the Oblation, Donation, or Free-wil-offering of the people, for to uphold, and continue the true service of God, and to obtain the blessings of God, upon themselves, and upon their labours; which Donations ought not to be impropriated, and alienated from the Church, by any means.

YOU have heard of the first part of the Ministers maintenance; the second part consisteth in the voluntary Oblations, or Free-wil-offerings of the people, which the Lord requireth should be done, according as every one, in his own heart, thought good, to bestow upon the service of God; and what they did offer in this kind was most acceptable in the sight of God.

For this is a Principal Branch of that Honor, which we yield unto God, by and with our substance, which we are enjoyned to do, Prov. 3:9. Because, what we believe the poor with, is not so much our alms, as their exigencies;

A Declaration

gence; which, as necessity exacts it, so it is soon passed, and as quickly perisheth; but those Donations, that were given for the service of God, as they favour of a more inward and deeper piety, so they are of a more lasting substance; and, besides the eternal Treasures, which men do thereby lay up for themselves, they do provide for the perpetuity of Religion, unto the after-ages of men, and may be justly said to Honour God, not only in themselves, but in all those likewise, which they gain, by their Donations, to Honor him.

And it is strange, and marvellous, to consider how liberal, and how free the people of old time, were in their Donations and Free-wil-offerings, to maintain the Worship of God, and to do any thing, that did any wayes appertain to his services; for if you look into the 36. Chapt. of Exod. ver. 5. you shall find how Bezaleel and Aboliab spake unto Moses, saying, *The people bring much more then enough, for the service of the work,* which the Lord hath commanded to be made; and Moses gave commandment, and caused it to be Proclaimed through the Camp, that they should bring no more, for that they had already brought enough and too much: So they that returned out of Babylon were as ready and as willing, to offer up their gifts and free-wil-offerings for the service of the Temple, as their Forefathers were, for the erecting of the Tabernacle, as you may see it in the books of Ezra, and of Nehemiah.

Exod. 36. 5.
6. 7.

Neh 7. 70.
& c. 10. 33.

Platin. in
Urban.

But the Christians, of the Primitive Church, were so zealous herein that they exceeded all that went before them, in their Donations and Free-wil-offerings for the service of God, and the increase of the Christian Religion; for they sold their Lands and Possessions, and laid the prizes thereof at the Apostles feet; and had all things in common among themselves: And Pope Urban the I. instituted, *Ut ecclesias, prædia, ac fundos, fidelibus oblatos episcopos recipere, partire et que proventus clericis omnibus viri timi, nibilque cuiusquam privatum esset, sed in commune bonum;* That the Bishops should receive the Churches Possessions, and grounds, offered to the Faithful; and that the profits thereof should be divided by the Clergy, man by man, and that nothing should be of private propriety to any one, but in common amongst them all; And Gratian tells us, that by a decretal Epistle unto all the Bishops, he decreed, that none should presume to alienate ought of the Church-Revenues, under the pain of Excommunication; And Pope Lucius the I. about twenty years after Urban, directed an Epistle to the Bishops of Spain and France to the same purpose.

And though the malice of Dr. Burges towards the Bishops, will not suffer him to yield, that King Lucius gave the Lands of the Idol-Priests unto the Christian Bishops; yet, is it clear enough, out of Antiquit. Brit. and March. Westm. that Lucius endowed the Christian Church with more Lands and Revenues then the Idol-Priests enjoyed.

And afterwards while it was permitted by the Imperial Laws, for every one to Collecte upon the Church, whatsoever he would, without exception, their Donations were so great, that the Kings and Emperours conceived it fit, with Moses, to grant a prohibition that they should not offer any more, nor bestow any Lands or Goods upon the Church, without some special licence and toleration from the Civil Magistrate; for fear, that the Church, if this freedome of Donations should still continue, would have sucked out all the blood from the veins, and the marrow out of the bones of the politick body, and so leave the Common-Wealth deprived of their Lands, like Pharaohs lean and evil-favoured Cows, and the Church like those, that were fat and well-likèd.

And therefore they enacted the Statute of Mortmain, that was a supercedas, against these too-liberal contributions: and the Emperour Justinian enacted, that no Legacy, bequeathed unto the Church, exceeding the value

value of five hundred Crowns, should be good in Law, without a *special* licence from the Magistrate; and so, many other restrictions were made, as Rules, against such as could not otherwise well rule themselves and observe the just rules of Reason and moderation.

And thereupon the Church it self, and those godly Bishops that desired no mans wealth, but what made for the glory of God, and the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ, made Canons and cautions against such *catching Covetousness*, as would too greedily incroach upon their neighbours estates, and too unreasonably hedge it in unto the Church; as that Canon, which beginneth, *Ecclesia rapacitatis ardore*, The Church, with too much greediness, must not snatch, and pluck unto her self, the Lands and Possessions of her Children.

And the Reason, of these Inhibitions, and Statute of Mortmain, and Canons of the Church, seems to be two fold.

1. Because, as I said before, the zeal of those Christians was so fervent, and their desire to promote the service of God, was so eager and vehement, that they cared not how much they gave, but thought all that they gave too little, for that service. So great was the difference betwixt their mind, and the minds of our Souldiers and others, Gentlemen of no mean rank, and some generated and degenerated from the Church, whose Covetousness, and greedy hearts, desire nothing more, then to pull down our Cathedrals and other Churches, and, as it were, *Romana lege agraria*, by an Irrefragable Law, to pluck away their Lands and Possessions, until they be left as bare, as, in the day, wherein they were first brought forth into the World.

2. Because that, whatsoever Lands, Houses, or Possessions were once dedicated and offered unto God, and for Gods service, could not without committing the horrible sin of Sacrilege, be taken away by any man, or by any pretence, from God; or indeed, because the Lands, and Houses that were given unto the Church, were freed in those times of Popery, from all Taxes and Escheats; so that neither the King, nor Common-Wealth could have any help, or assistance from them, towards the defraying of the publick and most necessary charges of the State.

And therefore, Henry the third, and Edward the first, his son, and Richard the second, seeing how many men, not out of any love to Religion, or zeale to Gods service, but craftily, to couzen the King, and other chief Lords, and the Common-Wealth, did thus fraudulently convey their Lands unto the Church, and then took Leaves of them again from the Church, meerly to be freed from the Publick Taxes; made those Statutes, Cap 36, against the giving of their Lands in Mort-main, or in a dead hand, that is, the Church; and it is enacted in the great Charter, that it should not be lawful to any man from thence-forth, to give his Lands, to any Religious House, and then to take the same again from the same House: the which thing, being a meer Collusion and an apparent wrong to the King, to the chief Lord of the Fee, and the Common-Wealth; no Bishop ever justified the same, or held it lawful for the Church to hold such Lands as were so given, contrary to those Acts of Parliament, and those Canons that were made against such deceitful dealings.

But, for those Lands and Houses, that were truly, Religiously, and without any manner of deceit, or wrong to any man, given to the Church for the service of God, and to promote the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I think them so sacred, and so properly Gods right, that, as the Author, of the Church Lands not to be sold, hath Truly, Religiously, and most Learnedly proved; so I assure my self, that none but the Limbs of the Great Anti-Christ will think otherwise. For

*Decret. part. 2.
Cap. 12. q. 2.
Can 49.*

The Reason of
those Statutes,
and Canons
two fold.

1 Reason.

A Declaration

Act 5. 4.

Before these *holie men* have made the *Donations* of their *lands* or *houses* unto God, and to his *Church*, it was in their own power, and they might without offence, either give them unto the Lord, or retain them still unto themselves and their posterity : for so S. Peter tells *Ananias*, *Whiles it remained*, that is, un-sold, *was it not thine own?* *And after it was sold*, was it not in thine own power, that is, either to offer it and give it to God and his Service, or not to give it? But now, after thou hast sold it, and dedicated the whole price of thy land for Gods Service, To keep back some part of the price, which formerly thou hadst given to God's Church, is such a *Sacrilege*, and so transcendent a sin, as, to lye unto the *Holy Ghost*, and, to rob God of that, which now doth most properly belong to God, and is no wayes in thy power, to dispose of it : And so it is in any other mans case, Before thou givest thy land, house, or utensil unto the *Church*, and for the Service of God, it is thine own, and thou mayst lawfully do, what thou wilt with thine own, either give it unto God, or not give it : but, after thou hast once given it, and consecrated it for God's Service, it is none of thine, and neither thou, nor any man else, can make an *alienation* or *impropriation* thereof, without lying unto the *Holy Ghost*, and a robbing of God of his right : For

Justinian lib.
2. Tit. 1

Nullius sunt res Sacrae : nam quod *Divini juris est*, *nullius in bona est*, The Sacred and Dedicated things, that are of Divine property, are of no private mans right : but, God being the sole owner of them, none but such as are his servants and assignes, can have any thing to do with them. So *Charles the Great*, that was as good as he was great, saith,

Capit. Car. 1. 6.
c. 28.

Bona Ecclesie Deo sacra sunt, Whatsoever we give unto the *Churcb*, we offer and dedicate unto the *Lord our God*. And so the style of all the *Graunts*

Magna Charta.
c. 1.

in our *Magna Charta* runneth, *We have given such and such lands or things unto God*, both for us, and for our heires for ever. And again, the same *Magna Charta* saith, *Priviliegium Ecclesie debet esse immunit*. And so the Law of God saith, *The field when it goeth out in the year of Jubile, shall be holy unto the Lord*, as a field devoted, the possession thereof shall be the Priests;

Levit. 27. 21.
& 28.

because, as the Lord saith verse 28. *No devoted thing, that a man shall devote, or give unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed*; because every devoted, dedicated, or consecrated thing, is most holy unto the Lord ; and the Lord hath given the same unto the Priests, verse 21. And so the ancient Style of all Grants and Charters, for these matters, was, *Domino Deo nostro off. rimus & dicamus, & cetera*, We give such and such things unto our Lord God. And under the Law, as God instituted the *Tythes* and *lands* of the Priests for his Service ; so he takes the *Gifts* and *Donations* and *Oblations* of the people unto himself, saying, *Thou shalt give them me*, Exod. 22. 30. So he calls the *Church his House*, Matth. 21. 13. and the *Tythes his Tythes*, saying, *Will a man rob his God? yet you have robbed me, in Tythes and Offerings*. And for lands he saith, *You shall offer unto the Lord an holy portion*, Ezech. 45.

Ezay 66: 21.

1. And the same Law, S. Paul preffeth under the *Gospel*, as you may see in 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. and 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. For, though we have some differences in the manner of God's Worship, when as the *Sacrifices* and several Ceremonies are abolished ; yet there is the same substance for the *Guides* in God's Worship, which is the reason of the Law ; as the Prophet *Ezay*, in the Name of the Lord, hath foretold us ; when as, prophesying of the state of Christ his *Church*, and the Ministers thereof, he saith, *And I will also take of them for Priests and Levites*, saith the Lord ; and not lay-men. And therefore these things may not be sold away, or alienated and impropriated from the Priests ; because that now, God hath the best Interest therein : and, though before they were devoted & given to him, you might have sold them, alienated them, or put them to what use you would ; yet now, being God's proper goods, even by your own *Donation*, you may not, without

but God's consent, inappropriate them, from God, and from his Service. For,

As in the case of *Marriage*; before the Marriage, both the man and the woman are free, to do what they please, to marry, or not to marry, & *consensu partium*, and both their consents, publickly attested by the Priest, makes up the Marriage: but, after they are Marryed, let them both consent as they will, and as often as they will, yet there desire and consent cannot *dis-joyn* them, and dissolve the Marriage; because, that now *God had a band in the Marriage*, and whom God hath *joynd together*, neither they themselves, nor any man else, may put asunder: Even so it is in the case of devoted and consecrated things, lands, houses, or what you will, offered up, as a *Free-will-offering unto God*; Before you make your Oblation of them, you may do with them, *what you please*, give them, or not give them, as the man might *marry this woman*, or not *marry her*; but when once they are offered and given unto God, you must not make a *mock* of God, and alienate, or appropriate them from *Him*, and his Service: or if you do, *Solomon will tell you*, *It is destruction and a snare to the man, which devoureth that which is sanctified, or given to God, and after vows to make inquiry, and search for wayes to deprive God of them*; as now, our men of *War*, and many others do.

But if men gave 5 pound, or 10 pound, or other sum, unto the Church for the furtherance of God's Service; and, to secure the same, appointed lands worth 50 pound, or a 100 pound, to pay it unto the *Bishop*, or other Ministers of the Church; Will you have the lands, and not rather still accept of the money, that was to be paid out of those lands? and was the true meaning of the Donor?

Obj.

Sol.

I answer, God forbid, that any man in such a case, should desire to have any more than what was given, and intended to be given; for God accepteth of no unjust acquisitions, and a *just man requireth no unjust thing*: But when the *whole* is given to God, *no Bishop* for love, either to his wife or children, or for any other gain, should lett and lease that for 5 pound, which is worth 50 pound, or the like, as I have shewed to you before.

Obj:

But I know what our sacrilegious persons, that take the *Tythes* of impropriations, and the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, into their possessions, will further object, and say for themselves, and against me; That our *Laws* do allow them to do what they do, and our *Bishops*, that knew God's will, as well, or better than my self, have formerly lett out the lands and houses belonging to the Church in *fee-farmes*, and for a very small rent, unto their *Tenants* and *Fee-farmers*, and they do still lett out long leases of them unto their children and friends; and therefore they are not to be blamed: but if there be any fault herein, it is in our selves, and in our *Predecessors*.

To which Objection I shall answer, but as I did before; That *tyrannical*, fierce, and *wilful* Kings and Princes, and wicked *Governours*, when they have once got power and authority into their hands: as was King *Henry the Eighth*, and the late *Rebel* and *Usurper Cromwell*, will make *what laws*, and force the people in their *Parliament* to give their *consent*, to what *A&S* and *Statutes* soever they please: And do you think, that such *Laws* can excuse you, for the *breach* of the *Law of God*? And for our *Bishops* that do, or have done such things, to the prejudice of the *Church*, and the great *dishonour* of our *God*, I confess, *majus peccatum babent*, our sin is more than yours; for we are but *God's Stewards*, intrusted with the *implements* of his *House*, and the *revenues* of his *Church*, to be used and employed, not *wastefully* upon our selves, in pride; or upon our *children*, to make them *Knights*, or *Lords* and *Ladies*; but for the best advantage and furtherance of *God's Service*, and the honour of *Jesus Christ*, as he hath

See what I say in the Grand Rebellion, c. 9.

A Declaration

commanded us, to dispose of them ; and you know, we must render an account of our Stewardship, and how soon I know not ; and if we waste our Masters goods, or take all, or more than is due unto our selves, when we should dispose of it to other uses, for the Service of our Master, I know not how we shall answer it.

But I know that our greater sin, in imbezelling and alienating our Masters goods, and the Revenues of his Church, will not quit and excuse you, for your lesser sin, in being copartners with us in this Sacrilege ; for, as the receiver of any stolen goods, is liable to the Law, as well as the stealer of his neighbours goods ; so is the lessee, as well as the lessor, the detainer as well as the maker away of these unlawful Fee-farms and long Leases of the Church-Revenues, liable to the just judgement of God.

And therefore, in this respect, that the Donations and Free will-offerings of religious and holy men were given, not to men, but to God, and for the Honour and Service of God, and the good of his Church, the worthiest Bishops, and best Prelates, and Servants of Christ, would rather suffer the greatest indignities, and the heaviest wrath of the most powerful Commanders, than they would yield to satisfie their desires, that sought to take away or alienate the goods of God, that were dedicated to him for the service of his Church ; For, when at the instigation and evil advice of the Arrians, whom the Empress Faustina did very much favour, the Emperor Valentinian, sent certain Officers unto S. Ambrose, to require him to yield up, and surrender his Church of Millane, and all the possessions thereof, into their hands ; the holy Bishop, in a letter that he sent to his Sister Marcellina, telleth her, what he did, saying, When we were commanded to deliver up the Church, and all the vessels and possessions thereof into the Officers hands, I made this answer unto them : If you had demanded mine estate and goods, lands, houses, or any other thing that I had, Gold, Silver, or the like, I would very readily yield them to you : But it is not in my power, to yield up any thing, that is the Churches, and is but only committed to my trust and custody ; and therefore herein, because the things of the Church

Ambros. 1. Epistol. 4. E. pift. 33.

1. are the goods of God, I have a special respect to the saving of the Emperours soul ; because it neither becometh me the Bishop, to give up the vessels and the goods of the Church, nor him the Emperour, to ask them ; And therefore I besought his Majesty, to take my words in good part, and if he loved himself, to desist from offering such an injury unto Christ.

And the same Father, in concione de Basiliis non tradendis hereticis, saith Solvimus quae sunt Cesariis Cesari, We give to Caesar, the things that are Cesars, and to God, the things that are Gods : For if Caesar demands his Subsidy or Tribute, we do not refuse to pay it ; but if he would have the Church, and Church-goods, they must not be delivered up to Caesar ; Quia Templum Dei est, non jus Cesariis ; Because the Temple, and what belongs unto the Temple, is Gods right, and not the right of Caesar. And this we say for the honour of Caesar, because nothing can be more honourable for the Emperour, than that he should be called the son of God : And the same may I say of every King, Prince, or Potentate.

Idem de Basiliis non tradendis hereticis Tomo. 5.

The story of a crafty Tyrant, and a faithful Pastor ; related by Doctor Gardiner.

And here I must crave leave to insert a Story, How that in the time of Pope Xistus, a cunning persecuting Tyrant came to the Treasurer of the Church, and said unto him, You Christians do complain, that you are cruelly dealt withal ; and perhaps you have some just cause to complain ; and therefore I am far from any bloody purpose, being as unwilling to proceed in any capital Sentence against you, as your selves are willing to live : but I understand that your Bishops are very rich, and have store of vessels of Gold and Silver, and many men do give their lands and livings unto your Churches, whereby you must needs become exceeding rich ; and yet your God is no Mammonist, but hath left many wholesome Precepts against covetousness,

covetousness, and hath advised you, to give unto *Cesar*, what is due to *Cesar*; and you know, that his *Wars*, and the affairs of the *Common-wealth* are very chargeable unto him, and we know, that your profession is not to hoord up wealth, and to make account of transitory things: And therefore if you be pleased to forgo those lands, and riches, and vessels of Gold and Silver, which you have and care not for, I will warrant you, both safety of life, and freedom to use your Religion, according to your Conscience.

To whom the godly man answered, That he desired three dayes liberty *Prudent*. *Per-*
to return his resolution: and by the third day, he had gathered together *so* *tho*.
a multitude of poor, lame, blind, impotent men and women, whose names
he delivered up in a *Schedule*, into the Tyrant's hands, and said, These are
the goods of the Church, for whom I am but the Steward of those goods that
you desire, and my Master commanded me, to keep for them, and for his
Service. A blessed man, that herein shewed, he feared God more than
man.

And I would all our *Bishops*, that have alienated and past away the lands,
houses, and possessions of the Church in long Leases and Fee-farms unto their
children and friends, for a trifling rent only, reserved unto their successors,
had had some part of this good mans spirit; for then, the *Church* of
Christ had not been left so naked as it is.

But you may remember the *Canon*, that I quoted to you before, which
saith, If any *Bishop* do grant the *Tithes*, or other possessions of the Church
to any lay man, let him be numbered among the greatest *Heretics*, and let
his name be like *Demas*, a lover of this world, more than a lover of God. *Conf.* 16. qu.
7. c. 3. Greg. 7. *Si quis à modo*
And I hope, that by this, which I have already shewed, it is apparent unto *Episcopos*.
you, and to all men, that will not be blind, having their eyes open, and
groepe with the *Sodomites* for the wall at noon-day, The *Donations* of good
and holy men, whether houses, lands, or goods, which they have freely dedi-
cated, and given to God, to perpetuate the *Service*, and to promote the
Religion of Jesus Christ, ought not by any means to be, either by the *Bishop*
alienated, or by his children, or any other person received, and taken away
from the Church contrary to the will and intention of the *Donor*. And I
say here, in the name of God, That no *Bishop* can passe it away, nor any lay
person can receive it and detain it from the Church without sin, and com-
mitting a most horrible *Sacrilege* in the sight of God: And if men did
but remember what the *Apostle* saith, That, a *Testament*, or a mans last *Heb. 9. 17.*
Will, is of force and inviolable after men are dead, and that the very
Gentiles and *Heathens* thought it a *piaculum*, and a heynous offence, to in-
fringe and alter a mans last *Will* and *Testament*. I wonder, why these mens
Wills, that gave their own goods (and it was lawful for them to do, what they
would with their own) to God, and to maintain Gods Service, should not be
of force, and stand unalterable, but that men will, so fearlessly break them,
and so presumptuously take away the things that they bequeathed unto God;
especially if men considered, the form and style of their *Donation*, which I
find thus expressed in sundrie Copies. These things being lawfully our own,
we offer, and give to God, for the maintenance of his *Service*; from whom, *Capit. C. 1.*
if any man presume to take them away, (which we hope no man will at-
tempt to do) but if any man shall do, Let his account be without favour, and
his judgement without mercy in the last Day, when he cometh to receive his
doom, which is due for his *Sacrilege*, which he hath committed against
that our Lord and God, unto whom we have given and dedicated the
same.

For this form and manner of their *Dedication*, should, in my judgement,
make their hairs to stand on end, and their hearts to tremble, for fear of
this judgement, when they go about to take away the lands, houses, and
possessions

A Declaration

possessions of the Church (which were offered for the service of God) and which I would not do, for all the *World*, and which I think none durst do, but such as have their hearts *beardened*, above *Pharaohs* heart.

But here, I must tell you; How that after I came to *London*, to put this Treatise into the *Prefs*, I lighted upon a Pamphlet not only foolish, but most wicked, defending the most horribile sin of *Sacrilegious* to be no sin at all: and the selling and taking away of the *Church-Lands* to be no offence at all; which Pamphlet had I met it at *Kilkenny*, I would have done, as our Saviour did at *Jerusalem*, made a scourge to *Whip* the publisher of it C. *Burges* out of the Church of Christ, and after the detecting of his *lies* and *errors*, condemn his *blasphemous* scribblings into the fire; for, having read his Pamphlet *all over*, I find that *all his malice* is against the *Bishops*, and the flood of *poison*, that he spitteth out of his mouth, is to *none other end*, then like *Noabs deluge*, to drown *their lands*, and *none else*: For in page 23. he prosecuteth the point at large, that *Parochial Glebes*, that is, the lands given to the *Presbyterians*, that were the *limbs* of the false Prophet, and settled in all the *fattest* *livings* of *England*, far better then the poor *Bishop-pricks*, must neither be *sold* nor *alienated* from them, and their *Churches*, by any means; so that had the land of the *Bishops* been given to these *prating Presbyterians*, it had been *piacular* to take it from them: And though he writes *much* and quotes *Authors*, to make men think that he is a *Scholler*, yet, this is the *substance* of his whole book, divided into these two parts.

The whole sum and substance of Dr. Burges his book:

1. *Cathedral, or Episcopal, Lands* are not of Divine right, *ad pag. 19. ad pag. 44.* But *Presbyterian* or *Parochial* lands are of Divine right, *pag. 23.* that therefore,

2. It is no *Sacrilegious*, nor sin to purchase *Cathedral* and *Episcopal* *lands*, *ad pag. 44. ad 58.* But the *Parochial* lands, and *Presbyterian* *Glebes*, being of Divine right, it must needs be *Sacrilegious*, And a very *haynous* sin to sell or *alien* *their lands* from them, *pag. 23.*

Now consider these things, thus *plainly* and briefly set forth, and tell me if *any man*, that hath his eyes *open*, will believe this *blind* fellow, that like a *mad* man layeth about him, to spit out all his malice against the *Bishops*. When as the Scripture speaketh, *Malitia ejus excœcavit eum*: His envy and malice against the *Bishops* have made him stark blind. But as S. Jerome thought *Helvidius* not worthy to be answered, so I would answer all the *extravagant* *passages* of this *Parochial Presbyterian* *Burges*, were it not for fear, to make him *proud*, to think himself *worthy* to be answered by a *Bishop*; when as, in *very deed*, I think not his book *worthy* to be looked on, when as out of his own words and quotations, without any other help, I could easily answer and confute his whole book.

And so I have sufficiently shewed the *haynousness* of this sin.

And therefore, let me advise all *Sacrilegious* persons, to take heed how they *dally* with God, and take up from such *desperate* and *irreligious* *fellow*s a *security* to the *inchantment* of their souls, in this so *haynous* and so *horrible* an *impiety*, and to fill their *houses*, and to enrich their *children* with those *goods*, that were *Sanctified* for *Gods service*, and are *execrable* unto them, and do make them likewise *execrable*, and all the whole *Host* of *Israel*, the whole *Church* of *God*, to be *troubled*, as the *execrable* *goods* of *Achan* did.

And let not us, that are *Gods Ministers*, and are commanded to give you *warning* of your sins, *sub pena maledictionis*, as the Prophet sheweth, after so many Sermons and Summons, *Tam Verbis quam Scriptis*, both in words and writings, find your hearts still *obdurate*, and as hard as the nether *Milstone*, lest we be forced, in the *bitterness* of our souls, to cry out with the Prophet, *In vacuum laboravimus*, we have spent our strength

In vain, and be so compelled, with grieved spirits to send you to Gods judgment seat, carbne not abiles atro, marked by a black coal, with this inscription upon your foreheads, *Noluerunt incantari*, They would not be charmed, but made a mock of all that we said.

But I would have these greedy snatchers of those lands and houses, that instead of making their children happy, will bring an inevitable curse upon themselves and their Posterity, to weigh well what *Fulgentius*, a Holy Bishop, saith upon these words of *Jobu the Baptist*, Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire; *Si sterilitas in ignem mittitur, rapacitas quid meretur?* & *si semper ardebit, qui sua non dedit, quid recipiet qui aliena tulit?* If sterility be thrown in the fire, what shall become of rapacity; and if he shall endure everlasting burning, that would not give his own goods, what punishment shall he receive that taketh away another mans goods, and especially the goods of God? And to weigh likewise what *Rabanus Maurus*, another Holy man, commenteth upon the words of Christ, *I was hungry and you gave me not to eat, and, amplying our doings, saith, Esurivi, & paucillum panis quod restabat, abstulisti: Nudus fui, & valem clamidem & vestem quam t'abui, abripuisti: Et unicam vineam habui, & tu illam diripuisti:* I was naked, and that simple garment that I had, you have taken from me; and I had but one Ewe, and one only Vineyard; and like *Abab* you have deprived me of it; And what reward shall they have for these things? I fear, their doom will be too heavy, if, with *Zacheus*, they make not Restitution, of that, which with *Abab*, they have most unjustly taken possession of; for, as S. Augustine truly saith, *Si res aliena, propter quam peccatum est, reddi potest & non redditur, penitentia simulatur, sed non agitur; nam si veraciter agitur, non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur i oblatum;* id est, cum restitus potest: If that which we have taken away from another, whereby we have sinned, may be restored, and is not; the repentance is not done, but dissembled: because that if it be truly done, the sin is remitted; and the sin is never remitted, unless that which is taken away, be restored, that is, as I said, when Restitution may be made.

But, though it be an *Axiom* infallible, not liable to controulment, and a truth as clear as the Sun, that *Impropriations* of Tythes, and the alienation of Lands, Houses, and other things that were given to God, and for the service of God, ought not to be done, nor cannot be injured, as their own proper goods, by any lay person, be he Lord, Knight, or what you will; contrary to the mind and will of the donors, without committing that horrible sin of *Sacrileges*; yet you must not so understand me, as if I conceived, that Ministers might not set their Tythes, or let their Lands, and their Livings to any lay-person: or that it must be generally understood, that no commerce or bargain can be made, of the goods and endowments of the Church; because that, as God is willing we should use those goods alwaies for our benefit; so he will be as graciously pleased, we shall forgoe them and exchange them, when we find it for our benefit, and the benefit of his Church and Service, which in all our bargains and commerce, we ought chiefly to regard: because, we are but Gods Stewards, for the service of his Church; and so, whatsoever our Religion and our Ancestors have honoured God withal, we must imploy, not so much for our own best advantage, as for that, which maketh most for Gods honor.

And therefore, we that are instructed with the inheritance of the Church and portion of Jesus Christ, must not make such bargains for our Master, as *Glaucus* made for himself, when he changed his golden Armouit for brazen furniture; neither must we deal with the Church of Christ, as *Rebboram* did with the Temple of Solomon, when he took away all the shields of gold, and made in their stead shields of brass: but what bargain or covenant ^{1 Reg. 14.18;} ^{27.} foever

Matth. 3:
To which pur-
pose S. August.
saith in like
manner,
*Si in ignem mis-
titur qui non
dedit rem pro-
prium; Unde
mittendum est
qui invaserit a-
lienam? Verè
seipsum vil-
pendit, qui pro
re aliena ani-
mam suam per-
dit.*

Aug: ad Ma-

ced. Ep. §4.

Aug: quo sibi

Ep. §4.

How the
tythes, lands,
and houses of
the Church
may be let
and set to lay-
persons.

A Declaration

soever we make, without sin, for the greater glory unto God, and greater good unto the Church, we hold it good, with whomsoever the same is made.

CHAP. XIX.

That it is the duty of all Christian Kings and Princes, to do their best endeavours, to have all the Impropiations restored to their former Institution; to hinder the taking away, and the alienation of the Lands, Houses, and other the Religious Donations of our Ancestors from the Church of Christ; and to suppress and root out all the Unjust and Covetous subtle customs and frauds, that are so generally used, and are so derogatory to the service of God; from amongst the people, and especially from this Kingdom of Ireland, where most corruption is used, and most need of Instruction unto the people.

THUS you have heard, how that *Cathedrals* and other *Parochial Churches* should be built and beautified for the *Honor of God*, *Godly Bishops* and *Preachers* should be placed in them for the *Service of God*; and then the *allowance*, that *God* hath appointed, should be given and yielded unto them, for their *maintenance*; And now, because the *Lands, Houses, Tythes, and Hereditaments* of the *Church*, which the *Lord God* hath granted, and the *godly Emperours, pious Kings, and zealous Professors* have given and dedicate for *Gods service*, are in these dismal daies, snatched away by the hands of *Hackers*, and haters of Religion, and alienated by the *Souldiers*, that divide *Christ his garments* amongst them, from the *true servants* and *Ministers of Christ*, who should be *very thankful* unto these *Souldiers*, as they often say, that we have *anything left* unto us. For, as the *Orator* calleth the *grave Senators of Rome* of an *audacious fellow* called *Fimbria*, that stabbed *Quintus Scaevola*, an honest man, at the funerals of *Caius Marius*; and then boasted of the great favour that he shewed to him, *Quod non totum telum in ejus corpore abscondere possum*; That he had not thrust his dagger wholly to the *Hilt*, into his body, but only gave him a slight *stab*, that was sufficient to kill him; So these brood of *Fimbria*, having seized upon a great part of the *Houses, Lands, and Patrimony* of the *Church*, and still detayning them, *Per fas & nefas*, in their own hands; do labour to get more, and think the favour that they have done us deserveth no small thanks, that they brought or left to us what we have, and have not deprived us of all together.

Cicero in Orat. pro Roscio Amerino.

Therefore, *Covetousness, Injustice, and the love of this World*, being so deeply grounded and settled in the hearts of our *Demas's*, and this *Epidemical disease* of taking and detaining the *Churches right*, being, as one saith, just like the *Kings evil*, which no *Physitian* but the *King himself*, will serve to heal it; Our address must be unto his *Majesty*, to supplicate, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his *Royal Command*, to stop the *current* of these intruders into Gods right, and to cause the *Restitution* of the *Church-goods* to be made unto the *Church*.

And

And among the rest of the injuries done by these Military men to the Churob of God; there is one great Abuse, which is generally used and practised here in Ireland, by the rich proprietors and possessors of Lands and Townships, to the abundant detriment and loss of the Ministers, and to the hazard and danger, if not the destruction, of many, I know not how many souls; and that is, when the Gentleman-proprietor, that holds all or most of the Parish in his own hands, if he be offended with his Minister and cannot have the Tythes, as he pleaseth himself, he can make the Rectory or Vicaridge, that might be well worth fifty or sixty pounds per annum, to be scarce worth ten pound a year, or nothing; for he will leave all his ground unplowed, and turne it to pasture, and so bring a dearth, through the scarcity of Corn in the Common-Wealth, and then he will buy young Bullocks, and sels his Lands with dry Cattle, whereof their Religious Lawyers, (of whom Dr. Gardiner ^t saith, that he never heard yet, at any hand, of any good, that they have Prophesied unto the Church) tells them, their custome will preserve them, from the payment of any Tythes; and so they bring a spiritual dearth, and a famine of Gods Word, unto the rest of the poor parishioners, when for want of sufficient maintenance, they sufficient Minister, that is able to give them any Instruction; because, as the Poet saith;

* I speak of the Soldiers; because either the Soldiers of that Parliament, or of Cromwell, or his Majesty, have almost all the Kingdom of Ireland; and do fill the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, and are the chief men in every place; So that nothing can be done either in Parliament, City, or Country, but what they will have done; because they are the Major Party, and so can Out-vote all the rest; and therefore Ireland, being now Regnum Militum; This my discourse cannot be, Gratian opus agricola, but Ingratum militibus, which is all one, to me, if you confidet what I say, in the latter end of this book; and that I fear not what they say of me, Quia nec melior sum si laudaverint, nec deterior si vituperaverint.

shall want a ^t Dr. Gardiner in his Scourge of Sacrilege.

— Nulla illis captetur gloria, quæque
Ingenii stimulos subdere fama solet.

Ovid. trist.
lib. 5.

And the benefit, that these worldlings reap, by this lawless, impious, and wicked Custome, to pay no Tythes for their dry Bullocks, nor any thing to God for the fruits of their ground, is one main reason why the Minister's part of six or seven Parishes, doth scarce amount to twenty pounds per annum, as I have formerly shewed in my Remonstrance to his Majesty: and I conceive it likewise, to be a special Reason, why the poor simple Irish Papists have so many Popish Priests amongst them, for want of Protestant Priests; for, that want of sufficient maintenance, doth cause them to leave their Parishes and charge unlooked unto, and their flock untaught; and then the superstitious mendicant Friar cometh to instruct, and lead the silly ignorant Irish, as he pleaseth.

And truly, to say what I think, though I am far enough from Popery, and from all Popish errors, and superstitions, as I hope, all the Sermons that I have Preached, and the Books that I have Printed, can bear witness unto the World; yet, as Alexander Severus told an unruly Victualler, that would not suffer the Christians to erect a Church, in a place which he thought more convenient and fit for him to sell Ale in it, That it was better, God should be served in any place; and in any way, then that he should have his way, and God not served in any place, nor any way, as I shewed to you before; so I conceive it better to be Superstitious then Prophane, better to be a Papist then an Atheist, and better to have a Popish Priest, to give some light to them, that sit in darkness, and some knowledge of Christ, to them that otherwise would know nothing, then not to have any Priest at all.

A Declaration.

And therefore, if you would abandon Popery, and suppress all popish Priests out of Ireland, which is my heart's desire; then I desire withal, that this, and all other lewd and wicked customes be taken away; the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church be restored; and all impropriations reduced to their first institution, that so a sufficient Ministry may be maintained here in Ireland, as they are in England; and that the poor ignorant Irish may have honest and able Protestant Ministers, and, as many as may be, of their own Nation, to live amongst them, and to instruct them: and then God will bless this Nation, and the true Protestant Religion will prosper and flourish, and both we and they shall live happily together; which otherwise will very hardly, if ever, come to pass: Because that now, we have not our knowledge by inspiration, we cannot in an instant, understand and speak the Colledge all Tongues, and we cannot work miracles; but we must buy many Books to learn Languages, and to get knowledge, which the Apostles had without any Book; and we must spend our time, in reading, writing, studying, and praying to God to assist us, and to enable us, to instruct our people: and all this cannot be done without maintenance and means to do it. And therefore, where there is no sufficient maintenance, there can be no sufficient Ministry, no instructing of the people, no true serving of God, as it ought to be.

And what a heap of unspeakable mischiefs and miseries do these evil customes, impropriations, and taking away the land, houses, and possessions of the Church, bring amongst us?

And therefore, seeing the Souldiers, Captains, and others of the Military rank, that have gotten the lands of the Irish Rebels (which for their service, they have justly deserved) have likewise unjustly seized upon Gods part, and the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church, and are as fast wedded to these evils, as to their wives; so that we can more easily overcome Goliath, or pull the club out of Hercules hands, than our lands out of these mens fingers: It is high time, and I hope no good man will be offended with us for it, to implore, and most humbly to beg and beseech, the help and assistance of our Most gracious King, to redress these intolerable abuses, and to drive away this three-headed Cerberus, or rather this many-headed Hydra, the manifold Sacrilege, and the great oppression of the Church of Christ that is used in these dayes, and especially in this Kingdom of Ireland at this time. For I call Heaven and Earth to witness, that ever since the monstrous, undutiful, and unnatural murder, of that Most glorious Martyr, your Majestie's most dear Father, my Most gracious Master, Charles the First, until the happy Arrival of your gracious Majesty, I lived more quietly and contentedly, when all my Ecclesiastical Preferments were taken from me, and not 20 pound per annum left me in all the world to maintain me, than now I do; when by your gracious goodness, all the Church Rights and Inheritances, are commanded irresistably to be yielded unto us: for your Majesty may be well assured, that they which, neither for love of Gods favour, nor fear of his vengeance, will observe Gods Commandments, will never regard to obey your commandments. And therefore many of our Military men, Colonels, Captains, and others that fought for the Long-Parliament and Cromwell, do, with some of your Commanders, that herein imitate them, divide and teare the Revenues, and Garment of the Church, the Spouse of Christ, worse than the Souldiers of Pilate did with the Coat of Christ. And therefore now in mine old age, well-nigh 80. years, I am forced to bestow all my labour, and take pains, and many journeys, which an old man can hardly do, and spend all my means in Law, (which were better bestowed upon the poor) to wring the Church-means out of their hands, or suffer the same, through my remissnes, to be swallowed down into the belly of Hell; and leave my self to be liable to that great account, which

I must

I must render for my neglect of doing mine uttermost endeavour to recover it, at the last Day; the which wonderful freight that I am put to, doth wonderfully discontent and trouble me continually: which makes me often times to think, that I were better to resign my Bishoprick, if I knew it were no offence to God, to some younger man, that could better comitte with these Galis'ys, than for the to aggrate, as I do, to recover my right, who may well cry out with the Poet,

and shall sing what good will
do us a bringe us, when we are gone, now, & O how I O, won and
shall be? — Impar congrue habilit. —

But the nearness of the time, that I must render mine account of my Stewardship unto God, hath strengthened me, to write this Treatise against Sacrifedge, and especially, the Sacrifedge of this Churche, and more particularly of this Diocesse of Ossey, where the Irish behind me, the English before me, the Citizens of the Corporation of Kilkenny, and Crumwelle Captains on the one hand, and your Majestie's faithful Souldiers and Subjects in Anno 1649, on the other hand, do all seem to me, to become faithless unto Christ, and to fight against God, to take away the Inheritance of his Church from us, that are his weak servants. And it hath emboldened me likewise, most humbly to supplicate your Majestie, to take notice of these wrongs done unto us, which you do not know; and to affit me, to gain that right unto the Church, which I without your Majesties assistance, cannot do; and to pardon me for my boldness, and whatsoever else I have done amisse.

CHAP. XX.

The Author's supplication to Jesus Christ, that he would arise and maintain his own cause, which we his weak servants cannot do, against so many rich, powerful, and many-friendled adversaries of his Church.

And now, sweet Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, having made mine bumble addresse according to my bounden duty, to thine Anointed, thy Liverenant, and my Sacred Sovereign, to affit thy servants, to maintain thy right, Thy right, I say, as thou art a Priest, and a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec; and I know, that his Majesty, being the son of so pious, and so gracious a Father, as is now so glorious with thee in Heaven, will stretch forth his Royal hand, as thou didst unto S. Peter, to preserve us from sinking: I must now, with fear and reverence, and in all humility, leave leave, to return my speech unto thy Self; and as thou hast commanded us, to hear thy voice, so thou hast promised, to hear our prayers: And therefore I pray thee, let not my Lord be angry, but suffer thy servant to speak unto thee: And we confess, that we are not worthy to sit with the dogs of thy flock; yet thou hast called us, to a most high and honourable place, to be thine Embassadors to thy chosen people, and unto Kings and Princes, to be thy Stewards, and the Dispensers of thy manifold graces. And according to our places, thou hast commanded us to behave and carry our

A Declaration

selves, as may be most agreeable for thine Honour, to preach thy word, to relieve the poor, to keep hospitality, to build thine House, and to do other like works of piety and charity.

March. 21. 33. And we know, that thou art not like Pharaoh, a cruel Master, that taketh away the straw, and yet will require the whole tale of bricks; for thou didst deliver thy Vineyard unto the Husbandmen, before thou didst expect the fruits of it; and thou gavest thy Talents unto thy servants, before thou didst look for any gain from them.
March. 29. 14. Luke 19. 13.

It was all taken from us, and now still much is detain'd from us.
But now, O Lord God, our straw is kept from us, our vineyard is taken away, and we have scarce any one talent left unto us; for, O God, the Heathen have come into thine Inheritance, and as of old they made Hierusalem, so, now of late, they have made the famous Church of S. Keny, and many other Churches in Ireland, an heap of stones; the dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air; and the flesh of thy Saints unto the beasts of the field. And as the Prophet David said, The Tabernacles of the Edomites, and Ismaelites, the Moabites and the Hagarites, Gebal and Ammon, and Amalec, the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre; Assur also is joyned with them, and have holpen the children of Lot to devour Jacob, and to lay waste his dwelling place: So, the Independents, the Arminians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists, Luther and Calvin, and Cartwright, the Hugonots, with them that are called Quakers, and the Jesuites also, have joyned with them, and have, to the uttermost of their power, holpen our Grand Opposers the Presbyterians, if not to devour the seed of Jacob, to destroy the Church, and thy Service, (which they now deny to desire to do it), yet I am sure, to be confederate against thee, and to lay waste thy dwelling place, to imagin craftily against thy people, the true Royalists; and to take counsel against the secret ones, the Bishops, and Governors of the Church: And as Elias said of the children of Israel, They have forsaken thy Covenant, they have thrown down thine Altars, and they have killed thy Prophets; So I may say of the children of Belial, they have forsaken the true Protestant Religion, they threw down thy Churches, they killed many of thy servants; and they said, Come, and let us root out the Bishops, that they be no more a people, and that the name of Episcopacy may be no more in remembrance; and to that end, as the Prophet saith, They brake down all our carved and curious works, with axes and hammers; they have set fire upon thy holy places, and have defiled the dwelling place

Plal. 74. 7, 8. of thy Name, even to the ground: Yea, and they said in their hearts, Let us make havoc of them altogether; And by taking away all our lands, houses, and possessions, they fed us with the bread of tears, and gave us plenteouslets of tears to drink: and so they made us a very strife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laughed us to scorn, when they saw us made as the filth of the world, and as the off-scouring of all things.

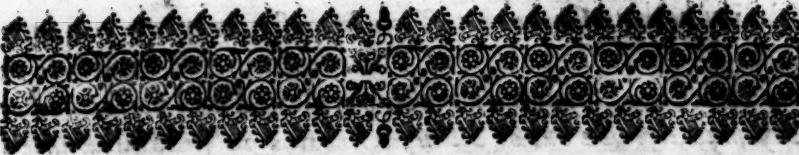
And though thou hast brought unto us, a most gracious King, to our unspeakable joy and comfort; yet to this very day, they and their associates, and that, which troubles us most of all, they that come in thy Name, and under pretence of thy Service, and for service done unto thee, and thy Church, do, by the example of those thine enemies, and the haters of thy Church, either through ignorance or covetousness, labour by all means, and with great friends, to blind the eyes of our good King, that he should not understand the truth of the Churches Right; that so they might the easier and the sooner, carry away the lands, houses, and possessions of the Church from thee, and from thy servants, whereby, they shall be made invalid and unable, to discharge the duties, and the works, that thou requirest at their hands, if thou dost not help them to their instruments and means wherewith they may do their work.

And therefore, because we are *weak*, and friendless, and *far unable* to deal, and to *prevail* against so many *powerful*, armed men, we lift up our eyes and hands to thee, O Lord God, and pray thee, to *arise and maintain* *thine own Cause*, and let not man have the *upper-hand*; for they have rebelled against thee, and have *robbed* thee, as the Prophet testifieth, and be not angry with us for ever; but be *gracious unto thy servants*, and lay not that to *our charge*, which we cannot *help*, when we have done our very best to preserve thy Right, and to uphold thy *Service*; but let the *sin* lie upon the *heads* of them, that commit it. *Hear us*, O Lord our God, and grant our request, for *Jesus Christ's sake*, thy dear Son, and our *only Saviour*; to whom with thee, and the Holy Spirit, our blessed Comforter, be all *Glory* and *Dominion*; and *Thanksgiving*, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Jehovæ Liberatori.

VINDICÆ

INDEX



TO THE K I N G S Most Excellent M A J E S T Y.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



Have been long ashamed to see the Egyptian locusts, the emissaries of Apollyon, and the sons of perdition, under the name of Christ, so much to abuse His sacred truth, as to send forth so impudently, and most ignorantly, such lying Pamphlets; so stuffed with Treason, to animate Rebellion, and to poison the dutiful affections, and the obliged loyalty of Your Majesties seduced Subjects; and seeing we ought not to be sleeping, when the Traytors are betraying our Master, I have been not a little grieved to see so many able men, the faithful servants of Christ, and most loyal to Your Majesty, either overawed with fear, or distempered with their calamities, or, I know not for what else, to be so long silent from publishing the necessity of obedience, and the abomination of Rebellion, in this time of need; when the tongue and pen of the Divine, should as well strengthen the weak hands of faithful subjects, as the Sword and Musket of the Souldier, should weaken the strength of faithlesse Rebels: Therefore, not presuming of mine ability to equalize my brethren, but as conscious of my

A a 2

fidelity

The Epistle Dedicatory.

* Non sine
meo magno
malo.

fidelity both to God and to Your Majesty, as in my younger years I ~~x~~ fearlessly published The resolution of Pilate, so in my latter age, though as much perplexed and persecuted as any man, driven out of all my fortunes in Ireland, hunted out of my house and poor family in England; and (after I had been causelessly imprisoned, and most barbarously handled) then threatened beyond measure; yet I resolvedly set forth this Tract of The Grand Rebellion: and though it be plain, without curiosity, ----Qualem decet exulis esse: Yet I do it in all truth and sincerity, without any sinister aspect: for, my witness is in Heaven, I had rather have all the estate I have, plundered and pillaged; my wife and children left desolate, and destitute of all relief; and myself deprived of liberty and life by the Rebels, for speaking truth; in defence of whom my conscience knoweth to be in the right; than to have all the praise and preferment that either People, Parliament, or Pope, can heap upon me, for sewing pillowes under their elbows; and with idle distinctions, false interpretations, and wicked applications of holy Writ, hypocritically to flatter, and most seditiously to instigate the discontented and seduced spirits, and others of most desperate fortunes, to rebell against the Lord's anointed. I presume to present the same into Your sacred hands. God Almighty, which delivereth your Majesty from the contradiction of sinners, and subdueth your people that are under You, bless, protect, and prosper You in all Your ways, Your Royal Queen, and all Your Royal Progeny. Thus prayeth

Your Majesties most loyally-

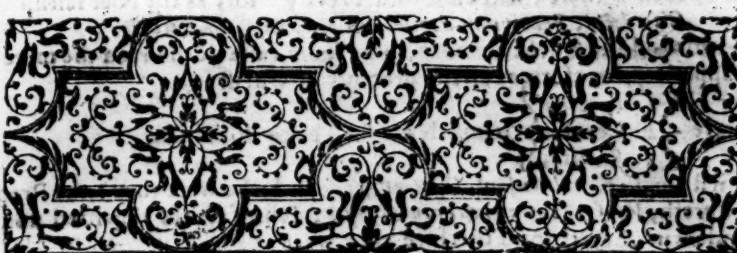
devoted Subject, and

most faithfully-

obliged servante,

Gryffith Offory.

TO



THE GRAND REBELLION.

PSAL. 106. 16.

*Emulati sunt Mosen in Castris, Aaron
sandum Domini.*

CHAP. I.

*Sheweth, who these Rebels were; how much they were obli-
ged to their Governours, and yet how ungratefully they
rebelled against them.*

Am here in this Treatise to shew unto you a Monster, more hideous and monstrous than any of those that are described either by the Greek or Latin Poets; and more noysome and destructive to humane kinde, then any of those that the hottest Regions of Africa have ever bred, though this be now most frequently produced in these colder Climates: The name of it is, Rebellion, an ugly beast of many-heads, of loathsome aspect, of great antiquity, and as great vivacity, for the whole world could not subdue it to this very day: And this Rebellion (the like whereof was never seen from the Creation of the World to this very time, and I hope shall never be seen hereafter to the day of Judgement) is fully set down in the 16. of Numbers; and it is briefly repeated in the words of the Psalmist, Psal. 106. 16. How great sin it is, and how odious unto God will appear, if we examine

{1. The particulars of the Text in the 16. verse, and but view
the head of {2. The greatness of their punishment in the next verse.
1. The Text containeth four special parts: 1. Qui fecerunt, who the Rebels were that did this
2. Contra quos, against whom they rebelled:
3. Quid fecerunt, what they did:
4. Ubi fecerunt, where they did it.

B b

And

The greatness
of this sin of
Rebellion, is
seen two ways:
1. From the
Text,
2. From their
punishment.
1. Of the Text
4. Parts of the
Text.

*The Grand Rebellion.**Horat.*

And in each of these I will endevour brevity: for, as the Poet saith,

Cit'd dicta, Percipiunt dociles animi, retinéntque fideles;

Few words do best hold memory, and a short taste doth breed the more eager appetites; therefore, as all the precepts of Christ

3. Properties
of Christs pre-
cepts,

1. Part, who
the Rebels
were.

Described by
four notions.

1. Of the same
Country.

2. Of the same
Tribe.

Zukan Pharsal.
I. I.

*S. I. Brevia, 2
were 2. Levia, 3 so my desire shall be to do herein.
3. Utilia,*

First then, *Emulati sunt*, they angred; and who were they? the Prophet answereth, *Vers 7. Patres nostri in Egypto*, Our Fathers regarded not thy wonders in Egypt. And therfore they were

1. Their own Country-men, the Israelites.
2. Of their own Tribe, as was Corah and his companions; and of the Nobility of Israel, as were Dathan and Abiram, and their adherents.

3. Of their own Religion, such as had received the Oracles of God, and did proteste to serve the same true and ever living God, as the others did.

4. Such as had obtained *multa & magna*, many great favours and benefits; yea, *Beneficia nimis copiosa*: and I may say, very precious benefits from them. For when God sent Moses his servant, and Aaron whom he had chosen; these delivered them from bondage, and brought them forth with silver and gold, and there was not one feeble person among their Tribes, saith the Prophet: And yet these were the men that rebelled.

1. They were their own Country-men, of their own Tribe, the seed of Abraham, and partakers of the same fortunes; And therefore they should love, and not hate; they should further, and not hinder; rejoice, and not envie at one anothers happiness: for though wicked men of desperate forenties, care for none but for themselves, *Sibi nati sibi vivunt, sibi moriuntur, sibi damnantur*; yet not only the Heathen Philosophy of Natures Schollers, but also the Divine verity of Gods elected servans, doth teach us, that *partem patria, partem parentes vendicant*; the love of our Country, and to our Country-men, should be such, as rather to spoune our selves to relieve them, then by *lend practices to destroy them*; when by our *dissolute debauchment*, we have destroyed our selves.

2. These Rebels were of their own Tribe, of the Tribe of Levi, and so knit together *indissolubili vinculo*, with the indissoluble bond of blood and fraternity; and therefore they should have remembred the saying of Abraham their Father, unto his Nephew Lot; *Let there be no dissencion betwixt thee and me, for we be brethren*: a good Uncle, that would never drive his Nephew out of his house and home.

And we read, that *affinity* among the Heathens could not only keep away the force, and suppress the malice of deadly foes, but also retain *pignora juncti sanguinis*, as Julia did Cesar and Pompey; and as the Poet saith,

Ut generos saceris media junxere Sabine.

And therefore why should not consanguinity, and the bond of flesh and blood supersede the envy of friends, and retain the love of brethren?

But these prove true the old saying, that *Frustrum ire inter se inimicissime*, the wrath of brethren is most deadly: as it appeared, not only in Cain against Abel, Romulus against Remus, and all his brethren against Joseph; but especially in Caracalla, that slew his brother Geta in his mothers armes: and therefore Solomon saith, *A brother offended is harder to winne than a strong City, and their contentions are like the bars of a Pallace, not easily broken*. *Nam ut aqua calidula, cum ad frigiditatem reducitur frigidissima est*; For as water that hath been hot, being cold again, is colder then ever it was before; and as the Adamant, if it be once broken, is shivered

red into a thousand pieces ; so love , being turned into hatred , and the bond of friendship being once dissolved ; there accrewheth nochtin but a swift increase of deadly hatred : So it happened now in the Camp of Isra-
el , that the saying of Saint Bernard is found true , *Omnes amici, & omnes inimici*, All of a house , and yet none at peace ; all of a kindred , and yet in mortal hatred . Bern. in Cant. Serm. 33.

And as Corab and his companions were so nearly allied unto Moses ; of the Tribe of Levi ; so Dathan and Abiram were men famous in the Congregation , noble Peers , and very popular men , heads of their families , of the Tribe of Renben . A subtle practice of that pestiferous Serpent , to joyn Simeon and Levi , Clergy and Laity , in this wicked faction of Rebellion ; the one under colour of dissembled sanctity , the other with their power and usurped authority , to seduce the more , to make the greater breach of obedience . And so it hath been always , that we scarce read of any Rebellion , but some base Priests , the Chaplains of the Devill , have begot it ; and then the Nobles of the people , arripientes ansam , taking hold of this their desired opportunity , do foster that which they would have willingly farthered ; as , besides this Rebellion of Corab , that of Jack Cade , in the reign of Henry the fifth ; and that of Perkin Warbeck , in the time of Henry the seventh ; and many more that you may find at home , in the lives of our own Kings , may make this point plain enough . But they should have thought on what our Saviour tells us , that *Every Kingdom divided against it self , is brought to desolation ; and every City or House divided against it self , shall not stand*. What a mischief then was it for these men to make such a division among their own Tribe , and in their own Camp ? *Nondum tibi defuit hostis : had they not the Egyptians , and the Canaanites , and the Amalekites , and enow besides to fight against , but they must raise a civil discord in their own house ?* Could not their thoughts be as devout as the Heathen Poet's , which saith ,

— *Omnibus hostet
Redde nos populis ; civile avertite bellum.*

Lucan. Pharsal.
lib. I.

And therefore this makes the sin of home-bred Rebels the more intolerable , because they bring such an *Ilias malorum* , so many sorts of unusual calamities , and grievous iniquities upon their own brethren .

3. These Rebels were of their own Religion , professing the same 3. Of the same Religion. faith that the others did : *Et religio dicitur à religando* , (saith Lassius) and therefore this bond should have tyed them together firmer than the former . For if equal manners do most of all bind affections ; *Et similitudo morum parit amicitiam* , as the Orator teacheth : then , *hoc magnum est , hoc mirum* , that men should not love those of the same Religion . And if the profession of the same trades and actions is so forcible , not onely to maintain peace , but also to increase love , and amity , as we see in all Societies and Corporations of any mechanick craft or handie-work , they do inviolably observe that *Maxim* of the Civill Law , to give an interest unto those , *qui fovent consimilem causam* : so that as birds of the same feather , they will cluster all in one , and be zealous for the preservation of them that are of the same craft or sociery : why then should not the profession of the same Religion , if not increase affection , yet at least detain men from dissention ?

For , though diversities of Religion , *non bene convenient* , can seldom contain themselves for any while in the same Kingdom , without Civil distractions , especially if each party be of a near equal power , which should move all Governours to do herein , as Hannibal did with

JACOB. REX
in Ep. to all
Christian Mo-
narchs.

his army, that was a mixture of all Nations, to keep the most *specie* under, and rank them so, that they durst not kick against his *Carthaginians*: or as *Henry the fourth* did with the *Brittains*, to make such Laws, that they were never able to rebell: To shoulde the discreet Magistrate, not root out a people, that they be no more a Nation, but so *subordinate* the furthest from truth to the best professors, that they shall never be able any wayes to endanger the true Religion; yet where the same Religion is *universally professed*, excepting *small differences in adiaphoral things*, que non diversificant species, as the *Schocks* speak; it is more then *unnatural* for any one to make a *Schism*, and much more transcendently heynous to rebell against his *Governours*. But indeed no sin is so *unnatural*, no offence so *beynow*, but that swelling pride, and discontented natures, will soon perpetrate; no bonds nor bounds can keep them in; and therefore *Corab* must rebell. And ever since in all Societies, even among the *Levites*, and among the *Priests*, the disorderly spirits have rebelled against their *Governours*, & *secerant unitatem contra unitatem*; and erecting Altars against Altars, (as the Fathers speak) they have made *confederacies* and *conspiracies* against the truth, and thereby they have at all times drawn after them many multitudes of *ignorant soules unto perdition*: This is no new thing, but a true saying; and therefore our Saviour biddeth us to *Take heed of false Prophets*, and of *rebellious spirits*; that, as *Saint John* saith, went from us, but were not of us, but are indeed the *poison*, and *Incediaries*, both of Church and Common-wealth.

4. Much oblige
d for many
favour unto
their Gover-
nours.

Numb. 16. 9.

4. These Rebels had received many favours and great benefits from their *Governours*: for they were delivered è *lvtulentis manuum operibus*, as *Saint Augustine* speaketh; and, as the Prophet saith, *They had eas'd their shoulders from their burthens, and their hands from making of pots*: they had broken the *Rod of their oppressors*, and, as *Moses* tells them, they had separated them from the rest of the multitude of *Israel*, and set them near to God himself, to do the service of the *Tabernacle of the Lord*: and therefore the light of nature tells us, that they were most ungrateful, and as inhumane as the brood of Serpents, that would sting him to death, which, to preserve his life, would bring him home in his bosome.

And it seems this was the *transcendencie* of *Judas* his sin, and that which grieved our Saviour most of all, that he, whom he had called to be one of his twelve Apostles, whom he had made his *Steward* and *Treasurer* of all his wealth, and for whom he had done more then for thousands of others, should betray him into the hands of sinners; for, if it had been another (saith the *Psalmist*) that bad done me this dishonour, I could well have born it, but seeing it was thou my familiar friend, which didst eat and drink at my table, it must needs trouble me: for though in others it might be pardonable, yet in thee it is intolerable; and therefore of all others he saith of *Judas*, *Va illi homini, woe be unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed, it had been better for him he had never been born*, as if his sin were greater then the sin of *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, or *Pilate*.

But the old saying is most true, *Improbus a nullo fletititur obsequio*, no service can satisfie a foward soul, no favour, no benefit, no preferment can appease the *rebellious* thoughts of discontented spirits. And therefore notwithstanding *Moses* had done all this for *Corab*, yet *Corab* must rebell against *Moses*: So many times, though Kings have given great honours unto their subjects, made them their *Peers*, their *Chamberlains*, their *Treasurers*, and their *servants of nearest place, and greatest trust*; And though *Aaron*, the *High-Priest*, or *Bishop*, doth impose his bands on others, and admit them into *Sacred Orders* above their brethren, to be near the *Lord*, and bestow all the preferment they can upon them: yet, with *Corab*, these unquiet and ungrate-

full

full spirits must rebell against their Governours : For, I think, I may well demand, Which of all them, that now rebell against their King, have not had either Grand-fathers, Fathers, or themselves promoted to all, or most of their fortunes and honours, from that Crown which now they would trample under their feet ? Who more against their King, then thole, that received most from their King ? Just like *Judas*, or, here, like *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*. I could instance the particulars, but I passe.

So you see, who were the Rebels, most ungrateful, most unworthy men.

C H A P. II,

Sheweth against whom these men rebelled; that God is the giver of our Governours; the severall offices of Kings and Priests; how they shoulde affit each other; and how the people laboureth to destroy them both.

Secondly, we are to consider, against whom they rebelled ; and the Text 2. Part, against whom they rebelled.

¶ 2. Points discussed. We must discusse 1. Qui fuere, who they were in regard of their places. 2. Quales fuere, what they were in regard of their qualities.

1. In regard of their places, we find that these men were

- 1. The chief Governours of Gods people.
- 2. Governours both in temporal, and in spiritual things.
- 3. Agreeing, and consenting together in all their Government.

1. They were the prime Governours of the people : Moses the King or Prince, to rule the people; and Aaron the High-Priest to instruct and offer Sacrifice, to make attonement unto God for the sins of the people ; and these have their authority from God : for though it sometimes happeneth that Potens, the Ruler, is not of God, as the Prophet saith, *They have reigned, and not by me;* and likewise modus assumendi, the manner of getting authority is not always of God, but sometimes by usurpation, cruelty, subtlety, or some other sinful means : yet Potestas, the power it self, whosoever hath it, is ever from God : for the Philosopher saith, *Magistra s̄s originem, esse à natura ipsa.* And Saint Ambrose saith, *Datus à Deo Magistratus, non modo malorum coercendorum causā, sed etiam bonorum fovendorum in verā animi pie are & honeste, gratia.* And others say, the Sun is not more necessary in Heaven, then the Magistrate is on Earth; for alas, how is it possible for any Society to live on earth, cūm vivitur ex rapto; when men live by rapine, and shall lay, *Let our strength be to us the law of justice;* therefore God is the giver of our Governours, and he professeth, *Per me reguant Reges :* And Daniel told Nebuchadnezzar, *That the most high ruleth in the Kingdoms of men,* and be giveth it to whomsoever he will : Dan. 4. 35.

2. These two men were Governours, both in all temporal and in all spiritual things; as Moses in the things that pertained to the Common-wealth, and Aaron in things pertaining unto God.

And these two sorts of Government are in some sort subordinate each to other, and yet each one intire in it self, so that the one may not usurp the office of the other ; for

1. The spiritual Priest is to instruct the Magistrates, and to reprove them too, if they do amisse, as they are members of their charge, and the sheep of their sheep-fold : And so we have the examples of David, reproved by Nathan, Achab by Elias, Herod by John Baptist ; and, in the Primitive

2. Governours both in temporal, and spiritual things.

The Grand Rebellion.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 34. Church, of Philip the Emperour, repenting at the perswasion of Fabian; and Theodosius senior, by the writings of S. Ambrose.
Sozomen. lib. 7.

Rom. 13.
Bernard. ad Archieps. Senonensem.

3. *Governours well agreeing in their government.*

2. The temporal Magistrate is to command; and, if they offend, to correct and condemn the Priests, as they are members of their Commonwealth; for Saint Paul saith, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:* and if every soul, then the soul of the Priest, as well as the souls of the People; or otherwise, *Quis cum exceptit ab universitate?* as Saint Bernard saith; and so, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Oecumenius, are of the same mind: And the examples of Abiathar, deposed by Solomon; and a greater than Solomon, Christ himself, not refusing the censure of Pilate, though for no fault; Saint Paul appealing unto Caesar; Cecilian judged by the Delegates of Constantine; Flavianus by Theodosius, and all the Martyrs and godly Bishops never pleading exemption from their persecutors, do make this point beyond all question.

3. These two Governours were not onely consanguinei, two brethren, for so were Cain and Abel, to whom *totus non sufficit orbis;* but they were also consentanei, like the soul and body of man, of the same sympathy and affection for the performance of every action: For the Church and Commonwealth, are like Hippocrates twins, so linked together, as the Ivie intwisteth it self about the Oak, that the one cannot happily subsist without the other; but, as the Secretary of nature well observeth, That the Marygold opens with the Sun, and shuts with the shade; even so, when the Sun-beams of peace and prosperity shine upon the Commonwealth, then by the reflection of those beams, the Church dilates and spreads it self the better; as you may see in *Act. 9. 31.* and on the other side, when any Kingdom groaneth under civill dissention, the Church of Christ must needs suffer persecution. And therefore to this end, that the Prince and Priest might, as the two feet of a man, help each other to support the weight of the whole body, and to bear the burthen of so great a charge; God at the first severing of these offices, (which before were united in one person, as the Poet saith of *Anius,*

— *Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.*

and as the Apostle saith of Melchisedech, that he was both a King, and the Priest of the most high God) did chuse two natural brethren to be the Governours of his people; and that, *quod non caret mysterio,* Aaron was the eldest, and yet Moses was the chiefest; to signifie, as I take it, that they should rather help and further each other, then any wayes rule and domine one over the other; because that although Aaron was the eldest brother, and chief Priest, yet Moses was the chief Magistrate, and his brother's god, as God himself stile him; and therefore this should terrorrem incutere, and teach him how to behave himself towards his brother; and though Moses was the chief Magistrate, yet Aaron was the chief Priest, and his eldest brother, which had not lost (like Reuben) the prerogative of his birth-right: and this should reverentiam inducere, work in Moses a respect unto his brother's age and place.

And truly there is great reason why these two should do their best, to support and protect each other; for the government of the people, is, as we may now see, a very difficult, and miraculous thing, no lesse then the appeasing of the Surges of the raging Sea, as the Prophet sheweth, when he saith, *That God ruleth the rage of the Sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people:* And the Rod of government is a miraculous Rod, as well that of Aaron, as that of Moses; for as Moses Rod turned into a Serpent, and the Serpent into a Rod again; so the Rod of Aaron,

Maron of a dry stick, did blossom and bear ripe Almonds: to shew how strange and wonderful a thing it is, either for Prince or Priest, to rule an unruly multitude, too much for any one of them to do; and therefore God doth alwayes joyn both of them together, as the Psalmist sheweth, *Thou leddest thy people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

And besides, if these two do not assist and protect each other, they shall be soon suppressed, one after another, of their own people; for if the Prince, which is to be our Nursing-Father, be once subdued, then presently the Priest shall be destroyed; and when he hath lost his power, our power shall never be able to do any good: and if the Priest which prayeth, and preacheth, to direct the King, be trampled under foot, it hath beene found most certain, that after they have thrown away the Miter, they have not long retained the Scepter: And therefore King James of ever blessed memory, of a sharp conception, and sound judgement, was wont to say, *No Bishop, no King;* unless you mean such a King as Christ was, when the Jewes crowned him with Thorns, and bowing their knees, said, *Hail King of the Jewes;* that is, *Rex sine Regno,* a King without power; like a man of straw, that is onely made to fright away the birds: For the people are alwayes prone to pull out their necks from the yoke of their obedience, and would soon rebell, if the Priests did not continually preach, that Every soul should be subject to the bigger powers; as we see now by experience, how apt they are to rebell, when factious Preachers give them the least encouragement. And therefore as this rebellion of Corah, so every other, though they begin with one, yet they aim at both, and strive to overthrow aswell the one, as the other: for to my Text saith, *They angred Moses in their Tents, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord.* And therefore these two should be as Hippocrates twins, or indeed like man and wife, indissolubly coupled, and coherent together, without distraction; and cursed be they that strive to make the division: for whom God hath thus united together, no man should put asunder.

As soon as
men have o-
verthrown
their Priests,
they will pre-
sently labour
to destroy
their king.

And here you may observe the method of their Rebellion, the Text ^{The method} saith, *Moses and Aaron, yet Moses sheweth, they began with Aaron:* for of their Rebellion, when their Rebellion was first discovered, Moses doth not say, *What have I done against you?* but *What is Aaron that you should murmur against him?* to shew unto us, that although Moses was the first they aimed at in their intention, yet he was the last they purposed to overthrow in the execution: *Quia progrendendum & facilius, as the Devil began with the woman, the weaker vessel, that he might the easier overthrow the stronger;* so the enemies of God and his Church do alwayes seek, first to overthrow the Priest, and then presently they will set upon the Prince.

And therefore as Moses here, so all Magistrates every where should remember, that *Iam tua res agitur, through our sides they may smart, and our wounds may prove dangerous unto them:* because you shall never read they began to shake us, but they fully intended to root out them: for if the fear of God, and the honour of the King must go together, as Saint Peter sheweth; it must needs follow, that they will but dishonour and disobey their King, that have cast away the fear of God; and it is most certain, that when they drive God out of their hearts, as the Gergesites drove Christ out of their Coasts: when they expell Aaron the chief Priest or Bishop out of their Assemblies, there is but little fear of God before their eyes: for if Seneca, that was but Nature's Scholar, could tell us, that when we go about any wicked Act, a grave Cato, or severe Aristides standing by us, would make us blushing, and stop the doing thereof, then certainly the Christian that bath any grace, will be ashamed of his evill intent, and be afraid to offend God, when he seeth a man of God so near him; who doth often-

*Virgil. Aeneid.
lib. 2.*

*Little fear of
God in them,
that expell
their Priests
out of their
Societies.*

times

The Grand Rebellion.

The wisdom
of the former
age.

The expulsion
of Bishops, the
cause of many
subsequent
mischiefs.

times posse obicem, make a stop to stay the proceedings of the wicked, that would not seldom be farre worse, and do more unjustice, if it were not for the company and persuasions of the Priest and Preacher.

And therefore the former ages, that feared God more then we, and were wiser to use this means, that they might fear him, desired, that in their greatest Assemblies of greatest affairs, as Sessions, Councils, Parliaments, and the like; the Bishops and Preachers might be as the chief members of their consultations, as well to witness the uprightness of their actions, as to direct them in cases of conscience, what is most agreeable to the divine constitution.

And wheresoever you see the *expulsion* of these men, and the *rejection* of these helps and furtherances unto godlinesse, you shall find no good success, nor better fruit of their greatest Counsels, than *Sedition, Oppression, Confusion, and Rebellion*: For it is not the least part of the Bishops office, and the duty of all Preachers, not onely in the *Pulpit*, where what they say is of many men soon forgotten, but also in all other meetings and assemblies; and in the very instances, when occasion shall be offered; to do as Christ and his Apostles did, persuade *peace, righteousness, and obedience* unto the peoples; and the want of their *association* hath been the opening of many gaps, to let in much injustice and impiety in many places, because their *present persuasion* may do as much, if not more good with men, when they are in *action*, then their preaching can do when they come to *contemplation*.

And therefore if any assembly hath (like Corab) rebelled against Aaron, and cast their Bishops and Preachers out of doores, I would advise them to follow the Counsell of Saint Ambrose in the like case, *Quod inconsulto fecerunt, consultis revocetur*, what they have *inconsiderately* done, to throw them out, let them more advisedly revoke and call them in again; and they whose breeding hath been in *knowledge*, and their calling is to do *justice*, and to teach *truth*, will *help*, and not hinder them to understand the *truth*, and to proceed in *righteousness*.

And so you see, who these men were, in regard of their places.

CHAP. III.

sheweth the assured testimonies of a good and lawful Governour, their qualifications, our duties to them; and wherein our obedience to them consisteth.

2. How these
Governours
were qualified
for their places.

3. Points dis-
cussed.

1. How they
obtained their
places.

Many usurp
their places

Secondly, we are to consider, *Quales fuere, how these men were qualified* for their places; touching which, these two points are to be handled:

1. *Modus assuendi*, the manner of obtaining it.

2. *Facultas execundi*, the ability and fidelity of discharging it.

1. I told you before, that many do obtain their places by *sinful* means: as many of the Popes and Roman Emperours, by poysoning and murthering their Predecessours, have unlawfully kept the Thrones of Majestys and so did Henry the fourth by the unjust deposition of Richard the second: and Richard the third, by the cruell and secret murthering of his poor innocent Nephewes, attain unto the Crown of England. And in such manner of assuming government, there is just cause of resisting, and a fair colour of rebelling against them; if you call it a *Rebellion*, when men discharge their duties in defence of *justice*, to oppose *usurpation*: But neither Moses nor Aaron came so to the places of their government, For

1. Moses

1. Moses had a double testimony to approve his calling to be from God.

The first was *Internum*, to assure himself: And the second was *Externum*, to confirm the same unto the people. For

1. When Moses said unto God, *Who am I that I shoulde goe unto Pharaob;* ^{1. Inward.} The Lord answered, *I will be with thee,* [ad protegendum & dirigendum] saith the gloss: and this shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee; After that you have brought the people out of Egypt, you shall serve God upon this Mountain; and that may assure thee that I have sent thee; and will bring thy people unto Canaan, as I have brought them into this wildernes.

2. That the people might be assured he was lawfully called, God gave unto him a threefold sign.

1. Of his Rod: that, being cast to the ground, was turned to a Serpent; but taken by the tayle, it turned to a Rod again: to shew, that when the rod of Government is thrown out of the Magistrates hand, the people are like the brood of Serpents, a malicious, and a viperous generation; but being taken into the hand of government, they prove a royal, and a glorious Nation.

2. The hand thrust into his bosom, and taken out, was lepros; but ^{2. Of the Hand} thrust again and taken out, was made whole: to signifie, that a good Magistrate out of the bosom of the Law, must pull out the hand of justice, both to wound and to heal, to kill and to make alive, as the Poet saith,

Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos;

To defend the innocent, and to punish the wrong doer.

3. The water taken out of the river, and cast upon the dry ground; ^{3. Of the Water} should be turned into blood, to intimate unto them, that the rod which was spilt by Pharaob, when their children were murthered, and drowned in the Rivers, should be required, and revenged upon the Egyptians, when, by the government of Moses, the carcasses of those outragious oppresours, should be cast out of the Red Sea, and laid upon the dry ground. Thus Moses shewed that he was lawfully called.

2. For Aaron, the Apostle makes him the pattern of all lawful entrance into this Calling, when he saith, that *No man taketh this honour upon him, but he that is called as Aaron was:* and Moses manifested the lawfulness of his calling unto all Israel, when according to the number of their twelve Tribes, he caused 12. Rods to be put in the Tabernacle of witness; and of all them the Rod of Aaron only, which was for the Tribe of Levi, was budded and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded Almonds. And so it was apparent to all Israel, that these men came lawfully to their government.

2. For their ability and fidelity to discharge their places, the malice of their adversaries could not charge them with any omission; they do not say ^{2. Their qualifications for} they have governed amisse, but they would fain govern with them. And, to make this more apparent;

1. The Spirit of God testifieth of Moses, that *He was faithful in all Gods house;* and in that respect called *the man of God, the servant of God;* whose whole care was for his Master: and for the sweetnesse of his disposition, he is said to be a very meek man, above all the men that were upon the earth: for his love to his people, Tertullian makes him the figure of Christ, *Tertul. de fide Christiana adhuc Christo non revelata, in se figurato, ait, Si perdis hunc populum & me in persecut.* for his zeal to disperde; for his zeal of Gods honour he was most fervent, and therefore severe in punishing the worshippers of the golden Calfe: and for his justice and uprightness, he wronged no man; for his intellecuals he was exceeding wise, and learned in all the learning of the Egyptians.

The Grand Rebellion.

2. Of the abilities of Aaron.

2. For *Aaron*, how fit he was to be a Priest, will appear, if you consider those two vertues that are the most requisite for the Priest-hood, as *Moses* sheweth when he prayeth. *Let thy Urim and thy Thummim be upon the man of thy mercy*, that is, omitting all other interpretations,

3. His ability to teach.

Malach.

1 Tim. 3. 2.

Hieron. in Hag-gai 2. d^y Aug. de doctr. Christ. 14. c. 16.

3. His up-rightness of life.

A double necessity of obedience.

Our obedience consisteth in two things.

1. In doing nothing against our Gouvernours.

1. In Thought. *Ecclef. 10. 20.*

2. In Word. *Exod. 23. 28.*

3. In Deed. *Rom. 13. 2.*

Many kinds of touches.

1. Ability to teach.

{ For,

2. Sanctity of life.

2. The Priests lips must preserve knowledge ; he must be apt to teach, & si Sacerdos est, sciat legem Dei ; si ignorat legem, ipse se arguit non esse sacerdotem Domini : But God himself saith, that he knew *Aaron* was an eloquent man, and could speak well, and he promised unto *Moses*, that He would be with his mouth, to teach him what he should say : and therefore I know not who can say any thing against him herein, when God saith, he can do it so well, and ingageth himself that he will help him.

2. For the integrity of his life, I need not go further then my Text, when as the Prophet calleth him *The Saint of the Lord*; that is, not onely *Sanctificatum ad Sacerdotium*; but also a holy, just, and godly man, in respect of the innocency of his life.

And so you have seen the persons described, against whom these Rebels have rebelled: They were the prime Gouvernours of Gods people, and such Gouvernours as the like, for all kind of goodnesse and excellencies, could not be found on earth.

Therefore these Rebels ought to have obeyed them, though for nothing else, but because they were their Gouvernours ; for the Apostle tells us plainly, that *Necessita est subjici*, we must needs be subject ; not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake : wherein you see a double necessity of obeying.

1. External, Propter iram, for fear of wrath :

2. Internal, Propter conscientiam, for conscience sake : therefore we must needs obey. And our obedience consisteth chiefly in these two things :

{ 1. To do nothing against them. { For,

2. To do all that we can for them. { For,

1. We are forbidden to think an ill thought of them with our hearts : Speak not evill of the King, (saith *Solomon*) no not in thy thought ; for a bird of the ayr shall carry the voyce, and that which hath wings, shall tell the matter :

2. We are charged not to revile them with our tongues ; for, Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of the people.

3. We are restrained from resisting them with our hands ; for, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God ; and they that resist, receive unto themselves damnation.

And therefore the Lord saith unto all, *Nolite tangere Christos meos* ; where he doth not say, *Non occides*, or *ne perdas*, the worst that can be, but *ne tangas*, the least that may be ; touch not, *tacit noxio*, with any hurtful touch.

And many times we are touched secretly, we know not how, nor when, nor by whom, but cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly, and all the people shall say *Amen* : and therefore much more cursed be he, that smiteth his Prince, his Priest, his Gouvernour.

And sometimes we are touched with violent hands, when with hostile force, and open arms, our power and authority are wickifood : but

Most frequently we are touched with virulent tongues, as they say in *Jerem. 18. 18.* *Venite, percutiamus cum lingua* ; and this touch, though it break no bones, yet doth it wound and kill the very heart.

The Grand Rebellion.

195

But the Lord saith in general, Touch not at all; therefore no kind is limited, no way permitted to touch them.

2. As we are forbidden to do any thing against them, so we are commanded to do all we can for them: for,

Saint Peter saith, Fear God, and honour the King; therefore he cannot be said to fear God, that doth not honour his King: And Solomon saith, Fear God, my son, and the King; therefore he cannot be the son of wisdom, the son of Solomon, that doth not fear the King; that is, fear to wrong him, fear to offend him, fear to anger him. And when the Magistrates command us any thing, Saint Paul bids us to obey them; but if they command any thing against God, then indeed their authority comes too short. *Quia melius est obediere Deo, quam hominibus.* Yet in these things wherein we may not obey, we must not resist; but as Julian's Soldiers would not sacrifice at his command; *Sed timendo potestatem, contemnebant potestatem,* in fearing the power of God, regarded not the power of man; yet when he led them against his enemies, *Subditi erant propter Dominum eternum, etiam domino temporali;* so should we truly distinguish of the things they do command, and take heed we be not blind Judges herein, and too partial to satisfy our own passionate affections.

And besides, we are to impart our goods to supply their necessities, and for the supportance of their dignities; for our Saviour bids us, *Give unto Cesar, what belongeth unto Cesar:* and Saint Paul expresseth the same to be Tribute; that is, Imposts, Subsidies, Gifts, or the like; call it by what name you will; we are commanded by God, to the uttermost of our abilities, to supply their occasion and necessities, even as the children are bound to relieve their parents in their extremities.

And if we see our Moses, our King, or chief Governours, any wayes impugned, or like to be oppressed, either by forraign Egyptians, or domes-tick Israelites, though they should be Daikan and Abram, the most prime and popular men in all the Congregation, that could draw thousands after them, yet are we bound, to the hazard of our lives, to preserve the Life, Crown, and Dignity of our Prince; as the subjects of King David hazarded themselves to save him harmless: And if we will not do this, then, as Mordecai in the like case said to Hester, *If thou altogether boldest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, but thou and thy fathers house shall be destroyed.* So I say, with King David, the Lord will help his Anointed, and deliver him from the strivings of his people: and if we still be silent and do nothing, yet, the Starres in their order shall fight against Sisera. *Et conjurati venient ad clas-sicæ venti:* and as the Angell of the Lord said of the Merozites, *Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to help Barak against the Canaanites:* So let them fear a bitter curse, and a curse from God, that will not help their Prince against his enemies, especially such enemies as have least reason to be enemies unto him.

So you see what obedience we owe unto our Governours, and therefore their rebellion was the more intolerable, that thus spurned against their Magistrates,

2. In doing all
that we can do
for our Go-
vernours.
1. To honour
them:

Rom. 13:
Vide Jfb. 1.
16.
Wherein we
ought to obey;
and disobey.

Aug. in Psal.
1:4.

2. To impart
our goods to
them.

3. To hazard
our lives for
them.

1 Sam. 18. 3:
Hester 4. 14.

The punish-
ment of them
that will not
assist their
Governours.

C H A P. IV.

Showeth the objection of the Rebels to justify their Rebellion: the first part of it answered, that neither our compulsion to Idolatry, nor any other injury or tyranny should move us to Rebelt.

But we must not condemn them before their cause be heard; and therefore Corab shall have his Counsell, to object what he can for himself: And I find but one Objection of any moment, though the same consisteth of many branches. As

*The objection
of the Rebels.*
What if Moses, the King, or chief Governour, being so much affected and addicted unto Aaron the chief Priest or Bishop, and to others his prime Councell, should be led by evill advice to set up Idolatry, and to play the Tyrant; to take away the goods, destroy the lives, and bring most of his people to most miserable conditions? may neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the prime Nobility of the people; nor any other Court or Assembly of men, restrain his fury, or remove this mischief from Gods inheritance, from the Church and Comon-wealth? This is that Gordian knot which is so hard to be untied.

Solutio.

*Two Parts of
their objec-
tion.*

But if I might in the School of Divinity have leave to resolve this question, and not to be confuted, as Saint Steven was, with stony arguments, I would soon answer, that 1. In neither of these cases: 2. Neither of these men may do it: and I could make this good by very good authority; for, *Si Magistratus est bonus, nutritor est tuus*; if our Governour be good, he is our Nursing-Father, and we should receive our nourishment with thanks; and no thanks to us for our obedience to such a one. And if our Governour be evill, he is so for our transgression, and we should receive our punishment with patience; and therefore no resistance: but either obey the good willingly, or endure the evill patiently.

But to proceed to break this Gordian knot in pieces, and to answer each part of this Objection:

1. Part of their
objection an-
swered.
Not to rebell
for any caufe
1. Not for our
compulsion to
Idolatry.

Deut. 13,6.
How far the
Law of God
extendeth to
resist idolaters.

1. I say, that many wicked Kings, and cruel Emperours have set tip Idolatry, and blasphemy against God, and yet I do not find that any of Gods servants did ever rebell against them; for you know Jeroboam the son of Nebat that made Israel to sin, did set up golden Calves to be worshipped. Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon made an Image of gold, and commanded all his people to fall down to worship it. And what shall I say of those Idolatrous Kings, Acbab, Manasses, Julian, and abundance more; that most impiously compelled their subjects unto Idolatry? and yet you shall not find that either the faithfull Jews under Jeroboam, or the Prophet Daniel in Babylon, or Elias the man of God in the time of Acbab, or any of all the good Christians that were under Julian, either did themselves, or perswaded others of the servants of God, at any time, to rebell against those Idolatrous Kings: for they considered how far the Law of God that prohibiteth Idolatry, and infigateth us against the allurers and persuaders of us to Idolatry and blasphemy, extendeth; and that is, If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, shall intice thee to Idolatry, and to serve strange Gods, thine eye shall not spare him, neither shalt thou have any pity upon him; but for the sonne to rise up against the father, the wife against her husband, the servant against his Lord, the subject against his King, here is not a word; and therefore by this Law they are not obliged, but

but rather forbidden to do it; for though the son is not expressly prohibited to accuse his father, nor the wife her husband, nor the servant his Lord, nor the subject his King: yet, because Gods Law is absolute and perfect, to which we must neither add nor detract, nor construe it as we please; the Divines conceive those things forbidden which are not expressed; especially in penal precepts, which are to be restrained, and not extended any further then they are set down, as Tertullian doth most truly conclude: And what the sonne may not do against his father, nor the wife against her husband, nor the servant against his Lord; that certainly no man may do against his King, which is the father of his Country, the husband of the Common wealth, and the supreme Lord over all his subjects.

*Tertullian in
Deut. 13. v. 3.*

And therefore Christ himself that came to fulfill the Law, and knew best how farre it reached, living under the Empire of Tiberius, the Principality of Herod, and the Government of Pilate, that were all wicked and idolatrous, did notwithstanding submit himself in all things (which the Law of God forbade him not) unto them; and though for strength, policy, and power, he might easily have resisted them, yet did he not only perform all the offices of subjection unto these wicked Magistrates, and idolatrous Governours, but also commanded all his followers to do the like; and so we see they did: for the Christians which were at Hierusalem, when Saint James was martyred, were more in number, and greater in power, then were the persecutors of that Apostle; and yet for the reverence they bare to the Law of God, and the example of their Master Christ, interire se a paucioribus, quam interimere passabantur; they rather suffered themselves to be killed, then they would kill their Persecutors, saith St. Clement. And so the other Apostles, under Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian, that were bloody Tyrants, cruell Persecutors, and most wicked Idolaters: and those holy Fathers of the Church, Liberius, Hosius, Athanasius, Nazianzen, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Hieron, Chrysostom, and the rest, for a thousand years together followed the example of Patience, without resistances yea, Quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit numerus; though their power was great, and their number greater then their adversaries, yet none of them strugled when he was apprehended, saith St. Cyprian. And the reason is rendred by Tertullian, because among the Christians, Occidit licet, occidere non licet, It was lawfull for them to suffer themselves to be killed, but not to kill; for our Saviour had pronounced them blessed, that would suffer for righteousesse sake: and what more righteous, then to suffer death for not being an Idolater, to die rather then to deny their God? Therefore they are not to be blessed, which refuse to suffer, because that is not suffering, but in rising up, and rebelling against their Persecutors, they are (as the Apostle saith) convinced of sin, and in sinning, they acquire unto themselves damnation, Rom. 13.

The obedience
of all his Apo-
stles, and
prime Chris-
tians to Idola-
tous Gover-
nours.

*Clement. 100. ap-
p. 11. l. 5.*

*Cyprian ad De-
metrium.*

*Tertul. in Apo-
lo.*

He that would
see more plen-
ty of proof, let
him read the
Treatise
*A perswasion to
Loyalty.*

Where the
Author
bringes the
Fathers of all
ages, to con-
firm this
pointe.

Besides, if it were lawfull to maintain this Doctrine, then the Papists that believe our Religion to be false, and that we persuading men unto it, do seduce them from the true service of God, may lawfully rebell against their Prince, and justify all their trayterous plots: and every heretical Sect that believeth we are Idolaters, (as they do all which oppose the croſſe in Baptism) may, without offence, fall into Rebellion against all those Magistrates that maintain that Idol, as they term it. And this falle pretext might be a dissembled cloak for all Rebels, to say, They do it in defence of their Religion, because they are afraid to be compelled unto Idolatry: And therefore the truch is, if any Tyrant, like Julian, should endeavour to compell me unto the Idols Temple, or to worship my true God with falle ser-
vice, I will rather die then do it; but I may not resist when I am compelled by any means: for so I find, that Shadrac, Meshach, and Abednego, Elias,

The Grand Rebellion.

the Prophets, and the Apostles, and all the Christians of the Primitive Church, did use to do in the like case.

And I had rather imitate the obedience of those good Saints to those wicked Kings, that would have compelled them to *Idolatry*; then the insolencie of those proud Rebels, that under these false pretences will rebell against their lawful Princes.

2. Not for any injury that is done unto us.

No injury greater then compulsion to *Idolatry*.

When, and who did first resist, and what moved them.

Baron. ad annum Christi. 350.

Match. 5.39.

1 Pet. 3. 19.

How pathetically the Fathers perwade us to suffer, not to resist.

Tertul. in Apo-
loget.

Nazian. Orat. 1.

2. If we may not rebell when we are compelled to *Idolatry*, much lesse may we do it for any other *injury*: for, what *injury* can be greater then to be forced to *Idolatry*, when as to be robbed of my *faith* and *religion*, is more intolerable then to be spoyled of all my *goods* and *possessions*? And therefore, when Christ suffered as great an *injury* as could be offered unto his person, when the Souldiers came with *Swords* and *Staves* to take him, as if he had been a thief and a murderer; and Saint Peter then, like a hot-headed Puritane, was very desirous to *revenge* this indignity, our Saviour reprehended his *rashnesse*, because he knew what the other as yet knew not: that he ought not to *resist* when the Magistrate doth send to apprehend; and so the Christians of the Primitive Church were extreamly *injured* by their Persecutors: And the *Catholique* faith it self suffered no small oppression under Constantius the Arian Emperour; and yet that purer age, wherein the better Christians lived, did not so much as once think of any *revenge* or *resistance*, saith Baronius: But about the year of Christ 350, then first (saith he) alas the Christian Souldiers being swell'd with *p pride*, and taken up with a cruell desire of bearing rule, have conspired against the Christian Emperours; when as before, ne gregarius quidem miles inveniri quidem posset, qui adversus Imperatores, licet Erbitos, Christianorum quoque persecutores, à partibus aliquando steterit insurgentium, tyranorum; not a Christian could be found that stood up against the Heathen Emperours, that were the persecutors of the Christians.

But to make it yet more plain, that no *grievance* should move good Christians to make *resistance*, no *injury* should cause them to rebell against their Magistrates, our Saviour's faith, & *authoritative*, with authority enough, I say unto you, that ye resist not evill; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also: and if by our Saviour's rule we may not resist any one, what think you that we may resist our King, our Priest, or any other Magistrate that correcteth or reproveth us? And Saint Peter saith, *This is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully;* for what glory is it, if when ye suffer for your faults, ye take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God; where you see still, the rule of piety is none other but suffering, though it be never so unjustly.

And therefore the Fathers are most plentifull in the explanation and confirmation of this point; for Tertullian, that was no babe in the School of Divinity, nor any *coward* in the Army of Christ, speaking of those faithful Christians, that suffered no small measure of miseries in his time, saith, that one short night, with a few little torches, might have wrought their *deliverance*, and revenged all their wrongs, if it had been *lawful* for them to blot out, or expell evill with evill; but God forbid (saith he) ut aut igne humano vindicetur divina secta, aut dolent pati in quo probatur; that either the divine sect, that is, the Christian Religion, should be revenged with humane fire; or that it should grieve us to suffer, wherein we are commended for suffering.

Nazianzen, that for his soundnesse of judgement, and profoundnesse of knowledge, was *ex eximis*, termed *Theologus*, the Divine, saith, that the fury of Julian that great Apostata, was repressed onely with the tears of the Christians, which many of them did most plentifully powre forth to God,

God, when they had no other remedy against their Persecutor, because they knew it unlawful for them to use any other means than sufferance; or else they might (having so much strength as they had) have repelled their wrongs with violence.

Mark that
they say, it is
unlawful to
resist.

Ambros. ep. 33.

Saint Ambrose saith as much; and Prosper in like manner saith, The present evils should be suffered, untill the promised happiness doth come; the Infidels should be permitted among the faithful, and the plucking of the tares should be deferred: and let the wicked rage against the godly, as much as they will; yet the case of the righteous is far better, because that *Quando acris imperuntur, tandem gloriofius coronantur*; by how much the *prosper.* is more sharply they are tormented, by so much the more gloriously they shall *sent. 99.* be crowned.

And Saint Bernard saith, If all the world should conspire against me, and conjure me, that I should plot any thing against the royal Majesty, yet I would fear God, and would not dare to offend the King, that is appointed *of him over me;* because I am not ignorant of the place where I read, *Wbo-* *170.* *soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*

And yet he speaketh this of King Lodoricu[m], that offered a monstrous wrong to all the Clergy, when he robb[ed] them, and took away all their goods without cause; and which is worse, would hear of no persuasions to make restitution, or to give them any satisfaction: as *Gaguinus Gaguin. lib. 6:* testifieth.

Thus the Fathers (whereof I could heap many more) do testify of this truth; and the School-men tread in the same steps, and differ not a nail's breadth from them herein; For,

Alexander Hales saith, wicked and evill men ought to suffer for the fault of their irrationality, and good men ought to suffer, *Propter debitum divine ordinacionis*, for the duty that they owe to the divine ordinance, and the benefit of their own purgation: Whereupon Saint Ambrose saith, If the Prince be good, he doth not punish the well-doer, but loveth him, because he doth well; but if the Prince be evill, and punishment the well-doer, he burteth him not, but purgeth him; and therefore he is not a terror to him that doth well: but the wicked ought to fear, because Princes are appointed, that they should punish evill.

The School-
men of the
same judge-
ment.

Ambrosius in
Rom. 13.

Alex. Hales, p.
3. q. 48. memb. 2.
art. 1. de offic.
subd. erga
Print.

Aquinas saith, The faith of Christ is the beginning, and the cause of righteousness, and therefore by the faith of Christ, the order of Justice is not taken away, but rather settled and strengthened; because (as our Saviour saith) It became him to fulfill all righteousness. But the order of justice doth require, that all inferiors should obey their superiors; otherwise the estate of humane affairs could no ways be preserved: and therefore by the faith of Christ, the godly and the faithful Christians are neither exempted, nor excused; but that they are tyed, and bound by the Law of Christ, to obey their secular Princes. Where you see the Christian faith doth not submit the superior to the inferior, contrary to the rule of justice; neither doth it any wayes for any cause permit the power of the sword to any subject to be used against his Prince, because this inordinate power would turn to the ruine of man-kind, and the destruction of all humane affairs; which can no otherwise be preserved, but through the preservation of the order of justice.

Tham. secunda
secunda; q. 104.
art. 6.

Indeed many times there may happen some just causes, for which we are not bound to obey the commands of our Magistrates, as when they command *Wherein we* *may disobey;* *and how.*
any thing contrary to the commandements of God; and yet then there can be no cause why we should withstand him that executeth the unjust sentence of our condemnation, or requireth the punishment that an unjust malicious Magistrate, under the colour of his power and authority, hath most unjusly

The Grand Rebellion.

unjustly laid upon us; because he hath (as our Saviour saith unto Pilate) this ordinary power from God, which if he doth abuse, he is to be restrained, not by the preparation of arms, and the insurrection of his subjects to make impressions upon their Sovereign, but by those lawful means which are appointed for them; that is Petitions unto him, and prayers and tears unto God for him, because nothing else remaineth to him that is guilty, or condemned as guilty for any fault, but to commit his cause to the knowledge of the omnipotent God, and to expect the judgement of him which is the King of Kings, and the Judge of all Judges; and will undoubtedly chastize and correct the iniquity of any unjust sentence, with the severity of eternal ju-

Barcl. l.3.c.10. stice, as Barclay saith.

*Berchetus in
explicat. con-
trovers. Galli-
cana, cap. 7.*

An example
of a faithful,
and excellent
subject.

*Joh. Servinus
pro libertat.
Ecclesie, & sta-
tu Regni, tom. 3.
Monarchia.
Rom. p. 202.*

These testimonies are clear enough: and yet to all these I will add this one memorable example, which you may read in *Berchetus*, and *Joh. Servinus*, which tells us, that in *France*, after the great Massacre at *Paris*, when the reformed Religion did seem as it were forsaken, and almost extinguished, a certain King, powerful in strength, rich in wealth, and terrible for his Ships and navall Force, which was at enmity, and hatred with the King of *France*, dispatched a solemn Embassie and Message unto *Henry King of Navarre*, and other Protestant Lords, and commanded his Embassadors to do their best to set the *Protestants* against the *Papists*, and to arm *Henry the Prince of Navarre*, which then lived at *Rearn*, under the Dominion of the most Christian King, against his *Sovereign*, the French King; which thing the Embassadors endeavoured to do with all their art and skill, but all in vain; for *Henry* being a good subject, as it were another *David*, to become a most excellent King, would not prevent the day of his Lord; yet the Embassadors offered him many ample, fair, and magnificent conditions, among the rest abundance of money, the summe of three hundred thousand, *Aureorum Scutatorum*, French Crowns, which were ready to be told for the preparation of the warre; and for the continuation of the same, there should be paid every moneth so much as was necessary: but *Henry* being a faithful Christian, a good Prince, a Widower; and though he was displaced from the publique government of the Common-wealth; and for his sake, for the dislike the King bare towards him, the King had banished many Protestants from his Country, and had killed many faithful Pastours; yet would not he for all this lift up his band against the Lords annointed; but refused their gold, rejected their conditions, and dismissed the Embassadors, as witnesses of his faith to God, his fidelity and allegiance to his King, and peaceable mind towards his Country.

Where you see this prudent and good Prince, had rather patiently suffer these intolerable injuries that were offered, both to himself, to the inferiour Magistrates, and to many other good Christians for his sake, then any wayes undutifully resist the Ordinance of God. And surely this Example is most acceptable unto God, most wholesome for any Common-wealth, and most honourable for any subordinate Prince; for I am certain this is the faith of Christ, and the religion of the true Protestants. Not to offer, but suffer all kind of injuries, and to render good for evill; and rather with patience, love, and obedience, to study to gain the favour of their Persecutors, then any ways with force and arms, to withstand those that God hath placed in authority: which must needs be not onely offensive unto God, whose Ordinance they do resist; but also destructive to the Common-wealth, which can never receive any benefit by any insurrection against the Prince.

3. Not for any tyranny that shall be offered unto us.

3. Though the King should prove to be *Nerone Neronior*, worse then *Pbalaris*, and degenerating from all humanity, should prove a Tyrant to all his people; yet his subjects may not rebell against him upon this pretence; for if any cause should be admitted for which subjects might rebell, that cause would

would be alwayes alledged by the Rebels, whensoever they did rebells, and whom *I* and many others shoud deem a good Prince and most pious, the Rebels would proclaim him tyrannical, and idolatrous.

And therefore in such a case, when some men think their King most *gracious*, and others think him *vicious*, some believe him to be *good*, others believe him to be *evil*; shall we think it fit that the *disaffected party* shall present-
ly with arms decide the *controversie*, and not rather have the *accused*, the *accuser*, and the *witnesses*, before a competent Judge to determine the *truth* of this question? Surely this seems more *reasonable*, and more agreeable unto the rules of *justice*, when as *The Law condemneth no man* (much lesse the King) before his *cause be heard*.

And seeing such a competent Judge, as can justly determine this *contro-
versie* betwixt the King and his *People*, or rather betwixt one part of his *people* and the other, cannot be found under Heaven; therefore to avoid *civil warres*, and the *effusion* of humane and Christian blood, and the *pre-
vention* of abundance of other mischiefs; both the *Scripture teacheth*, and the *Church believeth*, and *Reason* it self sheweth, and the *publique safety* requireth, that we should transmit this question to be decided *only by him*, which is the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*; and will, when he feeth good, bind *evil Kings in fetters*, and their *Nobles with links of iron*.

That we ought
not by any
means to resist
our kings,
Proved,

CHAP. V.

*sheweth, by Scripture, the Doctrine of the Church, humane Reason, and the Welfare of the weale publique, that we ought by no means to rebell. A threefold power of every Tyrant. Three Kinds of ty-
rannies. The doubtful and dangerous events of Warre. Why ma-
ny men rebell. Jehu's example not to be followed.*

¶ **T**He Scripture saith, *I counsell thee to keep the Kings commandement*, ¹ By the Scripturē and that in regard of the oath of God; that is, the oath whereby thou hast sworn before God, and by God, to obey him; *Be not hasty to go out of his sight*, that is not, out of his presence, but out of his rule and government, and stand not in an evill thing; that is, in opposition, or rebellion against thy King, which must needs be evill, and the worst of all evils to thy King, for *He doth whatsoever pleaseth him*; that is, he hath power and authority to do what he pleaseth. *Where the Word of a King is, there is pow-
er*; and who may say unto him, *What dost thou?* or, *Why dost thou so?* And Solomon saith, *A Grey-bound, an Her-Goat, and a King, against whom there is no rising up*; there ought not to be indeed. I will not set down what Samuel saith, but desire you to read the place, ^{1 Sam. chapter 8. verse 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.} where you shall see what the King will doe, and what remedy the Prophet prescribeth against him, Not to rebell and take up arms, but to cry unto the Lord that he would help them. And Saint Paul saith, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resist-
eth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves dam-
nation*. And S. Peter saith, that they which despise government, and are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, are presumptuous, and do walk after the flesh in the lusts of uncleanness, and as natural brute beasts, that are made to be taken and destroyed, they speak evil of the things they understand not, and therefore they shall utterly perish in their own corruption. And Saint Jude in like manner calleth those that despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, (the very phrase of Saint Peter) *filthy dreamers*, ^{2 Pet. 2. 10, 11.} that defile the flesh, and therefore shall perish in the gainsaying of Co-

The Grand Rebellion.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

reb. This is the doctrine of God, therefore Saint Paul exhorteth us not to rebell, nor to speak evil of our Kings, be they what they will; but first of all, or before all things, to make prayers, and supplications for our Kings, and for all that are in authority. And I wonder what spirit, except it were the spirit of hell it self, durst ever presume to answer, and evade such plain and pregnant places of Scripture, to countenance disobedience, and to justify their rebellion: And therefore,

2. The Church of Christ believeth this Doctrine to be the truth of God; for no man (saith Saint Cyril) without punishment, resisteth the Laws of Kings, but Kings themselves, in whom the fault of prevarication hath no place; because it is wisely said, It is impiety (therefore against the will of God) to say unto the King, Inique agis, Thou dost amisse; for, as God is the suprem Lord of all, which judgeth all, and is judged of none; so the Kings and Princes of the earth, which do correct and judge others, are to be corrected and judged of none, but onely of God, to whose power and authority they are onely subject; and therefore King David, understanding his own station well enough, when he was both an adulterer, and a murderer, and prayeth to God for mercy, saith, Against thee onely have I sinned; because I acknowledge none other my Superior on earth, besides thee alone; and I have no Judge besides thee, which can call me to examination, or inflict any punishment on me for my transgression: And so the Poet saith,

*Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsis imperium est Jovis.*

Object.

But you will object against S. Cyril; If it be impiety to say unto the King, Thou dost amisse; how shall we excuse Samuel, that told King Saul, he did foolishly; and Nathan that reproved King David; and Elias, that said to King Achab, it was he and his fathers house, that made Israel to sin; and John Baptist that told Herod, It was not lawful for him to have his brothers wife.

Sol.
What the
Priest or Pro-
phet may do,
private men
may not do.

I answer, 1. That by the mouth of these men, God himself reproved them; because these men were no private persons, but extraordinarily inspired with the spirit of God, to perform the extraordinary messages of God.

2. I say, as I said before, that as Moses may correct and punish Aaron if he doth amisse, so Aaron the Priest in regard of his calling, may reprove and admonish Moses the chief Magistrate, when he doth offend; but so, that he do it wisely, and with that love and reverence which he oweth unto Moses, as to his God; not publiquely to disgrace and vilifie his Prince unto his people, but modestly and privately to amend his fault, and reconcile him to God: and this is the work of his office which he ought to do as he is a Priest, and not of his person, which ought not to do it, as he is his subject.

3. By humane reason.

3. Reason it self confirmeth this truth, because the King is the head of the body politique; and the members can neither judge the head, because they are subject unto it; nor cut it off, because then they kill themselves, and cease to be the members of that head: and therefore the subjects with no reason can either judge or depose their King.

4. From the welfare of eve- ry Common- wealth.

The event of
every warre is
doubtful.

4. The publique safety and welfare of any Common-wealth requireth, that the subjects should never rebell against their King. 1. Because the event of a rebellious warre is both dubious, and dangerous; for who can divine in whose ruine it shall end? or which party can assure themselves of victory? It is true, that the justest cause hath best reason to be most confident; yet it succeeds not always: when God for secret causes best known unto himself,

himself, suffereth many times, especially for a time; (as in the case of the Tribe of Benjamin) the Rebels to prevail against the true subjects. And as the event is doubtful, so it must needs be mournful, what side soever provereth victors, for who can expresse the sorrows and sadnessse of those faithful subjects, that shall see the light of their sun any wayes eclipsed? the lamp of Israel, and the breath of their nostrils to be darkned, or extinguished? and also to see the learned Clergy, and the grave Fathers of the Church discountenanced and destroyed? On the other side, it will not be much less mournful to see so many of our illustrious Nobles, ancient Gentry, and others of the ablest Commonalty, brought to ruine; and to pay for their follys, not only their dearest lives, but also the desolation of their houses, and decay of their posterities.

Quis talia fando Temperet à lacrymis?

When the Kings victory shall be but like that of David, after the death of Absolon, & the Nobles victory but as the two victories of the Benjamites over their own brethren the Israelites; and the best triumph that can succeed on either side, shall be but as the espousal of a virgin on the day of her parents funerals; or as the laying of the foundation of the second Temple, when the shout of joy could not be discerned from the noyse of weeping.

Bella geri pl.
cuit, nullus ba-
bitura trium-
phus. Lucan. I. 1.

And therefore a learned Preacher of Gods Word saith most truly, that Mr. Wards
it is a hard matter to find out a mischiefe of so destructive a nature, that would exchange it for this civil warre; for Tyranny, Slavery, Penury, or any thing almost, may be better born with peace and unity, than a civil warre with the greatest liberty and plenty; seeing the comfort of such associates would quickly be swallowed up, like Pharaohs fat kine, by such a monster feeding with them.

Had we a Tyrant like Reboam, that would whip us with Scorpions, (which the Devil dares not be so impudent, as to alledge we have) yet, better it were to be under one Tyrant, then many, which we are sure to have in civil broyls, when every wicked man becomes a Tyrant; when he seeth the reines of government cut in pieces. Were we under the yoke of an Egyptian slavery, to make bricks without straw, yet better it were for us to be in bondage, then that fury and violence should be set free, and malice suffered to have her will, because there is more safety in being shut up from a Tyger, then to be let loose before him, to be chased by him: or were we wasted and oppressed in our estates; yet the wisest of men tells us, that Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, then great treasure and trouble therewith.

Prov. 13. 15. 37.

And therefore seeing civill warre is Μάστιγος βαρύσαρε μεγάλου οὐρώπησθε, an affliction full of all calamity, and one of the greatest punishments that God useth to send upon a Nation: it is apparent that the welfare of any State calleth upon every subject to be obedient unto his King; yea, though he were never so vile an Idolater, or so cruel a Tyrant: for though a King could be proved, and should be condemned to be cruell and tyrannous, unjust and impious towards God and men, yet hereby that King will not yield what he doth hold from God, but though the confederate conspirators should have a thousand times more men and strength then he; yet he will call his servantes and friends, his kinsmen, allies, and other circumjacent Kings and Princes unto his aid, and he would hire mercenary Souldiers, to revenge the injury offered unto him, and to suppress the Rebels both with fire and sword: and if he should happen to have the worse, and to lose both his Crown and Kingdom, and his life and all, yet all this would be but a miserable comfort, and a lamentable victory to a ruined Commonwealth, whose winnings can no ways countervail

The Grand Rebellion.

The miseries
that follow the
disturbance or
deposing of
any king, are
unspeakable.

His first Quin-
quennium was
good.

A fable worth
worse: And this is contrary to the judgement of that ulcerated wretch in
the fable, who, when the traveller saw him full of flies, swarming in his
sores, and, pitying his miseries, would have swept them off, prayed him to
let them alone, for that these being now well filled, would suck the lesse,
but if these were gone, more hungry flies would come, which would most
miserably suck his blood.

Who do many
times rebell,
and why.

A threefold
power in every
Tyrant.

Punishment
should be pro-
portionable to
the fault.

Three kinds.
1. Kind.

her losse; for we never read of any King that either was disturbed, expelled, or killed, but there succeeded infinite losses to that Kingdom; and therefore Writers say, that the death of Cesar was no benefit unto the Romans, because it brought upon them farre greater calamities then ever they felt before as you may find in Appian, those infinite miseries that succeeded in several fields and battels, which could never end untill the overthrow of Anthony by Augustus Cesar. And when Nero perished, it fell out with no good successe; but the next year that followed after his death, felt more oppression, and spilt more blood then was spilt in all those * nine years wherein he had so tyrannically reigned: So when the Athenians had expelled one Tyrant, they brought in thirty. And when the Romans had abandoned their Kings, they did not put away the tyranny, but changed the Tyrants; for wicked Kings, they chose more wicked Consuls, which is nothing else, but (as the Proverb goeth) *Antigonus eff. dera*, to go out of Gods blessing into the warm Sun, or rather to change a bad Master for a

And so Histories tell us of many other Kings, that by Heathens, and rebellious subjects, were for their injustice, cruelty, and tyranny, either expelled, or murdered; but very seldom or never with any publick benefit, when the chiefest plotters of any rebellion do most chiefly hym at their own private revenge, or profit. Yea, many times those very Parastitical Lords, that have most perswaded the King, to do things which he knew not to be illegall, and made benefit of those Monopolies, and exactions to their own advantage, to fill their own purses; and then upon either discontent with the King, or to content the people, and to scape their own due deserved punishment, will be the chiefest upbraiders of their King, the greatest sticklers of rebellion, and the head leaders of all the disloyal Faction. What fools then are the people, upon the false pretence of publique good, to take up arms to destroy themselves; when this name of publique good is nothing else but a vain shadow to hide their private ends?

Or were it granted, that it might happen for the publique good, yet it is not good to do it, because it can never stand with a good conscience, because it is contrary to the Commandement of God; for in every Tyrant, there is a threefold power and authority that doth concurre. 1. Paternal. 2. Conjugal. 3. Herile: and you know the law of God doth not permit the children to renounce their father, nor, which is lesse, to laugh at their fathers nakednesse; nor doth it suffer the wife to forsake her husband, nor the servant to chaffise his Lord and Master; and therefore much lesse may the Subjects deprive their King from his Dominion, and take from him what God hath given him; or any wayes chaffise him for his ill government, whereof he is accomptable to God, and not to them: or if they might depose him, or reduce him by their correction; when he doth degenerate into a Tyrant; yet seeing there are many kinds of Tyrannies, I demand if the same reason shall serve to proceed against all kinds of Tyranny, to the like condemnation of all tyrannous Kings? and this every Sophister will deny; for where the punishment is not proportionable to the fault, the sentence is most unjust, and the suppressors of the Tyrant do shew the signs of a worse tyranny; and if there must be an adequation of the punishment to the sin, I would know how they would distinguish to impose the just measure that is due to each kind of tyranny.

But to leave the Rebels in this Labyrinth, till they be better able to evade;

I say

I say that there are three speciall kinds of tyrannies :

1. Is against all humane right for his own private commodity, to the *pro-
lute losse* and damage of his subjects, as was the tyranny of *Achab*,
when he took away *Naboris* vineyard ; and of those Kings which *Samuel* 1 Sam 8.
doth describe.

2. Violateth the divine Law, to the contumelie of the Creatour, as was 2. kind,
the tyranny of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he would have forced the three
children to adore his golden Image ; and of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*,
that made *Israell* to sin, because he compelled them to go to *Dan* and *Betbel*
to adore his Calves ; and bindred them to go to *Hierusalem* for to worship
the true God.

3. Treadeth and trampleth under foot both the divine and humane 3. kind,
right, to the utter overthrow of all piety and justice, as was the tyranny of
Man-nes, *Julian*, and others, that regarded neither the worship of God,
nor the good of men.

And I do confidently affirm, that each one of these tyrannies apart, or all
of them coupled in one Tyrant; as well that which offereth violence unto
God, as that which bringeth calamity and cruelty unto man, ought to be
suffered, and not abolished, untill he doth abrogate the same, which alone
looseth the belts of Kings, and girdeth about their loins, as *Job* speaketh.
For you know the fore-named Tyrants, and many more as bad or worse
then they, as *Solomon* himself, that by his *Oppression*, *Polygamy*, and *Idolatry*,
had most grievously sinned both against God and man, and yet all of them
went on without either the diminution of their glory, or the losse of their
dottinions : and *Achab* did most tyrannically kill *Naboris*, and took away
his Inheritance without law, (as *David* did before kill *Urias*, a most inno-
cent man, and took away his wife, contrary to all law, which was deasib
by their law to any other man;) and he exiled the Prophets, and was the
deasib of many of them, and he trampled down the true Religion under his
feet, and by publique authority established the *Idolatrous* worship of *Baal*
in every place; and yet neither the inferiour *Magistrates*, nor the greatest
Petts, nor the consent of all the people, durst presume, contrary to the *Or-
dinance* of God, to depose or suppress any of these tyrannous men.

If you alledge *Jebs*, I confess indeed he did it, when he conspired
against *Joram*, his own Lord and Master.

But how did he this ? By a power extraordinarily given him from Hea-
ven, as you may see in the 6. and 7. verses of that Chapter, when the same
was not permitted hit by any lawes, as *Jezebel* her self could tell him;
Had Zimri peace which few bis Master ? to whom he might have answered,
He breaks no *Law*, that obeyeth the commands of the *Law-maker*; no
more then the *Israelites* could be accused of *theft*, when they did rob the
Egyptians, or *Abraham* of murder, if he had killed *Isaac*; but without
this special command, he could not have done this extraordinary work
without sin ; and therefore that which he could not do then, without the
warrant of the heavenly Oracle, cannot be done now by any other, with-
out the contempt of the Deity, the reproach of Majestie, and abundance of
damage to the Common-wealth. And so not onely I, but also *Peter
Martyr* commenteth upon the place; where he saith, God stirred up, and
armed one onely *Jebs* against his Lord; which fact, as it is peculiar and sin-
gular, so it is not to be drawn for any example: for certainly, if it might be
lawfull for the people upon any pretence, to expell their Kings and Go-
vernours, though never so wicked and unjust, from their Kingdomes and
government, no Kings or Princes could be safe in any place ; for though
they should reign never so justly and holily, yet they should never satishe
the people, but they would still accuse them of injustice and impiety, that
they might depose them.

These should
be our par-
terns, unlesse
we have some
new revelati-
ons.

Object.

2 Reg. 2.

Sol.

*Jebs's exam-
ple not to be
imitated.*

*Petrus Martyr
loc. com. class. 4.
loc. 20.*

The Grand Rebellion.

And Bodinus in his *Policy*, differeth not at all from this *Divinity*; for he saith, If the Prince be an absolute Sovereign, as are the Kings of France, Spain, England, Scotland, Ethiopia, Turkie, Persia, Muscovie, and the like true Monarchs, whose authority cannot be doubted, and their chief rule and government cannot be imparted with their Subjects; in this case, it is not lawful for any one apart, nor for all together, to conspire and attempt any thing, either of fact, or under the colour of right, against the life, or the honour of his Prince or Monarch; yea, though his Prince should commit all kind of impiety and cruelty, which the tongue of any man could expresse. For, as concerning the order of right, the subject hath no kind of jurisdiction against his Prince, from whom dependeth, and proceedeth all the power and authority of commanding, (as they that rise against their King, do notwithstanding send out their Warrants and Commands in the Kings name) and who not onely can recall all the faculty of judging and governing from his inferior Magistrates, whensoever he please; but also being present, all the power and jurisdiction of all his under-Magistrates, Corporations, Colledges, Orders, and Societies do cease, and are even then reduced into him, from whom before they were derived.

Johan. Bodinus
de repub. l 2.1.5

The true causes that move many men to disturb the State and to rebell.

Paterculus in
Histor. Roman.

But we find it many times, that not the fault of the Prince, nor the good of the Common wealth, but either the biding of their own shame, or the hope of some private gain induceth many men to kindle and blow up the flames of civil discord; for as Paterculus saith, *Ita se res habet ut publica rurina quisque malit, quam suam proteri*: It so falls out, that men of desperate conditions, that, with Catiline, have out-run their fortunes, and quite spent their estates, had rather perish in a common calamity, which may hide the blemish of their sinking, then to be exposed to the shame of a private misery: and we know, that many men are of such base behaviour, that they care not what loss or calamity befalls others, so they may enrich themselves; so it was in the civil warres of Rome, *Bella non causis inita, sed prout merces eorum fuit*; they undertook the same not upon the goodness of the cause, but upon the hope of prey: and so it is in most warres, that avarice and desire of gain makes way for all kind of cruelty and oppression, and then it is as it was among the Romans, a fault enough to be wealthy; and they shall be plundered, that is, in plain English, robbed of their goods and possessions, without any shew of legal proceedings.

But they that build their own houses out of the ruine of the State, and make themselves rich by the impoverishing of their neighbours, are like to have but small profit, and lesse comfort in such rapine; because there is a hidden curse that lurketh in it, and their account shall be great, which they must render for it.

August. contra
Faustum Man.
l.2. c.70.

Therefore I conclude this point: that for no cause, and upon no pretext; it is lawful for any subject to rebell against his Sovereign governour; for Moses had a cause of justice, and a seeming equity to defend and revenge his brother upon the Egyptian: And Saint Peter had the zeal of true religion, and, as a man might think, as great a reason as could be, to defend his Master that was most innocent, from most vile and base indignities, and to free him from the hands of his most cruell persecutors; and yet (as Saint Augustine saith) *Uterque justitia regulam excessit*; & ille Fraterno, iste Dominico amore peccavit; both of them exceeded the rule of justice; and Moses out of his love to his brother, and S. Peter out of his respect to his Master, have transgressed the commandement of God.

And therefore I hope all men will yield, that what Moses could not do for his brother, nor Saint Peter for his Master, and the religion of his Master Christ, that is, to strike any one without lawful authority, ought not to be done by any other man, for what cause or religion soever it be; especially to make insurrection against his King contrary to all divine authority,

rity,

yty, for the true Religion hath been always humble, patient, and the preserver of peace and quietnesse; and (as Saint Augustine saith) the City of God, though it wanyred never so much on earth, and had many troopes of mighty people; yet, for their temporal safety, they would not fight against their impious persecutors, but rather suffered without resistance, that they might attain unto eternal health.

And so I end this first part of the objection, with that Decree of the Councell of Eliberis; If any man shall break the Idols to pieces, and shall be there killed for the doing of it, because it is not written in the Gospel, and the like fact is not found to be done at any time by the Apostles; it pleased the Council that he shall not be received into the number of Martyrs, because (contrary to the practice of our dayes, when every base mechanick runs to the Church to break down, not Heathen Idols, but the Pictures of the blessed Saints out of the windows) they conceived it unlawful for any man to pull down Idolatry, except he had a lawful authority.

*Pro temporali
salute non pug-
navit, sed po-
tius ut obser-
ver eternam
non repugnavit.
Aug. de Civit.
l. 22. c. 6.*

*Concil. Eliberi
Can. 60.*

C.H A P. V I.

sheweth, that neither private men, nor the subordinate Magistrates, nor the greatest Peers of the Kingdom may take arms, and make Warre against their King. Buchanan's mistake discovred, and the Anti-Cavalier conjuted.

2. **A**S it is not lawful for any cause, so no more is it lawful for any one, or for any degree, calling, or kind of men, to rebell against their lawful Governors: For,

1. Touching private men, we find that *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Jun. Brutus*, *Daneus*, *Bucanus*, and most others yield, that meer private men ought not to rebell at any hand; and no wonder, for the Scriptures forbid it flatly:

as Exod. 21. 28. Revile not the Gods, curse not the Ruler. 1 Chron. 16. 22.

Touch not mine annoyted. Prov. 30. 31. *Rise not up against the King,* that is, to resist him. Eccles. 8. 3. *Let no man say to the King, Why doest thou so?*

Eccles. 10. 17. *Curse not the King in thy thought.* And the examples of obedience in this kind, are innumerable, and most remarkable; for *David*, when he had *Saul*, a wicked King, guilty of all impiety and cruelty, in his own hand, yet would he not lay his hand upon the Lords annointed, but

was troubled in conscience, when he did but cut the lap of his garment; *Elias* could call for fire from Heaven to burn the two Captains and their men, a hundred in number, onely for desiring him to come down unto the King; as you may see, 2 Reg. 1. 10, 12. and yet he would not resist *Achab*

his King that fought his life, and was an enemy to all religion; but he rather fled, than desired any revenge, or perswaded any man to rebell against him. *Esaias* was sawed in pieces by *Manasses*, *Jeremy* was cast into the dungeon, *Daniel* exposed to the Lyons, the Three Children thrown into the fiery Furnace, *Amos* thrust thorough the temples, *Zacharias* slain in the porch of the Temple, *James* killed with the sword, *Peter* fastened to the Crosse with his head downward, *Bartholomew* beaten to death with clubs, *Matthew* beheaded, *Paul* slain with the sword, and all the glorious company of the *Martyrs*, which have ennobled the Church with their innocent life, and enlarged the same by their precious death, never resisted any

of their Persecutors, never perswaded any man to rebell against them, never cursed the Tyrants, never implored the aid of the inferiour Magistrates, or superiour Nobility, either by force to escape their hands, or by violence to resist their power; for they thought it more honour unto God,

2. Part of the
objection an-
swered.

No kind of
men ought to
rebell.

1. Not private
men.

Calv. Inst. l. 4.

c. 20. Sct. 31.

Beza Confess.

c. 5. p. 171.

J. Brutus q. 3.

p. 203.

Dan. de Polit.

Christ. L. 6. c. 3.

Bucan. loc. com.

49. Sct. 76.

The examples

of obedience

to kings.

Why the holy
Saints obeyed
the unjust
Tyrant,
and

The Grand Rebellion.

and farre better to themselves, that the *just* should *unjustly* suffer for righteousnesse sake, than under the colour of justice undutifully to *resist*, and unjustly to *rebell* against these unjust Persecutors.

A strange Po-
sition.

And yet some men are not ashamed to averre, that meer private men, and inferiour subjects, if their King as a Tyrant should invade them like a robber or ravisher, may defend themselves, and oppose the Tyrant, as well, and as violently, as they may *resist* a privae thief, or a high-way robber.

Confuted.

The Tyrant
hath a just
power, though
he useth the
same unjustly;
so hath not
the thief or
the robber.

But how untruly they do avouch this thing, will plainly appear, if you consider how *disjunctive* these things are, and how *unjustly* they are alledged for this purpose; for a Chirurgion launceth a man, and draweth his blood, and so doth the thief, or a robber; but he deserveth a reward, this a rope: So, the Prince sometimes doth in some sort the same thing, and it may be after the like manner as a thief or a robber doth, as often as with a strong hand he taketh the goods of his subjects, and forceth the rebellious unto obedience. But will you say, that both of them do it by the same right? I hope not: for God gave the power and the sword unto the Prince, and he, as the Judge of our actions, useth the same *ad vindicam*, for the punishment of our offence; but the thief or the robber usurpeth the sword, and abuseth the same *ad rapinam*, to our destruction, and therefore whosoever saith, that a subject hath the same reason to rise against his Prince that punisheth him, as a traveller hath against a robber that stealeth from him, may well be ashamed of such doctrine, that carrieth so little shew of any truth.

Objec.

But you will say, the Prince that is a *Tyrant* punisheth for no *fault*, without any *just* cause, nay, altogether *unjustly*, and against all truth; as *Saul* persecuted *David*, and put to death the *harmlesse Priests*: and *David* did the like to *Urias*, *Achab* to *Naboib*, *Joash* to *Zachary*, *Manasses* to *Esay*, *Pilate* to *Christ*, *Nero* to *Peter*, and perhaps *Theodosius* to the *Thessalonians*; may they not resist in such a case, when they are thus punished, and persecuted without cause?

Sol.

How the Saints
at all times
suffered, and
never resi-
sted their
kings.

I answer, that under *Saul*, *David*, *Achab*, *Joash*, and *Manasses*, there lived many faithful *Priests* and *Prophets*, that were both upright for life, and excellent for knowledge; and in the days of *Christ*, *Zacheus*, *Nicodemus*, and *Gamaliel*, were inferiour *Magistrates*, and were also pions men, and skilful in the understanding, as well of *Politique* as of *Divine affairs*; and we are sure, that no age brought forth either more learned *Bishops*, or holier *Saints*, than the Apostles and Disciples of *Christ*, that lived under *Nero*, and those excellent *Fathers* that were in the time of *Theodosius*; and yet never *any* of these, not one of them all, shewed us this *resisting way*, to escape the force of tyranny; but it hath been *always* the doctrine of *Christ* and his Church, that Kings and Princes, offending the *Lawes*, and transcending the bounds of their duties, have *only* God for their revenger, and ought not to be resisted by *any* man, or *any kind* of men, though they should never so much abuse that power which they have received from *God*.

Christ and his
Apostles per-
suade all men
obediently to
suffer.

And therefore *Christ* himself and all his *Saints*, not *only* suffered their greatest rage, but also exhibited all honour, and shewed all reverence unto their most cruel Persecutors; and they perswaded all others, both by their *precepts* and *example*, to do the like, and that not only for fear of wrath, but also for conscience sake; because the *King* is *Gods Steward*, which *Christ* hath set over his whole family: and if the *Steward*, like the *evil servante* in the *Gospel*, shall begin to despise his *Master*, neglect his *duty*, smite his *fellowes*, and dissolutely go on to eat and drink, and be drunken; yet not *all* the whole family, nor the *Priests*, nor the *Nobles*, nor the *Commons*, nor yet *all together* have any power or right to displace that *Steward*, which their *Lord* hath appointed over them; but they with patience must expect and wait for the coming of their *Master*, which *only* hath authority to call him

him to his account, and to displace him, and dispose of him at his pleasure:

Besides, we know that among men every one is either superior, inferior, or equal. And,

1. The Superior is no way subject to his inferior.

2. The inferior is every way subject to his Superior. But

3. An equal hath no power or authority against his equal.

As for example, In the Common-wealth of Israel there were Rulers of thousands, and Rulers of hundreds, Rulers of fifties, and Rulers of tens; *Totius status in* and those of tens were over the people, those of fifties were over the *Num. 25. 9.* tens, those of hundreds over the fifties, those of thousands over the hundreds, the 70. Elders over them, and Moses (as the King) over all; and he was subject neither to any of them apart, nor to all of them together, but only unto God himself; and therefore (as Saint Ambrose saith) he was obliged by no lawes, because Kings are free from the bonds of offences, and cannot be called to their punishment by any Statute, *Tutti imperii potestate;* being safe from men by the power of their Dominion.

But then you will object: If the Tyrant may thus do what he will, without resistance, then he may destroy the whole Society of men, and especially the Church of Christ, when the worse part, that is, the Tyrant and his Flatterers, shall take and root away the better, that is, the true servants of God.

Object.

I answer, that the society of men and the communion of Saints, the Church of Christ and the Common wealth, are continued and preserved, not by any humane policy, but by the divine providence, which useth the power and policy of men to do it; and yet, contrary to their power, and beyond all their policies, suffereth not the same to be destroyed by the subtlety or cruelty of any Tyrant, whom he can bridle when he will; and either put a book in his nostrils, or cut him off at his pleasure; and though this our God, when he will, and as long as he will, suffereth wicked Kings and Tyrants to reign and rage over his people, and disposeth the Ministerie of those evil Governours for the punishment of ungodliness, or the trial of our faith; yet he is no less merciful and good unto us, when, either for the proof our fidelity, or the scourging of our sinnes by cruel Tyrants, for the healing of our dying and perishing soules, he punisheth us; than when he heapeth his blessings upon us, by most meek and clement Princes, for the comfort and consolation of this present life. Neither may we think, that by this sufferance of God, the worse part can take away the better, or that the Devil by this means shall be able to overthrow the Church of Christ, against which, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail; because he doth not cast his vessel into the furnace of tribulation, *ut frangatur, sed ut coquatur.* And as the Goldsmith doth not cast his gold into the fire to consume it, but to purge it; so God never did, nor ever will, in the greatest persecutions, deliver up his inheritance as a prey unto the Tyrants teeth, nor submit his people unto the hands of their adversaries, that they might be oppressed to destruction; but only that they might be pressed and reuced to amendment, or delivered from their miseries to salvation.

And therefore, when the Saints of God lye under the hands of a cruel Tyrant, Christ hath prescribed them farre better means, both for his glory and their own comfort, to escape his tyranny, than by resisting his power. And these meanes I find to be amendment of life, tears for our sinnes, prayers to God, flight from them, and patience to suffer when we cannot escape: For so Theodoreth saith, As often as Tyrants sit at the stern of the Common wealth, or cruel masters do rule over us, the wrath of God is to be pacified, and the mitigation of these miseries is to be sought for by earnest prayers, and serious amendment of our lives. And Christ,

Sol.

God preser-
veth his
Church;

Why God per-
sisteth his
servants.

Theodor. Orat.
8. de Prov.
dencia.

The Grand Rebellion.

when he was sought to be murdered by Herod, fled into Egypt; and he adviseth us, *When we are persecuted in one City, to flye into another*; and when by flight we cannot escape, then, as the Martyrs and godly Confessors did, so must we do; either mollifie the Tyrants by our humble prayers, or offer up our souls to God by true patience: For so Saint Ambrose saith, *I have not learned to resist, but I can grieve, and weep, and figh*; and against the weapons of the Souldiers and the Gotbes, my tears and my prayers are my weapons; otherwise, neither ought I, neither can I resist. And Saint Basil saith, *I will not betray my faith for fear of the losse of my goods, or of banishment, or of death it self*; for I have no wealth besides a torn garment, and a few books. I remain on earth as one that is alwayes going away, and my feeble body shall overcome all sense of pain and torments, *nā acceptā plagā*, when I shall receive but one stroke. And Saint Chrysostome, when he was driven from Constantinople, said unto himself, *If the Empresse will banish me, let her banish me; for the earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse of it*: If she cut me in pieces, let her cut me; Esayas suffered the same punishment: If she will have me thrown into the sea, I will remember Jonas: If she will throw me into the fiery furnace, the three Children suffered the like doom: If she will cast me to wild beasts, let her do it; I shall call to mind how Daniel was cast into the Lyons den: If she will stone me to death, let her stone me; I have Steven the Proto-martyr my companion: If she will take away my head, let her take it; I have John Baptist for my fellow: If she will take away my goods and substance, let her take it; for, *I came naked out of my mothers womb, and naked I shall return again*. And Saint Bernard faith, whatsoever it pleaseth you to do, concerning your Kingdome, your Crown, and your Soul, we that are the children of the Church, cannot any wayes dissemble the injuries and contempt of our mothers; and therefore truly we will stand, and fight unto death (if need be) for our mother, but with those weapons wherewith we may lawfully do it, not with swords, speares, and shields, but with our prayers and teares to God. And it would be too tedious for me to set down all that I might collect of this kind, most excellent sayings of those worthy men, which never hoped for any glory in the Kingdome of Heaven, but by suffering patiently in the Kingdom of the Earth; and, when they could, did faithfully discharge the duties of their places; and when they could not, did willingly undergo the bitterness of death; and were alwayes faithfull, both to their good God, and their evil Kings; to God rather by suffering Martyrdom, then offend his Majesty; and to their Kings, not in committing that evil which they commanded, but in suffering that punishment which they inflicted upon them.

2. Not the Nobility, or Peers;

Calvin. Inflit.

1.4. c.20. *Sel.*

31.

Bizza in confess.

c.5. p.171.

Autor. vindic.

q.3. pag.203.

Altbus.de polit.

c.14 pag.142.

¶ 161. *Dana-*

us de polit.

Christian. l.6.

c.3. p.413.

1. *Reason.*

uxipexor.

2. As no private men, of what rank or condition soever they be, so neither *Magistratus populares*, the peoples Magistrates, as some term them; nor *Junius Brutus*, his *Optimates regni*, the prime Noble-men of the Kigdom; nor *Altbusius his Ebori*, the Kings assistants in the government of the people; nor his great *Council of Estate*, nor any other kind, calling, or degree of men, may any wayes resist, or at any time rebell for any cause or colour whatsoever, against their lawful Kings, and supreme Governours.

1. Because they are not, as *Altbusius* doth most falsely suggest, *Ma-*
gistratus summo Superiores, but they are *inferiors* to the supreme and
 chief Magistrate; otherwise, how can he be *Summus*, if he be not
Supremus? or how can Saint Peter call the King *supereminent*, 1 Pet. 2. 13.
 if the *inferior* Magistrates be *superior* unto him? and it is *contra ordinem iustitiae*, contrary to the rules of justice, as I told you before out of
Aquinas, that the *inferiors* should rise up against their *superiors*, which
 hath

hath the rule and command over them, as the husband hath over the wife, the father over the sonne, the Lord over his servants, and the King over his subjects; and therefore Jezebel might truly say, *Had Zimri peace which slew his Master?* And I may as truly say of these men, as Optatus saith of the Donatists, when as none is above the King or the Emperour, but onely God which made him Emperour; while the inferior Magistrates do extoll themselves above him, they have now exceeded the bounds of men, that they might esteem themselves as God; *Non verendo sum, qui post Deum ab hominibus timebatur,* in not fearing him, which men ought to fear next to God.

But the words of Saint Peter are plain enough. *Submit your selves unto every ordinance of man for the Lords sake,* whether it be unto the King as supreme, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Wherein you may see not onely the subordination which God hath placed betwixt the King and his Subjects, but also that different station which is betwixt the Supreme, and the inferior powers: for the words [sent of him] do most clearly conclude, that the inferior Magistrates have no power to command, but by the vertue, power, and force which they receive from the supreme; and that the inferior Magistrates, opposed to the supreme power, are but as private men: and therefore, that as they are rulers of the people, so, being but instruments unto the King, they are subjects unto him, to be moved and ruled by him which is inferior to none but God; and their authority, which they have received from him, Inferior Magistrates in respect of the king, are but can have no power upon him, or to manage the sword, without him, and especially against him, upon any pretence whatsoever: how then can any, or all these Magistrates make a just war against their King, when as none of them can make any just warre without him.

2. Because, as Bodinus saith most truly, the best and greatest, not onely of the inferior Magistrates, but also of all these Peers, Nobles, Counsellors, or what you please to call them, have neither honour, power, nor authority, but what they have given them from him, which is the King or supreme Magistrate; as you see, God made Moses the chief Governour, and Moses made whom he pleased his Peers, and his inferior Magistrates: and as they have all their power derived from him that is the chief, so he that is the King, or chief, can draw it away from them that are his inferiors, when he pleaseth; and as he made them, so he can unmake them when he will, and none can unmake him, but he that made him, that is, God himself, and therefore David, that was ex Optimatibus regni, the greatest Peer in Israel, being powerful in warre, famous in peace, the Kings Son-in-law, and divinely destinat unto the Kingdome, yet would he not lay his hand upon his King, when he was delivered into his hands. And this Buchanan cannot deny, but confesseth, that the Kings of the Jews were not to be punished, or resisted by their subjects, because that from the beginning, they were not created by the people, but given to them by God; and therefore (saith Buchanan's he) *jure optimo, qui fuit honoris autor, idem fuit panarum exactor,* it is great absurdity. reason, that he which gives the honour, should impose the punishment.

But for the Kings of Scotland, they were (saith Buchanan) not given them of God, but created by the people, which gave them all the right that they can challenge; *Ideoque jus idem habere in reges Multitudinem, quod illi in singulos et multitudine habent;* which is most false: for Moses tells us, that immediately after the deluge, God, the Creatour of all the world, ordained the revenging sword of blood-shed, and the slavish servitude of paternal derision, wherein all the parts of civil jurisdiction and regal power, are *Synecdochically* set down: and Job saith, that there is one God, which loosenerh

The Grand Rebellion.

Job 12. 18. looseneth the bond of Kings, and girdeth about their reines: which must be understood of the Gentile-Kings, because that in his time the Commonwealth of Israel was not in being; and God himself universally saith, *By me Kings do reign*, that is, all Kings; not onely of the Jews; but also of the Gentiles: and Christ doth positively affirm, that the power of Pilate was given him from Heaven, and Saint Paul saith, *There is no power, but what is appointed of God*. And Tertullian saith, *Inde & Imperator, unde & homo;* *unde illi potestas, unde & spiritus*; he that made him a man, made him Emperor; and he that gave him his spirit, gave him his power. And Irenaeus saith, God ordained earthly Kingdomes for the benefit of the Gentiles, *Ex eius iussu homines nascuntur, illius iussu reges constituantur*; And by whose command men are born, by his command Kings are made. And S. Augustine more plainly, and more fully saith, God alone is the giver of all earthly Kingdomes, which he giveth both to the good, and to the bad; neither doth he the same rashly, and as it were by chance, because he is God, but as he seeth good; *Pro rerum ordine, ac tempore, in respect of the order of things and times, which are hid from us, but best known unto himself: and whosoever look eth back to the original of all governments, he shall find that God was the immediate authour of the Regal power*, and but the allower, and confirmor of the Aristocratical, and all other forms of government; which the people erected, and the Lord permitted, lest the execution of judgement, should become a transgression of justice; for as Homer saith,

That God is
the ordainer
of all kings.
Ang. de Crvit.
Dei, l. 4. c. 33.

God the im-
mediate au-
thour of Mo-
narchy.

Hom. Odys. a.

Αυτὸς ἦσαν ὁ κύριος ἀρχὴς τοῦ πολιτείας.

Aristot. Polit.
l. 1. c. 8. And Aristotle tells us, that the Regal power belonged to the father of the family, who, in the infancy of the world was so grandevous and long-liv'd, that he begat such a numerous posterity, as might well people a whole Nation; as Cain for his own Colony built a City, and was as well the King as the father of all the Inhabitants; and therefore Justin saith very well, that *Principio rerum, Gentium, nationumque imperium penes reges erat*, The rule of Nations was in the hands of Kings from the beginning; and the Kingly right pertaining to the father of the family, the people had no more possibility in right to choose their Kings, then to choose their Fathers; and to make it appear unto all Nations, that not onely the Kings of Israel, but all other Heathen Kings are acknowledged by God himself to be of divine institution, he calleth Nebuchadnezzar his servant, and Cyrus his anointed.

Jerem. 43. 10,
Esay 45. 1.
Jo. Goodwin
in his Pam-
phlet of Anti-
Cavalierism,
p. 5.

1 Sam. 10.
2 Sam. 12.
1 Reg. 1.
1 Reg. 11.
1 Sam. 11. 15.
2 Sam. 5.

And therefore though I do not wonder that ignorant fellows should be so impudent, as to affirm *The King, or kingly government to be the Ordinance or Creation, or creature, of man*; and to say that the Apostle supposeth the same, because he saith, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, &c.* whereas he might well understand that the same act is oftentimes ascribed awel to the mediate as to the immediate agent, as Samuel's anointing of Saul and David Kings, denieth not but that God was the immediate giver of their Kingdomes, and the Author of that regal power; for God appointed Saul Captain over his inheritance, and by the mouth of Nathan he telleth David, that he appointed him King over Israel: and Solomon acknowledgeth, that the Lord had set him on the Seat of his Father David: and Abijah in the person of God saith unto Jeroboam, *I will give the Kingdome unto thee*; and yet it is said, that all the people went to Gilgal, and made Saul King before the Lord; and the men of Juda anointed David King of Juda; and Zadock the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed

annointed Solomon King ; that is, God annointed them as Master of the substance, and gave unto them regal power, in whom is all power, primario & per se ; and the Prophets annointed them as Masters of the Ceremony, and declared, that God had given them that power. And therefore the power and authority of Kings is originally, and primarily (as Saint Paul saith) the Ordinance of God ; and secundarily, or demonstratively, it is as Saint Peter calleth it, the ordinance of man : when the people, whose power is onely derivatively, makes them Kings, not by giving unto them the right of their Kingdomes, but by receiving them into the possession of their right, and admitting them to exercise their royal authority over them, which is given them of God, and therefore ought not to be withheld by any man.

And this *Anti-Cavalier* might further see, that Saint Peter meaneth not, that the King is the creature of man, or his Office of mans Creation ; but that the *Laws* and Commands of Kings, though they be but the Commands and Ordinances of man, yet are we to obey the same for the Lords sake, because the Lord commandeth, that *Every soul should be subject to the higher powers* : Or if this will not satisfie him, because the Greeks word is not so plain for this, as the English, yet let him look into *Parens*, that was no friend to Monarchy, and he shall find that he doth by seven speciaall reasons prove, that the authority of Kings is primarily the Ordinance of God ; and he quoteth these places of Scripture to confirm it, *Proverbs 8. 15. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Psalm 81. 6. Job. 10. 34. Genes. 9. 6. 1 Sam. 15. 1 Kings 12. 4 Kings 9. Dan. 2. 21. Job 34. 30. Eccles. 10. 8.* And to this very objection he answereth, that the Apostle calleth the Magistrate *xiam auctoritatem, aut humanae Ordinationem, or Creation* ; not *cansually*, because it is invented by man, and brought up onely by the will of men ; but *subjectively*, because it is born and executed by them ; and *objectively*, because it is used about the government of humane society : and *mamis* in respect of the end, because it is ordained of God for the good and conservation of humane kind ; and he saith further, that *xionis appellatio*, the Greek word *αὐτοῖς*, ad Deum *primum auctorem nos revocat*, sheweth plainly, that God is the *first author* of it : for though the Magistrate, in some sense as I shewed, may be said to be *created*, that is, ordained by men, yet God alone is the *first Creatour* of them ; as *Aaron*, though he was ordained the high-Priest by *Moses* ; yet the Apostle tellus us, *None taketh this office upon him* ; but he that is called of God, as *Aaron was*.

Yet I do admire, that *Buchanan*, or any other man of learning, to satisfie the people, or his own peevish opinion, will so absurdly deny so divine, and so well known a verity, and say, that *any* Kings have their Kingdomes, and not from God : so flatly contrary to all Scripture.

*Confidere re-
gēm est facere
us regiam po-
testatem exer-
ceret. Pinedas
d'reb. Solini.
s. 2.*

*Parens in Rom.
c. 13. p. 13. 27.*

CHAP. VII.

Showeth the Reasons and Examples that are alledged to justify Rebellion, and a full answer to each of them: God the immediate Author of Monarchy: Inferior Magistrates have no power, but what is derived from the superior: And the ill success of all rebellions Resisting of our Kings.

The allegation to justify Rebellion.

1. By Reason.

But to prove their absurdities, they still alledge, that the inferior Magistrates, as the Peers and Counsellours of Kings, and the chief heads of all the people, which are *flos & medulla regni*, are therefore added unto the superior Magistrate, both to be his helpers in the government, and also to restrain his licentiousnesse, and to hinder his impieties, if he degenerate to be an Idolater or a Tyrant.

2. By Examples.

And to confirm this Tenet, they produce many examples both out of the sacred and profane Histories; as the Judges that rose up against their neighbour-Tyrants; *Ezechias* against the King of *Affria*; the people withstanding *Saul*, that he should not slay *Jonathan*; *Abikam* defending the Prophet *Jeremy* against King *Jehoiakim*; the revolting of the ten Tribes in the time of *Roboam*; the Priests and Princes of *Juda* taking away *Atalia*; the *Macchabees* arming themselves against *Antiochus*, and others of the Macedonian Tyrants; *Thrasibus* driving the thirty Tyrants out of *Athens*; the *Romans* expelling their flagitious Kings, Consuls, and other Tyrants, that behaved themselves most wickedly, out of *Rome*; and so, many Peers and Potentates of other Kingdomes, that in the like cases did the like.

Jerem. 26. 34.

To all which I answer,

Sol.
1. Their Reasons answered.

That it is most false that any Peer, or inferior Potentate, Magistrate, or other, is appointed by God to be the Associate of the King, or supreme Governor for the government of the people: for, as God, and not the people, appointed *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Gideon*, and the other supreme Judges of *Israel*; so *Moses*, and not God immediately, as he did the others, appointed the *Rulers* of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, which always acknowledged themselves his subjects, and not his associates in the government of the people. And so other Kings and Princes have always chosen whom they pleased to be their Peers, Counsellors, and inferior Magistrates, as well to bear some part of their burthen (as *Jetro* saith unto *Moses*) and to lessen their care, as also to afford them their best assistance and counsel in the discussion and determination of great and difficult affaires; but not for them to prescribe and set down *Laws*, *Orders*, and *Ordinances*, that should either moderate their royal liberty, or bridle and revenge what they conceive to be *Idolatry* or *Tyranny*. I am sure, no King that did intend to be a Tyrant, would choose Counsellours, or make Magistrates to that end; but they make choyce of them (as I said) to further them, and not to bind them to effect those things which they conceive to be most fit and just; for the Magistrates that are over the people, are under the King, and do all, as you see, in the name of the King, from whom they derive all the power that they have; whereby it followeth, that neither the people can resist the Magistrates whom the King appointeth, nor those Magistrates resist their King, without apparent sacrilege against God; because the greater can never be judged, nor condemned by the lesser: but, as the Apostle saith of *Abraham* and *Melchisedech*, that without contradiction, the lesser is blessed of the better; so I say, that without all controversie, the inferior must

To what end kings do choose their inferior Magistrates,

All the inferior Magistrates must do all in the name of the Superior.

Heb. 7. 7.

must be always judged of the *superior*; and therefore if these Peers, Nobles, or inferior Magistrates, have any wayes any power or authority over their Kings, we must conclude against Saint Peter, that these are above the King, and so they, and not the King, are the *supereminent* power.

But we find no such power nor commandement, that they have from God to restrain Kings, in all the holy Scriptures; *Et si mandatum non est, presumptio est;* & ad panam proficer, non ad premium: and if there be no commandement for it, it is presumption to do it, which deserveth punishment; and noe praise; because it is to the reproach of the Creator, that concerning the Lord, we shoulde worship the Servant; and neglecting the Emperor, we shoulde adore or magnifie his Peers; as S. Augustine saith.

And therefore both the learned and religious Fathers, and the best of our later Writers, are flat against this Doctrine, that any sort of men have any power over Kings, but he that is the King of Kings, as you may see; what would be too tedious for me to set down, in *Johan. Bodinus Apol. pro Regibus*, c. 27. & *de repub. l. 2. c. 5. Barolaius contra Monarchom. l. 3. c. 6. Berchetus in explicat. controvers. Gallicar. c. 2. Saravia de Imperator. autorit. l. 2. c. 36. Sigan. de repub. Hebraor. l. 7. c. 3. Bilson. de perpet. Eccles. gubernat. c. 7. Pet. Gregor. Tholos. de republ. l. 5. c. 3. num. 14, 15, 16. and many more.*

And the History of the Church of England, against wilful Rebellion:

2. For the examples that are produced, to countenance Rebels against their Kings, I answer, that they are unlike, or of some peculiar fact, or un-just, and therefore no warrant for any other to do the like; when as we are to live by the lawes and precepts of God, and not by the examples of men; which many times, contrary to equity, do induce us to transgresse the divine verity. But to run over the particulars of their examples as brief as I can.

1. I say, that to conclude an ordinary rule from the doings of the Judges, which were extraordinarily commanded by God to be done, is no more law. answered. *Example Augst. in Jud. c. 20.*

Thom. de Regimine Princip. l. 1. c. 6.
And therefore Aquinas (if Aquinas be the Authour of that book, *De Regimine Princip.*) saith excellently well; *Quibusdam visum est;* it seems to some men, that it pertaineth to the honour of valiant and heroical men, to take away a Tyrant, and to expose themselves to the perill and danger of death, for the liberty and freedom of the Multitude: whereof they have an example in the Old Testament, where Ebed killed Eglon: But this agreeth not *Judg. 3. 21.* with the Apostolical Doctrine, for Saint Peter teacheth us to be subject, not only to the good, but also to the froward, because this is thank-worthy with God, if for conscience sake we patiently suffer wrongs: therefore when many of the Roman Emperours did most tyrannically persecute the faith of Christ, and a great and mighty multitude both of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, were converted unto Christianity, they are praised, not for resisting, but for suffering death. Besides, Eglon was not the lawful King of Israel, but an alien, an usurper, and a scourge to them for their sinne, and therefore no pattern for others to rebell against their lawful King. *A great deal of difference between a lawful King, and an Usurper.*

2. For the example of Ezechias, rebelling against the King of Assyria; it is most impertinently alledged, for Ezechias was the lawful King of Juda, and the King of Assyria had no right at all in his Dominions; but being greedily desirous to enlarge his territories, he incroached upon the others right, and for his injustice, was overcome by the sword in a just battell: and therefore to conclude from hence, that because the King of Juda refused to obey the King of Assyria, therefore the inferior Magistrates, or Peers of any Kingdome, may resist and remove their lawful Prince for his tyranny;

i. Example answered.

An imperti-

The Grand Rebellion.

tyranny or impiety, surely this deserves rather *fusibus retundi, quam rationibus refelli*; to be beaten with rods, then confuted with reasons: as Saint Bernard speaketh of the like Argument.

The absurdity
of their repli-
cation.

And whereas they reply, that it skilleth not whether the Tyrant be *foreign*, as *Egdon*, and the King of *Affrygia* were; or *domestique*, as *Saul*, *Achab*, and *Manasses* were; because the *domestique* is worse then the *foreign*, and therefore the rather to be suppressed, I will shew you the validity of this argument by the like: The *seditionis Preachers* are the generation of vipers; nay, farre worse then vipers, because they hurt but the body onely, and these are pernicious both to body and soul; therefore as a man may lawfully kill a viper, so he may more lawfully kill any *seditionis Preacher*.

*Quia dare ab-
surdum, non est
solvere argu-
mentum.*

But to omit their absurdity, let us look into the comparison betwixt *domestique* and *extranean* Tyrants; and we shall find, that *domestique* Tyrants are lawfully placed over us by God, who commandeth us to obey them, and forbiddeth us to resist them in every place; for the Scripture makes no distinction betwixt a *good Prince* and a Tyrant, in respect of the honour, reverence, and obedience, that we owe unto our superiors; as you see the Lord doth not say, Touch not a *good King*, and, Obey *righteous Princes*; but as God saith, Honour thy father and thy mother, be they good or bad: so he saith, Touch not the King, resist not your *Governours*, speak not evil of the *Rulers*, be they good, or be they bad; and therefore Saint Paul, when he was strictly charged for reviling the wicked high-Priest, answered wisely, *I wist not, brethren, that he was Gods High-Priest*; for if I had known him to be the true High-Priest, I would not have spoken what I did, because I know the Law of God obligeth me to be obedient to him that God hath placed over me, be he good or bad; for it is Gods institution, and not the *Governours condition* that tyeth me to mine obedience: So you see the mind of the Apostle, he knew the Priest-hood was abolished, and that he was not the lawful High-Priest, therefore he saith, *God shall smite thee, thou whitewashed wall*: But if he had known, and believed him to be the true and lawful High-Priest, which God had placed over him, he would never have said so, had the Priest been never so wicked; because the Law saith, *Thou shalt not revile thy Ruler*. But for private robbers, or *foreign* Tyrants, God hath not placed them over us, nor commanded us to obey them; neither have they any right by any Law, but the Law of strength, to exact any thing from us; and therefore we are obliged by no law to yield obedience unto them, neither are we hindred by any necessity, either of rule or subjection, but that we may lawfully repell all the injuries that they offer unto us.

3. Example an-
swered.

Saul was con-
tent to be
perswaded to
spare his son.

*Gregor. in.
1 Reg. 4.*

4. Example
answered.

Jerem. 26.24.

3. For the peoples hindring of King *Saul* to put his son *Jonathan* to death; I say, that they freed him from his fathers vow, *non armis, sed precibus*, not with their weapons, but by their prayers, when they appealed unto himself and his own conscience before the living God; and perswaded him, that setting aside his *rash* vow, he would have regard unto justice, and consider whether it was right, that he should suffer the least damage; who, following God, had wrought so great a deliverance unto the people, as *Tremelius* and *Junius* in their Annotations do observe. And Saint *Gregory* saith, *The people freed Jonathan that he should not die, when the King, overcome by the instance of the people, spared his life*: which no doubt, he was not very earnest to take away from so good a son.

4. Touching *Abikam*, that was a prime Magistrate under King *Jeboiam*, I say that he defended the Prophet, not from the Tyranny of the King but from the fury of the people; for so the Text saith, *The band of Abikam*, that is, (*said Tremelius*) the authority and the help of *Abikam*, was with *Jeremy*, that is, his enemies, *should not give him into the bands of the people which sought his life, to put him to death*, because *Abikam* had been a long while Counsellour unto the King, and was therefore very powerful

powerful in credit and authority with him : And you know there is a great deal of difference betwixt the restraining of a tumultuous people by the authority of the King, and a tumultuous insurrection against the King; That was the part of a good man, and a faithful Magistrate, as Abikam did; this of an enemy and a false Traytor, as the opposer of Kings used to do.

5. For the defection and revolting of the ten Tribes from Rehoboam their own natural lawful King, unto a fugitive, and a man of a servile condition; and for the Edomites, Lybnites, and others, that revolted against King Joram; and that Conspiracy which was made in Jerusalem against Amazias; I answer briefly, That the Scriptures do herein (as they do in many other places) set down, *rei geste veritatem, non facti equum*, the truth of things how they were done, not the equity of the things that they were rightly done: and therefore, *Non id est quia factum legimus, faciendum credamus, ne violentus praeceptum dum sectatur exemplum;* We must not believe it ought to be done, because we read that it was done, lest we violate the Commandement of God, by following the example of men, as Saint Augustine speaketh: for though Joseph sware by the life of Pharaoh, the Midwives lied unto the King, and the Israelites robbed the Egyptians, and sinned not therein; yet we have no warrant without sinne to follow their examples. Besides, God himself had foretold the defection of the ten Tribes for the sinne of Solomon, and he being Lord proprietary of all, his donation transferreth a full right to him, on whom he bestowes it; and this made Shemaiah the man of God, to warn Rehoboam not to fight against his brethren: for, as, when God commanded Abraham to kill his sonne, it was a laudable obedience, and no murther to have done it; and when he commanded the Israelites to rob the Egyptians, it was no breach of the eighth Commandement: so this revolt of these Tribes, if done in obedience unto God, could be no offence against the Law of God: but because they regarded not so much the fulfilling of Gods will, as their not being eased of their grievances, and the fear of the weight of Rehoboam's fingers, which moved them to this Rebellion, I can no ways justify their action: and though God by this Rent did most justly revenge the sinne of Solomon, and paid for the folly of Rehoboam; yet this doth no wayes excuse them for this rebellion, because they revolted not with any right aspect: and therefore it is worth our observation, that the consequences which attended this defection, was a present falling away from the true God into Idolatry, and not long after to be led into an endless Captivity. Which is a fearful example, to see how suddenly men do fall away from God, and from their true religion; after they have rebelled against their lawful King; and how, to avoid imaginary grievances, they do often fall into a real bondage, and so leap out of the Frying-pan into the fire. And for the Edomites they were not Israelites that led their lives by the law of God; neither can any man excuse the conspirators against Amazias from the transgression of the Law of God.

6. For Uzziah, that was taken with a grievous sicknesse, so that he could not be present at the publique affaires of the Kingdom; I say, that according to the law, by reason of the contagion of his disease, he was rightly removed from the Court and concourse of people, and his sonne in the mean time placed in his fathers stead, to administer and dispose the Commonwealth: but he in all that while, like a good sonne, did neither affect the name, nor assume the title of a King.

7. For the depoling of Athalia, I see nothing contrary to equity; because she was not the right Prince, but an unjust Usurper of the Crown: and therefore Jeboida the chief Priest, having gathered together the principal Peers of the Kingdome, and the Centurions, and the rest of the people, shewed them the Kings sonne, whom for six yeares space

The Grand Rebellion.

he had preserved alive from the rage and fury of Athalia, which had slain all the rest of the Kings seed; and when they saw him, they did all acknowledge him for the Kings sonne; they crowned him King, and he being crowned, they joyfully cryed, *God save the King*: and then by the authority of the new crowned King, that was the right heir unto the Kingdom, they put to death the cruel Queen, that had so tyrannically slain the Kings children, and so unjustly usurped the Crown all that while. And therefore to alledge this example, so justly done, to justify an insurrection contrary to justice, doth carry but a little shew of reason. And I say the like of the *Maccabees*, and *Antiochus*, that neither be, nor any other Macedonian Tyrant had any right over them, but they were unjust *Usurpers*, that held the Jewes under them in *ore gladii*, with the edge of their swords, and were not their lawful Kings, whom they ought to obey; and therefore no reason, but that they might justly free themselves with their swords, that were kept in bondage by no other right, then the strength of the sword.

8. Example answered.

Examples not to be imitated.

8. For the example of *Tbrasibus*, *Junius Brutus*, and other *Romans*, or whosoever, that for their faults have deposed their Kings; I answer, with Saint *Augustine*, that *Exempla paucorum non sunt trahenda in legem universorum*; we have no warrant to imitate these examples: for though these things were done, yet we say, they were done by *Heathens* that knew not God, and unjustly done contrary to the law of God; and therefore with no blessing from God, with no good successe unto themselves, and with lessie happiness unto others; but it happened to them, as to all others that do the like, to expell a mischief, and to admit a greater; as, besides what I have shewed you before, this one most memorable example out of our own Histories, doth make it plain.

The ill success of resist-
ing our supe-
riors;

In the time of *Richard the second*, the Nobility and Gentry murmured much against his government; in brief, they deposed him, and set the Crown upon the head of the Duke of *Lancaster*, whom they created King *Henry the fourth*. The good Bishop of *Carlise* made a bold and excellent Speech, to prove, that they could not by any law of God or man, depose and dispossesse their lawful King: or, if they deposed him, that they had no right to make the Duke of *Lancaster* to succeed him; but he good man for his pains was served as *Saint Paul* and others were many times for speaking the truth, committed to prison, and there was an end of him, but not an end of the story: for the many battels and blood-shed, the miseries and mischiefs that this one unjust and unfaithful act produced, had never any period, never an end, till that well nigh a hundred thousand English men were slain in civil warres; whereof two were Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marquesses, 21. Earles, 27. Lords, two Viscounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, 139. Knights, 421. Esquires, and Gentlemen of great and ancient Families, a farre greater number; a just revenge for an unjust extrusion of their lawful King, whose greatest misery came from his great mildnesse.

Trussell in his
supplement to
Daniel's History.

All the pres-
sures that we
have suffered
since the first
year of our
King, are not
comparable to
the miseries
that one
years civil
wars hath
brought upon
us.

And therefore these things being well weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary, in the scales of true wisdom, it had been better for them, as it will be for us, and all others, patiently to suffer the crosse that shall be laid upon us, untill that by our prayers we can prevail with God, that for our sinnes hath sent it, in mercy to remove it, then for our selves to pluck our necks out of the collar; and, in a froward disobedience, to pull the house (as *Sampson* did) upon our own heads: and like impatient fishes, to leap out of the Frying-pan into the fire, from hard usage that we impatiently conceived, to most base cruel bondage, that we have deserved, by merited or at the best, to bring many men to many miseries, before we can attain unto any happiness; and so as the Poet saith in this very case among the *Romans*, when for their liberty and priviledges, as they

they termed it, in Pompey's time, *Excessit medicina modum*, The remedy that they procured, hath proved farre worse then the disease they suffered; And I doubt not but ere long, the Rebels in this Kingdom will feckingly confess this to be too true, when they shall more deeply taste of the like miseries, as they have brought, as well upon many of their own friends, as others.

If you alledge the time of Richard the third, how soon he was removed, and how happily it came to passe that Henry the seventh succeeded; I answer briefly, that Richard the third was not only a cruel bloody Tyrant, but he was also an unjust Usurper of the Crown, and not the right King of England: and that there is a great deal of difference betwixt rebelling against our lawful Kings which God hath justly placed over us, and expelling an usurping Tyrant, which hath unjustly intruded himself into the royal Throne: This God often hath blessed, as in the case of Eglon, Athalia, Henry the seventh, and many more, which you may obviously find boch in the Greek and Roman stories; and the other, he alwayes curses, and will plague it, whensoever it is attempted.

After I had answered these Objections, I lighted upon one more, which is taken out of 2 Kings 6. 32, where the Objector saith, When Ahab sent a Cavalier, a man of blood, to take away the Prophet Elisha's head, as he sat in his house among the Elders, did Elisha open his dore for him, and sit still till he took off his head in obedience to the King? No, he bestirred himself for the safeguard of his life, and called upon others to stand by him to assist him. And a little after he saith, Surely he that went thus farre for the safety of his life, when he was but in danger to be assaulted, would have gone further if occasion had been; and in case the Kings Butcher had got in to him, before the dore had been shut, if he had been able, and had had no other means to have saved his own head, but by taking away the others; there is little question to be made, but he would rather have taken, then given a head in this case.

I answ're, that who this Goodwin is, I know not; I could wish he were none c. the Tribe of Levi: 1. Because I find him such an incendiary of warre, and an enemy unto peace; whereas the messengers of Christ have this Elogie given them, *Quoniam speciosi pedes Evangelizantium pacem*; And the Scripture saith, *Blessed are the Peace-makers*; and we continually pray, *Give peace in our dayes, O Lord*: and therefore I can hardly believe these incendiaries of warre to be the sonnes of the God of peace.

2. Because his objection is full of falsehoods, and false grounds: as

1. He saith, that Ahab sent to take Elisha's head, when as Ahab was dead long before: it was his ghost therefore, and not he. But it was his son, and what then? what did the Prophet? he shut the dore, and desir'd the Elders to handle the messenger roughly, or hold him fast at the dore: Thus saith the Text, and the Prophet in my judgement doth herein but little more then what God and nature alloweth every man to do, not to lay down his life, if he can lawfully preserve it; but, as the Prophet did, to shut the dore; or, as our Saviour saith, *When we are persecuted in one City, to flye into another, to save our lives as long as we can*, and in all this I find no violent resistance. But 2. the Objector tells us, *Surely, if the messenger had got in, Elisha had taken off his head, rather then given his own*. I demand, What inspiration he hath from God to be sure of this; for I am sure John Baptist would not do so, nor Saint Paul, nor any other of Gods Saints, that I have read of; but these men are sure of every thing, even of Gods secret Counsel, and that is more then the thoughts of mens hearts; or, if this be sure, which I am not sure of, I answer, that Elisha was a great Prophet, that had the spirit of Eliab doubled upon him; and those actions which he did, or might have done, through the inspiration

*Object.
Goodwin in his
Anti-Cavalier-
isme. p. 8,*

*Sol.
The Ministers
of Christ
should not
be the incen-
diaries of war.*

*The first mi-
stake in the
front of his
Speech.
2 Kings 6. 32.
If any thing
more.*

The Grand Rebellion.

of Gods spirit ; *this man may not do, except he be sure of the like inspiration*: for God, who is *justice* it self, can command by *word*, as he did to *Abraham* to kill his son ; or by *inspiration*, as he did to *Elias* to call fire from Heaven, and it is a sin to *disobey* it: whereas without this, it were an horrible sin to do it. And we must *distinguish* betwixt *rare* and *extraordinary* cases, that were managed by *special commission* from God; and those *patterns* that are confirmed by *known* and *general Rules*, which passe through the whole course of *Scripture*: and take heed, that we make not *obscure* *Commentaries* of *humane wisdom*, upon the *clear Text* of *holy Writ* ;

Quia maledicta glossa que corrumpit textum.

Cursed be the glos that corrupts the Text.

But indeed the place is plain, that *Elisha* made no other *resistance*, but what every man may lawfully do, to keep the messenger out of dores so long as he could ; and yet this man would inferrre hence, that we may *lawfully*, with a strong hand, and open warre, resist the *authority* of our *lawful Kings*; a *Doctrine*, I am sure, that was never taught in the School of Christ.

He makes some other Objections, which I have already answered in this Treatise ; and then he spends almost two leaves in six several answers, that, he maketh to an objection against the examining the equity or iniquity of the Kings commands: but to no purpose : because we never *deny*, but that in some cases, though not in all, (for there must be *Arcana Imperii*, and there must be *Privie Counsellours* ; and every Peasant must not *examine* all the Edicts of his Prince :) The commands of Kings may not onely be *examined*, but also *disobeyed*; as the three Children did the commands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the Apostles the commands of the High-Priests : but though we may *examine* their commands, and *disobey* them too, when they are contrary to the commands of God ; yet I would fain know, where we have leave to resist them, and to take arms against them ? I would be understood, There is a great deal of difference betwixt *examining* their commands, and *resisting* their authority : the one, in some cases we may ; the other, by no means we may do.

CHAP. VIII.

Showeth, that our Parliament hath no power to make warre against our King : Two main Objections answered : The original of Parliaments : The power of the King to call a Parliament, to deny what he will, and to dissolve it when he will. Why our King suffereth.

But, when all that hath been spoken cannot satisfie their *indignation* against true obedience, and allay the heat of their *rebellious* spirits, they come to their *ultimum refugium*, best strength, and strongest fort; that although *all others* should want sufficient right to crosse the commands, and *resist* the violence of an unjust and *tyrannical* Prince; yet the *Parliament*, that is the *representative* body of all his Kingdom, and are *intrusted* with the goods, estates, and lives of all his people, may *lawfully* *resist*, and when *necessity* requireth, *take arms*, and *subdue* their most *lawful King*; and this they labour to confirm by many arguments.

I answer, that for the *Parliament* of *England* it is beyond my sphere, and

and I being a transmarine member of this Parliament of Ireland, I will only direct my speech to that whereof I am a Peer; and I hope I may the more boldly speak my mind to them, whereof I am a member, and I dare maintain it, that it shall be a benefit, and no prejudice, both to King and Kingdome, that the Spiritual Lords have their Votes in this our Parliament.

For, besides the equity of our sitting in Parliament, and our indubitable right to vote therein; (and his Majesty, (as I conceive, under favour be it spoken) is obliged by the very first act in *Magna Charta*, to preserve that right unto us) when as in the Summons of Edw. 1. it is inserted in the Writ, that, * *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari, or tradari debet,* whatsoever affair is of publique concernment, ought to receive publique approbation; and therefore with what equity can so considerable a party of this Kingdom, as are the Clergy, (who certainly cannot deserve to forfeit the priviledge of the meanest subjects, and of Common men, because they are more immediately the servantes of the living God) be denied the benefit of that, which in all mens judgements is so reasonable a law, and they only be excluded from that interest, which is common unto all, I cannot see: yet I say, that besides this our right, while we sit in Parliament, this fruit shall always follow, that our knowledge and conscience shall never suffer us to vote such things against the truth, as to allow that power or priviledge to our Parliament; as to make Orders and Ordinances without the consent, and contrary to the will of our King, much less to leavie moneys, and raise armes against our King: for I conceive the Priviledges of Parliament to be *Private leges Parliamenti*, a proceeding according to certain rules, and private customes and lawes of Parliament, which no member of the Houses ought to transcend; whereas the other is *Privatio legum*, a proceeding without Law, contrary to all rules, as if our Parliament had an omnipotent power, and were more infallible than the Pope, to make all their Votes just, and their sayings truth.

I, but to make this assertion good, that the Parliament in some cases may justly take arms, and make warre upon their justest King, if they conceive him to be unjust: it is alledged, that although the King be *Singulis major*, greater then any one, yet he is *Universis minor*, less then all; therefore all may oppose him, if he refuse to consent unto them.

I answer, that the weaknesse of this argument, is singularly well shewed in the Answer to the Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses; and I will briefly contract the Answer, to say, the King is better than any one, deth not prove him to be better then two, and if his Supremacy be no more, then many others may challenge as much: for the Prince is *Singulis major*, a Lord above all Knights, and a Knight above all Esquires; he is *singulis major*, though *universis minor*; And if the King be *universis minor*, then the people have placed a King, not over, but under them: And Saint Peter doth much mistake, in calling the King *Supreme*, and they do ill to petition, when they might command: and I am confident, that no records (except of such Parliaments as have most unjustly deposed their Kings) can shew us one example, that the Parliament shold have a power, which must of necessity over-rule the King, or make their Votes Law, without, and against the will of the King; for if their Votes be Law without his consent, what need they seek, and sollicit his consent?

But the clause in the Law made 2. Hen 5. cited by his Majesty, that it is of the Kings regality to grant or deny such of their Petitions as pleasech himself, and the power which the Law gives the King to dissolve the Parliament; and especially the words in the Preface of cap. 12. *Vices to Hen. 8.* where the Kings Supremacy, not over single persons, but over all the body politique is clearly delivered, doth sufficiently shew the simplicitey of this

And whatsoe-
ver I speake of
Parliaments
in all this Dis-
course, I mean
of Parliaments
disjoined from
their King, and
understand
only the pre-
valent faction
that ingrol-
feth and cap-
tivateth the
Votes of many
of the plain
honest minded
party, which
hath been of-
ten seen both
in general
Councils, and
the greatest
Parliaments.
* *Claus. 7. m. 3.*

Priviledges of
Parliament,
what they are.

Pag. 11. & 38;
39, 40.

As Edw. Car-
narvan, and
Richard the
second.

That the King
is universis ma-
jor, greater
then all: pro-
ved.

The Grand Rebellion.

God having given, and the people having yielded their power to their King: they can never challenge any power, but what they have derived from their king.

2. Reason.

Sol.

2 Sam. 15.4.

How easie it is to perswade the people to rebell.

Repl.

Sol.

How a Faction many times prevaleth to sway whole Councils and Parliaments.

The original of Parliaments: why they were at first ordained.

See Jo. Bodin. de repub. L. I. c. 8. pag 95. in English, and the place is worth the noting.

Sophistry, and prove that the King being invested with all the power of the people, which is due to him as their King, he is the onely fountain of all power and justice; so that now they can justly claim no power, but what is derived from him; and therefore it is the more intolerable, that any man should usurp the power of the King, to destroy the King.

2. They will say, that *Salus populi est suprema lex*, The good of the people is the chiefest thing that is aimed at in all government; and the Parliament is the representative body of all the people; therefore if any thing be intended contrary to the good of the people, they may and ought lawfully to resist the same.

I answer, and confess, that there is no wise King, but will carefully provide for the safety of his people, because his honour is included therein, and his ruine is involved in their destruction; but it is certain, that this principle hath been used as one of our Irish mantles, to hide the rebellion of many Traytors, and so abused to the confusion of many Nations; for there is not scarce anything more facile, then to perswade a people that they are not well governed; as you may see in the example of *Abelson*, who by abusing this very Axiome, hath stollen away the hearts of many of his fathers subjects: for, as *Lipstius* saith, *Proprium est agri, nihil dia pati*. It is incident to sick men, and so to distempered minds, to indure nothing long, but foolishly to think every change to be a remedy; therefore the people that are soon perswaded to believe the lightest burthen to be too heavie, are easily led away by every seducing *Abelson*, who promise them deliverance from all their evils, so they may have their assistance to effect their ends; and then the people, swelled up with hopes, cry up those men as the reformers of the State; and so the craft and subtily of the one, prevailing over the weaknesse and simplicity of the other, every Peer and Officer that they like not, must with *Teramines* be condemned, and themselves must have all preferments, or the King and Kingdom must be lyable to be ruined.

But you will say, the whole Parliament cannot be thought to be thus envious against the Officers of State; or thus carelesse of the common good, as for any sinister end, to destroy the happiness of the whole.

I answer, that Parliaments are not alwayes guided by an unerring spirit, but as Generall Councils, so whole Parliaments have been repealed and declared null by succeeding Parliaments, as 21. Ricb. 2. c. 12. all the Statutes made 11 Ricb. 2. are disanuled: and this in the 21 Ricb. 2. is totally repealed in 1 Hen. 4. c. 3. And 39 Hen. 6. we find a total repeal of a Parliament held at Coventry the year before, and the like: and the reason is, because many times by the hypocritical craft of some Faction, working upon the weaknesse of some, and the discontent of others, the worse part procuring most unto their party, prevaleth against the better.

Besides all this, I conceive the Original of Parliaments was, as it is expressed in the Kings Writ, to consult with the King, *De quibusdam arduis, & urgentibus negotiis regni*; they being collected from all the parts of the Kingdom, can best inform His Majesty, what grievances are sprung, and what reparations may be made, and what other things may be concluded for the good of His Subjects in every part: and His Majesty to inform them of his occasions and necessities which by their free and voluntary Subsidies, they are to supply both for his honour, and their own defence. In all this they have no power to command their King, no power to make Lawes without their King, no right to meet without his Writ, no liberty to stay any longer then he gives leave; how then can you meet, as you do now, in my Episcopal See at Kilkenny, and continue your Parliament there, to make warre against your lawful King? What colour of reason have you to do the same? you cannot pretend to be above your King; you have with lies and falsehoods most wickedly seduced the whole Kingdom, and involved the same in

in a most unnatural civil warre : you are the *actives*, the King is *passive*; you make the offensive, He the defensive warre ; for you began, and when He, like a Gracious King , still cryed for *peace*, you still made ready for battel.

And I doubt not but your selves know all this to be true, for you know, that all Parliament men must have their *elections* warranted by the Kings *especial Writ*. You will say, that so you were; well, and you were chosen but by subjects, and intrusted by them to represent the *affections*, and to act the *duties* of subjects; and subjects cannot impose a *rule* upon their *Sovereign*, nor make any *ordinance* against their King ; and therefore, if the representative body of subjects transcend the limits of their trust ; and do in the name of the subjects, that which all subjects cannot do ; and assume that power which the subjects neither have, nor can conferre upon them: I see no reason that any subject in the world should any wayes approve of their actions. For, how can your *priviledge* of being Parliament men, *priviledge* you from being *Murderers, Thieves, or Traitors*, if you do those things that the Law adjudgeth to be *murders, thefts, and treasons*? Your *elections* cannot quit you, and your *places* cannot excuse you; because by that is intrusted, cannot do more then all they that do intrust him ; and therefore all subjects should *desert* them, that exceed the conditions, and falsifie the trust which their fellow-subjects have reposed in them.

Besides, you know the King must needs be reputed part of every Parliament, when as the selected company of *Knights and Burgesse*s, together with the *Spiritual and Temporal Peers*, are the *representative body*, and the King is the *real head* of the whole Kingdom ; and therefore if the *body* separates it self from the *head*, it can be but an *uselesse trunk*, that can produce no *act*, which pertaineth to the *good* of the body : because the *spirits* that gave life and motion to the whole body, are all derived from the *head*, as the Philosopher teacheth.

And further, you do all know, that as the King hath a power to *call*, so he hath a power to *dissolve* all Parliaments; and having a power of *dissolving* it when he will, he must needs have a power of *denying* what he please ; because the other is farre greater then this. And therefore, all these premises well considered, it is apparent that your *sitting* in Kilkenny without your King, (or his Lieutenant, which is to the same purposes) and your *Votes* without his *assent*, are all invalid to exact obedience from any subject; and for my part, I deem them *fooles* that will obey them, and rebels that will take arms against their King at your commands ; and if you persist in this your *rebellious* *conspiracy*, I wish your *judgements* may light onely upon your own heads : and that those, which like the followers of *Absalon*, are simply led by you, may have the *mist* taken from their eyes, that they may be able to discern the *dry* they owe unto their King, that they be not involved, and so perish in your sin.

For, though you be never so many, and think that all the Kingdoms, Towns, and Cities be for you; yet take heed lest you imagine such a mischievous device, which you are not able to perform ; for the involving of well-meaning men into your bad businesse, as Jeboaspar was mis-led to war ag^t Reg. 23. 23. against Ramoth Gilead, doth not only bring a punishment upon them that are seduced, but a far greater plague upon you that do seduce them : and God, who hath at all times so exceeding graciously defended His Majesty, and contrary to your hopes and expectation, from almost nothing in the beginning of this rebellion, hath increased his power, to I hope an *invincible Army*, will be a *rock* of defence unto his annointed ; because it is well known to all the world, that whatsoever this good King hath suffered at the hands of his subjects, it is for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, of the established Lawes of his Kingdomes, and of those Reverend Bishops,

The letter sent
from a Gen-
tleman to his
friend.

That men in-
trusted, should
not go beyond
their trust.

The King must
needs be a part
of every Par-
liament.

The power of
dissolving the
Parliament,
greater then.
the power of
denying any
thing.

For what cau-
ses the King
suffereth.

Grave

The Grand Rebellion.

Grave Doctors, and all the rest of the Learned and Religious Clergy, that have ever maintained, and will, to the spilling of the last drop of their blood, defend this truth against all Papists, and other Anabaptistical Brownists and Sectaries whatsoever.

What a shame it is to use the power we have received against him that gave it us.

And therefore if you that are his Parliament, should, like unthankful vassals, that cloud the Sun which raised them or like the Moon in her interposition, that obscures the glorious lamp which enlightens her, in the least manner employ that strength, which you have received from his Majesty, when he called you together, against His Majesty; it will be an ugly spot, and a foul blemish, both for your selves, and all your posterities: And if not suddenly prevented, you may raise such spirits, that your selves cannot lay down; and sow such seeds of discord and discontent between the King and his people, as may derive through the whole Race of all succeeding Kings, such a disaffection to Parliaments, as may prove a plague and poison to the whole Kingdom. For, if the King out of his favour and grace call you together, and intrust you with a power either of continuing, concluding, or enacting such things, as may be for the good of the Common wealth; and you abuse that power against him that gave it you: I must needs confess that I am of his mind, who saith, That the King were freed before God and man from all blame, though he should use all possible lawful means to withdraw that power into his own hands; which being but lent them, hath been so misapplyed against him: for if my servant desireth to hold my sword, and when I intrust him with it, he seeks to thrust the same into my breast, Will not every man judge it lawful for me to gain my sword, if it be possible, out of his hand, and with that sword to cut off his head, that would have thrust it into my heart? or, as one saith, If I convey my estate in trust to any friend, to the use of me and mine, and the person intrusted falsifie the faith reposed in him, by conveying the profits of my estate to other ends, to the prejudice of me and mine, no man will think it unlawful for me to annihilate (if I can possibly do it) such a deed of trust.

That it is lawful to recall a power given, when it is abused.

And therefore, Noble Peers and Gentlemen of this ancient Kingdom of Ireland, that your Parliament may prove successful to the benefit of the Common wealth; let me, that have some interest and charge over all the inhabitants and Sojourners of Kilkenny, perswade you to think your selves no Parliament without your King; and that your Votes and Ordinances, carrying with them the power, though not the name of Acts of Parliament, to oblige both King and Subjects to obey them, are the most absolute subversion of our Fundamental Lawes, the destructive invasion of our righteous Liberties; And that by an usurped power of an arbitrary rule, to dispose of our estates, or any part thereof as you please, to make us Delinquents when you will, and to punish us as Malignants at your pleasure, and through your discontent to dispossesse your rightful King, though it were to set the Crown upon the head of your greatest Oneal; is such a priviledge, that never any Parliament hath yet claimed. Or if you still go on for the enlargement of your own usurped power, under the title of the priviledge of Parliament, to Vote diminution of the Kings just Prerogative, that your Progenitors never denied to any of his Ancestors, to exclude us Bishops out of your Assemblies, without whom your determinations can never be so well concluded in the fear of God, and to invade the Liberties of your fellow-subjects, under the pretences of religion, and the publique good: I will say no more, but turn my self to God, and put it in my Liturgie; From Puritans, Papists, and such Parliaments, Good Lord deliver us.

CHAP. IX.

sheweth the unanimous consent and testimonies of many famous learned men, and Martyrs, both ancient and modern, that have confirmed and justified the truth of the former Doctrine.

And so you see, that as for no cause, so for no kind or degree of men, be they what you will; Peers, Magistrates, Heads of Families, Darlings of the people, or any other Patriots, whom the Commons shall elect, it is lawfull to rebell against, or any wayes to resist our chief Princes, and sovereign Governours. This point is as clear as the Sunne; and yet to make it still more clear unto them, that will not believe that truth which they like not; but, as Tertullian saith, *Credunt Scripturis, ut credant aduersus Scripturas*, do alledge Scriptures to justifie their own wilful opinions, against all Scriptures; I will here adde a few testimonies of most famous men, to confirm the same.

Henry de Bracton, Lord chief Justice of the Kings Bench, under Hen. 3rd L. Elizmer in saith, as he is quoted by the Lord Elizmer, That under the King there are *orat. habita in Camera Fiscali*, free men and servants, and every man is under him, and he is under none *anno 1609.* but onely God: If any thing be demanded of the King, (seeing no Writ pag. 108. can issue forth against the King) there is a place for Petition, that he would correct and amend his fact; and, if he shall refuse to do it, he shall have punishment enough, when the Lord shall come to be his revenger; for otherwise, touching the Charters and deeds of Kings, neither private persons, nor Justitiaries, ought to dispute. This was the Law of that time: what new Lawes our young Lawyers have found since, I know not; I am not so good a Lawyer.

The Civil Lawyers do farre surpass the Common Law herein; for, Corsetus Siculus saith, *Rex in suo regno potest omnia, imd de plenitudine potestatis.* And Marginista saith, *Qui disputat de potestate Principis, utrum bene fecerit, est infamia.* Hostiensis saith, *Princeps solutus est legibus, [id est, num 66. quod vim coadivam, non quod vim directivam: Thom. 1. 2e. q. 96. ar. 5. ad 3.] quia nulli subest, necquab aliis judicatur.* And, to omit all the rest Gulielmus Barclaius out of Bartolus, Baldus, Castrensis Romanus, Alexander, Felinus, Albericus, and others, doth inferre. *Principem ex certa scientia, supra ius, extra ius, & contra ius omnia posse;* *Principem solum, legem constituere universalem.* Princeps soli Deo rationem debet. Princeps solutus est legibus, *& temerarium est velle, Majestatem Regiam ullis terminis limitare:* which things if I should English, seditious heads would think my head not sufficient to pay for this; but I only repeat their words, and not justifie their sayings: and therefore to proceed to more familiar things.

Pasquerius writeth that Lewis the eleventh did urge his Senators and Counsellors to set forth a certain Edict, which they refused to do, because it seemed to them very unjust; and the King being very angry, threatened death unto them all: whereupon Vacarius, President of the Council, and all the Senate in their purple robes came unto the King; and the King, astounded therewith, demanded whence they came, and what they would have: Vacarius answered for all, We come to undergoe that death which you have threatned unto us; for you must know (O King) that we will rather suffer death, then do any thing against our conscience towards God, or our duty towards you: Whererein we see the Nobility of this King, like Pasquer. do An- tiquit. Gallican. l. 1. Situt olim La- sedemonii, vi- Horibus respon- derunt: Si du- riora morte lni- peretis, potius moriemur.

The Grand Rebellion.

Noble Christians, do more willingly offer to lay down their lives at the command of their Liege Lord, than unchristian-like rebell, and take Arms against their delinquent Sovereign. And so *Colmannus*, a godly Bishop, did hinder the Scottish Nobility to rise against *Ferdinand*, that was their most wicked King.

Tertul. ad Scapul.

Tertul. in Apo-
get.

Athanasius, de-
summo regum
imperio, q. 55.

Simulachrum
ad similitudinem
dictum. Isidor.

Aug. ad frat.
Madara, ep. 42.
See the duty
of Subject or
a perswasion
to Loyalty,
which is a full
collection of
the Fathers to
this purpose.

Cardinal Alan in
resp. ad Instit.
Britannicam,
c. 4.

Sleidan, com-
mentar. l. 5.

Tertullian, writing unto *Scapula*, the President of *Carthage*, saith, We are defamed, when the Christian is found to be the enemy of no man, no not of the Emperour; whom because he knoweth him to be appointed by God, he must needs love and reverence, and wish him safe with all the Roman Empire; for we honour and worship the Emperour as a man second from God, & solo Deo misericordem, and inferior only to God: And in his *Apologeticus*, he saith, Deus est solus in cuius solius potestate sunt reges, & quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, super omnes homines, ante omnes deos; it is God alone, in whose power Kings are kept, which are second from him, first after him, above all men, and before all gods; that is, all other Magistrates, that are called gods.

Athanasius saith, that, As God is the King and Emperour in all the world, that doth exercise his power and authority over all things that are in Heaven, and in Earth; So the Prince and King is appointed by God over all earthly things: *Et ille liberâ suâ voluntate facit quod vult, sicut ipse Deus*; and the King by his own free-will doth whatsoever he pleaseth, even as God himself: And the Civilians could say but little more.

Saint *Augustine* saith, *Videtis simulacrorum tempora*, you see the temples of our Images, partly fallen for want of reparation, partly destroyed, partly shut up, partly changed to some other uses; *ipsaque Simulacra*, and those Images either broken to pieces, or burned and destroyed; and those Powers and Potentates of this world, which sometimes persecuted the Christians, *pro istis simulacris*, for those Images; to be overcome and tamed, *non à repugnantibus, sed à morientibus Christianis*, not of resisting, but of dying Christians; and the rest of the Fathers are most plentiful in this Theatrum: and therefore to the later Writers,

Cardinal Alan saith, (but herein most untruly) that the *Protestants* are desperate men, and most factious; for, as long as they have their Princes, and Lawes, indulgent to their own wills, they know well enough how to use the prosperous blasts of fortune; but if the Princes should withstand their desires, or the Lawes should be contrary to their minds, then presently, they break asunder the bonds of their fidelity, they despise Majesty, and with fire and sword, slaughters, and destructions, they rage in every place, and do run headlong into the contempt of all divine and humane things: which accusation, if it were true, then I confess the *Protestants* were to be blamed more then all the people in the world. But, howsoever some factious, seditious, *anabaptistical*, and rebellious spirits amongst us, not deserving the name of *Protestants*, may be justly taxed for this intolerable vice: yet, to let you see how falsely he doth accuse us, that are true *Protestants*, and how fully we do agree with the *Scriptures*, and the Fathers of the purest age of the Church, in the Doctrine of our obedience to our Kings and Princes; I will onely give you a taste of what we teach; And to begin with the first reformer.

Luther saith, no man which stirreth up the multitude to any tumult, can be excused from his fault, though he should have never so just a cause; but he must go to the *Magistrate*, and attempt nothing privately: because all sedition and insurrection is against the Commandement of God, which forbiddeth, and detesteth the same.

Philip Melanchthon saith, though it be the Law of Nature to expell force with force, yet it is no wayes lawful for us to withstand the wrong done

done us by the *Magistrate* with any force; yea, though we seem to promise our obedience upon this condition, if the *Magistrate* should command lawful things; yet it is not therefore *lawful* for us to withstand his *unjust* force with force: for though their Empires should be gotten and possest by wicked men, yet the work of their government is from God, and it is the good creature of God; and therefore, whatsoever the *Magistrate* doth; no force ought to be taken up against the *Magistrate*.

*Melancthon
apud Luther.
tom. I. p. 453.*

Brentius saith; that the rule and government of a Prince, may be evill The rule of a
Prince may be
evil two ways. two wayes.

1.

1. When he commandeth any thing *against* the faith of Christ; as, to deny our God, to worship *Idols*, and the like: and herein we must give place to the saying of the Apostle, *It is better to obey God, than men;* but in this case the subject must in no way rage, or rise, against his *Magistrate*; but he should rather patiently suffer any *evil*, than any way *strike* again; and rather endure any inconveniences and discommodities, than any ways obey those ungodly commands.

2. The Prince his government may be *evil*, when he doth, or commandeth any thing against the *publique justice*; of which kind are the *exaction* of our goods, or the *vexation* of our bodies; and in these kinds of injuries, the subject ought rather then in the former, to be obedient to his *Magistrate*; for if he steps forth to arms, God hath pronounced of such men, *He that smiteth with the sword, shall perish with the sword.*

*Brentius in re
spon. ad art. ii.
rusticorum.*

Cranmer Arch Bishop of Canterbury, together with the rest of the Bishops, and most famous Divines of this Kingdom, saith, If Princes shall do any thing contrary to their duties, God hath not appointed any *superior* Judge over them in this world, but they are to render their *account* to God, which hath reserved their judgement to himself alone; and therefore it is not *lawful* for any subjects, how wicked soever their Princes shall be, to take arms, or raise sedition against them, but they are to powre forth their *prayers* to God, in whose hand Kings *hearts* are, that he would *inlighten* them with his spirit; whereby they might *rightly*, to the glory of God, use that sword which he hath delivered unto them.

*Cranmer in
lib. de Christo:
ni hominis
institutis.*

Gulielmus Tindal, a godly Martyr of Christ; when Cardinal Lanus's sonne did lead the Lambs of Christ by troops unto the slaughter; doth then describe the *duty* of subjects according to the *strait rule* of the Gospel; saying, *David spared Saul*; and if he had killed him, he had sinned against God; for in every Kingdom, the King, which hath no *superior*, judgeth of all things; and therefore he that indeavoureth, or intendeth any *mischief* or calamity against the Prince that is a *Tyrant*, or a *Persecutor*; or whosoever with a *froward* hand doth but touch the *Lords anointed*, he is a *rebel* against God, and resisteth the *ordinance* of God: as often as a *private* man sinneth, he is held *obnoxious* to his *King*, that can punish him for his offence; but when the *King* offendeth, he ought to be reserved to the *divine examination* and *vengeance* of God: and as it is not *lawful* upon any pretence to resist the *King*, so it is not *lawful* to rise up against the *Kings Officer*, or *Magistrate*, that is sent by the *King* for the execution of those things which are commanded by the *King*: for, as our Saviour saith *He that beareth you, beareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me*; And as he saith unto *Saul*, when he persecuted the servants of Christ, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* when as he was then in *Heaven*, farre above the reach of *Saul*; yet, because there is such a *mystical union* betwixt Christ and his Church, the head and members; as is betwixt man and wife; no man can be said to injure the one, but he must wrong the other: so, whosoever resisteth the *Kings Lieutenant*, *Deputy*, or any other *Magistrate*, or *Officer* that he sendeth, with Commission to execute his

*Tindal. I. de
Christianis
minis obedientiis.*

Act 9. 4.

The Grand Rebellion.

2 Sam. 10.

commands, resisteth the King himself; and all the *indignities* that are offered to the Kings *Embassador*, or servant, that he thus sendeth, are deemed as indignities offered to the King himself; as we see, the base usage of David's servants by King Hanun, David revenged as an abuse offered unto himself; because the Kings person cannot be in *all* places, where justice and judgement, and many other offices and actions are necessarily to be done throughout the *latitude* of his Dominions; but his power and his authority, deputed to those his servants and officers that he sendeth, are as the *lively* representatives of the King, in every part of his Kingdom; and whatsoever favour, payment, neglect, or abuse, is shewed unto any of them; the same, in all Nations is accounted, and therefore punished or rewarded, as a service done unto the King himself; as our Saviour, when but the *Tole gatherer* came for the *Tributemoney*, saith, *Give unto Cesar, what belongeth unto Cesar.*

* Saint Paul saith, God sendeth them strong delusions. 2 Thess 2.11. But what God sendeth justly as the punisher of their sin, the Devil sendeth maliciously, as the guider of them to Hell: *Barnesius in Tract de humanae Conscientia.*

Master Dod upon the Commandments.

Barnesius, a very godly and learned man, treating of the same Argument, saith in a manner the same thing; That the servants of Christ, rather than either commit any evil, or resist any Magistrate, ought patiently to suffer the loss of their goods, and the tearing of their members; nay, the Christian, after the example of his Master Christ, ought to suffer the bitterest death for truth and righteousness sake; and therefore (saith he) whosoever shall rebell under pretence of Religion, *eterna damnationis reus erit*; he shall be found guilty of eternall damnation.

Master Dod saith, that, where the Prince commandeth a *lawful* act, the subjects must obey; and if he injoynes *unlawful* commands, we must not rebell, but we must be content to bear *any* punishment that shall be laid upon us, even unto death it self; and we should suffer our punishment without grudging, even in heart: and this he presseth by the example of the Three Children, and of Daniel that was a mighty man, and of very great power in Babylon, yet never went about to gather any power against his King, though it were in his own defence.

Master Byfield upon 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Master Byfield expounding the words of Saint Peter, *as ὅπερι οὖν*, saith, This should confirm every good subject to acknowledge and maintain the Kings *Supremacy*, and willingly to bind himself thereto by oath; for the *Oath of Supremacy* is the bond of this subjection; and this oath men must take without equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation: yea, it should bind in them the same resolution that was in Saint Bernard, who saith, If all the world should conspire against me, to make me complot any thing against the Kings Majesty, yet I would fear God, and not dare to offend the King, ordained of God.

Serenissimus Rex Jacobus, de vera legi libra Monarchia. I might fill a Volume, if I would collect the testimonies of our best Writers; I will adde but one, of a most excellent King, our late King James of ever blessed memory; for he saith, The improbity, or fault of the Governour, ought not to subject the King to them, over whom he

is

is appointed Judge by God ; for if it be not lawful for a private man to prosecute the *injury* that is offered unto him against his *private adversary*, when God hath committed the sword of *vengeance* onely to the Magistrate, how much less lawful is it, think you, either for *all* the people, or for *some* of them to *usurp* the sword, whereof they have no right, against the *publique Magistrate*, to whom alone it is committed by God ?

This hath been the Doctrine of all the *Learned*, of all the *Saints* of The obedient God, of all the *Martyrs* of Jesus Christ; and therefore not onely they example of that suffered in the first Persecutions under *Heathen Tyrants*, but also they that of late lived under *Queen Mary*, and were compelled to undergoe most exquisite torments, without number, and beyond measure; yet none of them, either in his former life, or when he was brought to his execution, did either despise her cruell Majesty, or yet curse this Tyrant-Queen, that made such havock of the Church of Christ, and causelessly spilt so much innocent blood; but being true *Saints*, they feared God, and honoured her : and in all obedience to her authority, they yielded their estates and goods to be spoyled, their liberties to be infringed, and their bodies to be imprisoned, abused, and burned, as oblations unto God, rather then contrary to the command of their Master Christ, they would give so much allowance unto their consciences, as, for the preservation of their lives, to make any shew of resistance against their most bloody Persecutors, whom they knew to have their authority from that bloody, yet their lawful, Queen.

And therefore I hope it is apparent unto all men that have their eyes Numb. 24. 15. open, and will not, with *Balaam*, most wilfully deceive themselves; or Gen. 19. 11. with the *Sodomites*, grope for the wall at noon-day; that, by the Law of God, by the example of all *Saints*, by the rule of honesty, and by all other equitable considerations, it is not lawfull for any man, or any degree or sort of men, Magistrates, Peers, Parliaments, Popes, or whatsoe- The conclusion: ver you please to call them, to give so much liberty unto their mis- guided consciences; and so farre to follow the desires of their unruly affections, as for any cause, or under any pretence to withstand Gods Vice-gerent, and with violence to make warre against their lawful Kings, or indeed, in the least degree, and lowest manner, to offer any indignity either in thought, word, or deed; either to *Moses* our King, or to *Aaron* our High Priest, that hath the care and charge of our souls; or to any other of those subordinate callings, that are lawfully sent by them to discharge those offices wherewith they are intrusted: This is the truth of God, and so acknowledged by all good men. And what Preachers teach the contrary, I dare boldly affirm it, in the name of God, that they are the incendiaries of Hell, and deserve rather with *Corah*, to be consumed with fire from Heaven, then to be believed by any man on Earth.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth the impudencie of the Anti-Cavalier: How the Rebels deny they warre against the King: An unanswerable Argument to presse obedience: A further discussion, whether for our Liberty, Religion, or Laws, we may resist our Kings; and a pathetical dissuasion from Rebellion.

I Could insert here abundant more, both of the *Ancient* and *Modern* Writers, that do with *invincible Arguments* confirm this truth. But the *Anti-Cavalier* would perswade the world, that all those learned Fathers, and those constant Martyrs, that spent their purest blood to preserve the purity of religion unto us, did either *belye* their own strength, * or *befool*

Anti-Cavalier, p. 17, 18, &c.
 * Yet *Tertul. Cypr.* (whom I quoted before) and *R. ffin. bift. Eccles. l. 2. c. 1. and S. August. in Psal. 124. and others avouch, the Christians were far stronger than their enemies, and the greatest part of Julian's army were Christians.*

themselves with the undue desire of over-valued Martyrdome; but now they are instructed by a better spirit, they have clearer illuminations to inform them to *resist* (if they have strength) the best, and most lawful authority that shall either oppose, or not consent unto them: thus they throw dirt in the Fathers face, and dishonour that glorious company, and noble army of Martyrs, which our Church confesseth, praiseth God; and therefore no wonder that they will warre against Gods annointed here on Earth, when they dare thus dishonour and abuse his Saints that reign in Heaven: but I hope the world will believe, that those holy Saints were as honest men, and those worthy Martyrs, that so willingly sacrificed their lives in defence of truth, could as well testifie the truth and be as well informed of the truth, as these sedicious spirits, that spend all their breath to raise arms against their Prince, and to spill so much blood of the most faithful subjects.

The Homily against rebellion, p. 390. &c. 301.

But though the authority of the best Authours is of no authority with them, that will believe none but themselves; yet I would wish all other men to read that *Homily* of the Church of England, where it is said, that *God did never long prosper rebellious subjects against their Prince*, were they never so great in authority, or so many in number: yea, were they never so noble, so many, so stout, so witty and politique, but alwayes they came by the overthrow, and to a shameful end. Yea, though they pretend the redresse of the Common wealth, (which rebellion of all other mischiefs, doth most destroy;) or reformation of religion, (whereas rebellion is most against all true religion) yet the speedy overthrow of all Rebels sheweth, that God alloweth neither the dignity of any person, nor the multitude of any people, nor the weight of any cause, as sufficient; for the which, the subjects may move rebellion against their Princes: and I would to God that every subject would read over all the six parts of that *Homily* against wilful rebellion, for there are many excellent passages in it; which, being diligently read, and seriously weighed, would work upon every honest heart, never to rebell against their lawful Prince.

And therefore the *Laws* of all Lands being so plain to pronounce them *Traytors*, that take arms against their Kings, (as you may see in the Statutes of England, 25 Edw. 3. c. 2. And as you know, it was one of the greatest Articles for which the Earl of Strafford was beheaded, that he had actually leavied warre against the King:) The Nobles and Gentry, Lords and Commons of both Houses of Parliament, in all Kingdomes, being convicted in their consciences with the truth of this Doctrine, do in all their *Votes* and *Declarations* conclude and protest, (and I must believe them) that all the leavies, moneys, and other provision of horse and men, that

that they raise and arm, are for the safety of the Kings person, and for the maintenance of his Crown and Dignity.

Nay, more then this, the very Rebels in this our Kingdom of Ireland, knowing how odious it is before God and man, for subjects to rebell and take armes against their lawful King, do protest, if you will believe them, that they are the Kings soldiers, and do fight and suffer for their King, and in defence of his Prerogatives.

But you know the old saying, *Tuta frequensque via est per amici fallere nonen*, The Devil deceiveth us sooneft, when he comes like an Angel of light; and you shall ever know the true subjects best by their actions, farre better then by their Votes, Declarations, or Protestations; for, *Quid audium verba, cum videam contraria facta?* When men do come in sheep cloathing, and inwardly are ravening wolves; when they come with honey in their mouths, and gall in their hearts; and, like Joab, with peace in their tongue, and a sword in their hand; a petition to intreat, and a weapon to compell; I am told by my Saviour, that *I shall know them by their works*, not their words.

And therefore, as our Saviour saith, *Not he that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in Heaven*: So I say, not he that cryeth peace, peace, is the son of peace, but he that doth obey his Prince, and doth most willingly whatsoever he commandeth; or suffereth most patiently for refusing to do what he commandeth amisse: This is the true subject.

Well, to draw towards the end of this point, of our obedience to our Sovereign Governour, I desire you to remember a double story. The one of the Common- That is, when
Pintarch, which tells us how the tayle of the Serpent rebelled against the head, because that did guide the whole body, and drew the tayle after it
whicheversoever it would, therefore the head yielded that the tayle should rule; and then, it being small, and wanting eyes, drew the whole body, head and all, through such narrow crevises, clefts, and thickets, that it soon brought the Serpent to confusion. The other is of Titus Livius, who tells us, that, when the people of Rome made a factious combination to re- bell against their Governours, Menenius Agrippa went unto them, and said, that on a time all the members conspired against the stomach, and alledged, that she devoured with ease and pleasure, what they had purchased with great labour and pain; therefore the feet would walk no more, the hands would work no more, the tongue would plead no more for it; and so within a while, the long fast of the stomach made weak knees, feeble hands, dimme eyes, a faltering tongue, and a heavie heart; and then presently, seeing their former folly, they were glad to be reconciled to the Stomach again: and this reconciled the people unto their Governours.

I need not make any other application, but to wish, and to advise us all with the people of Rome, to submit our selves unto our Heads, that are our Governours, lest, if we be guided by the tayle, we shall bring our selves, with the Serpent, unto destruction:

And to remember that excellent speech of S. Basil: The people through ambition, are fallen into grievous Anarchie, whence it happeneth, that all the exhortations of their rulers do no good: no man hath any lust to obey, but every man would reign; being swelled up with pride, that springeth out of his ignorance: And a little after, he saith, that some fit no lesse implacable, and bitter examiners of things amisse, then unjust and malevolent riui Sanlio. Judges of things well done, so that we are more brutish then the very cult. scil. 30. beasts; because they are quiet among themselves, but we wage cruel and bloody warres against each other.

And let us never forget that the Lord saith, *Honour thy father and thy mother*; and I must tell you, that by father in this precept, you must not mandement.

only

*Titus Livius,
Decad. x. l. 23*

*Basilis de Sp.
riu Sanlio.*

cult. scil. 30.

*An argument
of obedience
drawn from*

*the fifth Com-
mandement.*

The Grand Rebellion.

1 Chron. 2. 24.

only understand your *natural* father, but also the King, who is your *political* father, and the father of all his subjects, and the Priest your spiritual father, and those likewise that in loco patri, do breed, and bring you up: and though *natural* affection produceth more love and honour unto those fathers that begat us; yet, reason and religion oblige us more unto the King, that is the common father of all, and to the Priest, that begat us unto Christ, then unto him that begat us into the world; for that without our new birth, which is ordinarily done by the office of the Priest, we were no Christians; and as good unborn, as unchristened, that is unregenerated: and without the King, that is *Custos utrinque tabule*, the preserver both of the publick justice, and of the pure religion, our fathers can neither bring us up in peace, nor teach us in the faith of Christ: and therefore if my father should plot any treason against the King, or prove a Rebel against him, I am bound in all duty and conscience, to preferre the publick before the private, and if I cannot otherwise avert the same, to reveal the plot to preserve the King, though it were to the losse of my father's life; and therefore certainly they that curse, that is, speak evil of their King are cursed; and they that rebel against him, shall never have their dayes long in the land, but shall, through their own rebellion, be soon cut off from the land of the living.

What we are,
and should be,
without King
or Priest.

Whether for the liberty of Subjects, we can be warranted to rebell.

In the d[i]j[ue] course of the differences betwixt King and Parliament.

The Liberties of the Primitive Church, what they thought.

What is often aimed at under the name of the liberty of the Subjects.

Whether for the preservation of our Religion, we can be warranted to rebell,

For mine own part, I have often admired, why the subjects of King CHARLES should raise any civil warre, and especially turn their spleen against him. If any say, it is for their liberties: I answer, that I am confident His Majesty never thought to bring any (the meanest of his subjects) into bondage; nor by an arbitrary government, to reduce them into the like condition, as the Peasants of France, or the Boores of Germany, or the Pickroes of Spain are, as some do most falsely suggest: but that they should continue, as they have been in the dayes of his Father, of blessed memory, and of all other his most noble Progenitors, the freest subjects under Heaven. And I hope they desire not to be such Libertines, as those in the Primitive Church, who (because Christian liberty freed us from all Jewish Ceremonies, and all typical Rites, which were such a burthen, that neither we nor our fathers could undergo, and also from the curse and malediction of the moral law) would, under this pretence of Christian liberty, be freed from the obligation of all lawes, and give themselves the freedom to do what they pleased; for this would prove to be, not the liberty, but the bondage, and the base slavery of a people, that are not governed by lawes, but suffered to do what they please; because, that neither God, nor good lawes confine us, but for our own good: and he that forbids us to obey impious commands, bids us to obey all righteous lawes; and rather to suffer, then to resist the most unrighteous Governours. But I fear, that under the name of the liberty of the subjects, the licentiousnesse of the flesh is ayed at; because you may see by what is already come to passe, our civil dissencion hath procured to many men such a liberty, that few men are sure either of their life or estate: and God blesse me from such a liberty, and send me rather to be the slave of Christ, then such a libertine of the world.

And if religion be the cause that moveth you here hereto, I confess this should be dearer to us then our lives; but this title is like a velvet mask, that is often used to cover a deformed face, & decipitum specie recti: for as that worthy and learned Knight, Sir John Cheek, that was Tutor to King Edward the sixth, saith, If you were offered Persecution for Religion, you ought to flye, and yet you intend to fight; if you would stand in the truth, ye ought to suffer like Martyrs, and you would slay like Tyrants: Thus for Religion you keep no Religion, and neither will follow the Counsel of Christ, nor the constancie of Martyrs. And a little after, he demands why the people should not like that Religion which Gods Word established,

blished, the Primitive Church hath authorized, the greatest learned men of this Realm, and the whole consent of the Parliament have confirmed, and the Kings Majesty hath set forth, is it not truly set out? Dare you Commons take upon you more learning then the chosen Bishops and Clerks of this Realm have? This was the judgement of that judicious man. And I must tell you that Religion never taught Rebellion; neither was it the will of Christ, that Faith should be compelled by fighting, but persuaded by preaching; for the Lord sharply reproveth them that built up Sion with blood, and Hierusalem with iniquitie: and the practice of Christ and his Apostles was to reform the Church by prayers and preaching, and not with fire and sword; and they preesse obedience unto our Governours; yea, though they were impious, infidels, and idolatrous, with arguments fetched from Gods ordinance, from mans conscience, from wrath and vengeance, and from the terrible sentence of damnation. And this truth is so solid, that it hath the clear testimony of holy Writ, the perpetual practice of all the Primitive Saints and Martyrs; and, I dare boldly say it, the unanimous consent of all the orthodox Bishops, and Catholick Writers, both in England and Ireland, and in all the world, That Christian Religion teacheth us never with any violence to resist, or with arms to withstand the authority of our lawful Kings.

If you say, The Laws of our Land, and the Constitutions of this our Kingdom, give us leave to stand upon our libertie, and to withstand all tyannie that shall be offered unto us, especially when our estates, lives, and religion, are in danger to be destroyed.

To this I say with Lelius, that *Nulla lex valeat contra jus divinum*, Mans lawes can exact no further obedience then may stand with the observance of the divine precepts; and therefore we must not so preferre them, or relye upon them somuch, as to prejudice the other: and for our fear of the losse of estate, life, or religion, I wish it may not be settled upon groundlesse suspitions; for I know, and all the world may believe, that our King is a most clement and religious Prince, that never did give cause unto any of his subjects to foster such feares and jealousies within his breast; and you know what the Psalmist saith of many men, *They were afraid, where no fear was*. And Job tells you, whom terrors shall make afraid on every side, and shall drive him to his feet; (that is, to runne away, as you see the Rebels do from the Kings Army in every place) and in whose Tabernacle shall dwell the King of fear: for, though the ungodly fletch, when no man pursueth him; yet, they that trust in God are confident as Lyons, without fear; they know that the heart of the King is not in his own hand, but in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of waters, and he turneth it whithersoever it pleaseth him; either to save them, or destroy them, even as it pleaseth God: He ordereth the King how to rule the people.

And therefore, in the name of God, and for Christ Jesus sake, let me persuade you to put away all causelesse fears, and groundlesse jealousies, and trust your King; if not, trust your God; and let your will, which is sound in it self, become right and equal, by receiving direction from the will of God; and remember what Ulpian the great Civilian saith, that Rebellion and disobedience unto your King, is proximum sacrilegio crimen, and that it is, in Samuel's judgement, *as the sinne of witchcraft*; whereby men forsake God, and cleave unto the Devil: and above all, remember the oath that many of you have taken, to be true and faithful unto your King, and to reveal whatsoever evils or plots that you shall know or hear to be contrived against his Person, Crown, or Dignity, and defend him a terror to from them, *Pro posse tuo*, to the uttermost of your power, *So help you God*. Which Oath, how they that are any wayes assistant in a warre against their King, can dispence with, I cannot with all my wit and learning

Sir John Cheek
in, The true
subject to the
rebell. p. 4 &c.

Micah 3. 10.

True religion
never rebel-
lith.

Whether the
Laws of our
Land do war-
rant us to re-
bel.

Prov 21. 1;
Bonav. ad seq:
cundam diff.
35. art 2. qu. 1;

The remem-
brane of his
Oath should be
a terror to
the conscience
of every Rebel.

The Grand Rebellion.

1 Kings 20.31.

Learning understand : and therefore return , O Shulamite , return , lay down thine arms , submit thy self unto thy Sovereign , and know , that as the Kings of Israel were merciful Kings , so is the King of England ; thou shalt find grace in the time of need : but delay not this duty , lest , as Demades saith the Athenians never sate upon treaties of peace , but in mourning weeds , when by the losse of their nearest friends , they had paid too dear for their quarrels , so thou be driven to do the like : for (except the sinnes of the people require no lesse satisfaction , then the ruine of the Kingdom) I am confident , and am ready to hazard life and fortunes in this confidence , that the goodness of our King , the justnesse of his cause , and the prayers of all honest and faithful Ministers for him and our Church , will in the end give him the victorie over all those his rebellious enemies ; that with lies , flanders , and false imputations , have seduced the Kings subjects , to strengthen themselves against their Sovereign : and all the world shall see , that as Christ , so , in sensu modicato , this Vicegerent of Christ , shall rule in the midst of these his enemies , and shall reign untill he puts them all under his feet .

The Authours
confidence of
the kings vi-
ctory.

A rebellion,
that the like
was never
seen.

And because we never read of any rebellion (not this of Corab here , which of above six hundred thousand men had not many more then 250. Rebels : nor that of Absolon against David , who had all the Priests and Levites , and the best Counsellors , and a mighty Army with him , such as was able to overthrow Absolon and twenty thousand men in the plain field : nor Israel against Rehoboam , because they did but revolt from him , and not with any hostile Armes invade him : nor the Senate of Rome against Cesar , though he was the first that intrenched upon their libertie , and intended to exchange their Aristo-democracie into a Monarchie : nor any other that I can remember , except that Councel which condemned Christ to death) that was grown to that height , to be so absolute , and so perfect a Rebellion in all respects , as that a whole Parliament in a manner , and the major part of the Plebeians of a whole Kingdom , should make a Covenant with Hell it self , yea , and which is most considerable , that (as I understand the beginning of this rebellion in this Kingdom of Ireland was) the Commonalty therein should so fascinate the Nobility , as to allure them so long to confirm their Votes , till at last they must be compelled in all things to adhere unto their conclusions ; that they whose power was formerly most absolute without them , must now be subordinate unto them , that the strength of the people may defend the weaknesse of the Nobility from that desert , which they merited by their simplicitie , to be seduced to joyn with them to rebell against their King . Therefore , if any faction in any Parliament should thus combine against the Lord , and against his annointed , there is no question , but their reductione to obedience , will make that Majestie , which shall effect it , more glorious to posterity , than were any of all his Predecessors .

And therefore I say again , Return , O Shulamite , return , and remember I pray thee , remember , lest my words shall accuse thy conscience in the day of judgement , that we are often commanded in many places of the Scriptures , to obey our Kings ; but in no place bidden , nor permitted to rise up and assist any Parliament against our King . If thou sayest , Thou dost not do it against thy King , but against such and such that do abuse the King ; I told you before , that whosoever resisteth him that hath the Kings authority , resisteth the King : and therefore the whole world of intelligible men laugheth at this gullery , and he that dwelleth in the heavens , shall laugh it to scorn ; when with such equivocation men shall think to justify their rebellion ; and I hope the people will not still remain so simple , as to think that all the Canon and the Musket shot which the enemies of a King

King should make at him, must be understood to be for the safety of his person.

And as neither private men, nor any Senate, nor Magistrate, nor Peers, nor Parliament, can lawfully resist, and take Arms against their King; so hath no power neither Synod, nor Council, nor Pope, have any power to depose, excommunicate or abdicate; or to give immunitie to Clergy, or absolution to subjects, thereby to free them from their duty and due allegiance, and to give them any colour of allowance to rebell, and make warre against their lawful King. And this point, I should the more largely prosecute, because the natives of this Kingdome are more addicted to the Pope and his Decrees, than any others of all the Kings Dominion. But the bulk of this Treatise is already too much swelled, and I hope I may have hereafter a fitter opportunity to enlarge this Chapter: and therefore till then, I will only referre my Reader unto *Pareus, John Bede,* and abundance more, that have most plentifully written of this Argument.

And so much for the persons against whom they rebelled, Moses their King, and Aaron their High-Priest, or chief Bishop; both these the prime Governours of Gods people, whom they ought by all laws to have obeyed, and for no cause to have rebelled against them.

CHAP. XI.

sheweth what these Rebels did: How by ten several steps and degrees (1. Pride. 2. Discontent. 3. Envy. 4. Murmuring. 5. Hypocrize. 6. Lying. 7. Slanderung. 8. Rayling. 9. Disobedience. 10. Resistance.) they ascended to the height of their Rebellion; and how these are the steps and the wayes to all Rebellions, and the reason which moveth men to rebell.

3. **W**E are to consider, *Quid fecerunt, what these Rebels did. Cajetan 3. Part. What faith, Zelati sunt. Tiriini faith, Irritaverunt. The vulgar Latin these Rebels faith, Emulati sunt.* Our vulgar English faith, They envied Moses: and did our last English faith, They envied Moses. And indeed the large extent of the original word, and the diversity of the Translation of it, sheweth the greatnessse of their iniquity; and the multiformity or multiplicity of their sin: And therefore that you may truly understand it, you must look into the History*, and there you shall see the whole matter; the conception, birth, strenght, and progressse of their sin: for,

1. This sinne was begotten by the seed of Pride; they conceived an opinion of their own excellency. Excellency, that bewitcheth men to rebell, thinking that they are inferiour to none, equal to the best, if not superiour unto all; and therefore they disdained to be governed, and aspired to the government of Gods people: And then Pride, as the father, begat Discontentment as his eldest sonne; they liked not their own stablishing of rebellion, but would fain be promoted to bigger dignity; and because Moses and Aaron were settled in the government before them, and they knew not how either to be adjoyned with them, or advanced above them; therefore discontent begat Envy, and they began to pine away at their felicity; and so our last English reads it, They envied Moses.

2. This sinne being thus conceived in the womb of the heart, at last it commeth forth to birth at the mouth; for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: and they begin to murmur and mutter among chief

Private meetings do often produce mis-
them-

themselves, and, as Rebels use to have, they have many private meetings and conventicles among themselves, where they say, We are all good, we are all holy, and They are no better than we; and, as Absalon depreved his fathers government, and promised justice and judgement, and golden mountains unto the people, if he were King: so do they traduce the present government with all scandalous imputations, and profess such a reformation, as would make all people happy, if they were but in Moses place, or made over him, or with him, the Guardians, and Protectors of Common-wealth.

^{a Sam. 15.3-4:} And so now you see this ugly monster, the son of Pride and Discontentment, is born into the world, and spreads it self from the inward thought, to open words. Then Moses hears the voyce of this infant, which was not like the voyce of Jacob, but of the Serpent, which spitteth fire and poison out of his mouth.

And therefore lest this fire should consume them, and these mutterers prove their murderers; Moses now begins to look unto himself, and to answer for his brother: he calleth these rebels, and he calleth them, that neither he nor his brother had ambitiously usurped, but were lawfully called into those places; and to make this apparent to all Israel, he bad these rebels come out of their Castles to some other place, where he might safely treat and conferre with them; and that was to the Tabernacle of the Lord: that is, to the place where wisdom and truth resided, and was from thence published and spread to all the people, and there the Lord should shew them whom he had chosen.

The wisdom of Moses. And here I do observe the care and wisdom of the Prophet, that at the first appearance of their design, would presently begin to protect his brother, before their rebellion had increased to any strength; for had he then delivered Aaron into their hands, his hands had been so weakened, that he had never been able afterwards to defend himself, to teach all Kings to beware, that they yield not their Bishops and Priests unto the desires of the people, which is the fore-runner of rebellion against themselves: for as King Philip told the Athenians, that he had no dislike to

The witty tale of Demosthenes to save the Orators: and to assure all Kings, that if Aaronstongue, and the Prophets pen, perswade not the conscience to yield obedience, Moses's power, and Joshua's sword may subdue the people to subjection but never retain them long without rebellion. Evil men grow worse, & worse.

Vers. 12.

Vers. 13.

them, but would admit them into his protection, so they woud deliver to him their Orators, which were the fomenters of all mischief, and the people were mad to do it; till Demosthenes told them, how the Wolf made the same Proposition unto the Sheep, to become their friends and protectors, so they would deliver their Dogs, which were the cause of all discontent betwixt them; and the Sheep being already weary of their Dogs, delivered them all unto the Wolves; and then immediately the Wolves spared neither Sheep nor Lambs; but tore them in pieces without resistance: even so, when any King yieldeth his Bishops unto the peoples Votes, he may fear, ere long, to feel the smart of this great mistake.

Therefore Moses wisely delivereth not his brother, but stoutly defendeth him, who he knew had no wayes offended them; and offered, if they came to a convenient place, to make this plain to all the people,

But as evil weeds grow apace, and lewd sons will not be kept under, so the more Moses sought to supprese this sinne, the faster it grew, and spread it self to many branches; from secret muttering, to open railing; from inward discontent, to outward disobedience. They tell them plainly to their faces, they will not come, è Castris, from their strong holds, they accuse them falsely, that Moses their Prince aimed at nothing but their destruction; and to that end, had brought them out of a good land to be killed in the wildernes, and contemning them most scornfully in the face of all the people, whatsoever Moses bids them do, they resolve to do the contrary.

So now Moses well might say with the Poet,

Quocunque aspicio, nibil est nisi pontus, & aether.

And therefore it was *high* time this *evil* Weed should be rooted out, or else the good corn shall be choaked; these Rebels must be destroyed, or they will destroy the *Governours* of Gods people; and Moses now must wax angry, *Nam debet amor Iesu irasci*, otherwise his meeknesse had been stupidnesse, and his mercy had proved little better then cruelty; when as to spare the *Wolfe*, is to spoile the *Sheep*: and, because these great Rebels had with *Absolon*, by their *false* accusations of their *Governours*, and their subtle insinuations into the affections of the people, stole away the hearts of many men; therefore Moses must call for aid from Heaven, and say; *Exsurgat Deus*, And let him that hath sent me, now defend me: So God must be the decider of this dissention, as you may see he was in the next verse.

And by this you find, *Quid fecerunt*, what these Rebels did; and how their sin was not *Simplex peccatum*, but *Morbus cumulatus*; a very Chaos, and an heap of confused iniquity: for here is,

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Pride.</i> | 6. <i>Lying.</i> |
| 2. <i>Discontent.</i> | 7. <i>Slanderizing.</i> |
| 3. <i>Envy.</i> | 8. <i>Rayling.</i> |
| 4. <i>Murmuring.</i> | 9. <i>Disobedience.</i> |
| 5. <i>Hypocrisie.</i> | 10. <i>Rebellion.</i> |

The ten fold
sin of rebels.

A Monster indeed, that is a ten-headed, or ten-horned beast.

1. *Pride*, which bred the *distractiōn* in the Primitive Church, and will i. *Pride*, be the *destruction* of any *Church*, of any *Common-wealthe*, was the first seed of their rebellion; for the *bumble man* will easily be governed, but the *proud heart*, like a sturdy *Oak*; will rather *break* then *bend*.

2. *Discontent* was the second step, and that is a most vexatious vice; for though contentation is a rare blessing, because it ariseth either from a *fruictiōn* of all comforts, as it is in the *gloriouſ*, in *Heaven*; or a *not desiring* of *The poyon st* that which they have not, as it is in the *Saints* on earth; yet discontent is that which *annointeth* all our joyes with *Aloes*: for though life be naturally sweet, yet a little discontent makes us weary of our lives, as the *Israelites*, that loved their *lives* as well as any, yet for want of a little water, *say*, *O that we had dyed in Egypt*. And *Haman* tells his wife, that *all* the honour *Hester. 5:13:* which the King and Queen shewed unto him, availed him nothing, so long as *Mordecai* refused to bow unto him.

And discontent may as well invade the *biggest*, as the *lowest*; for as none is so *bare*, but he hath some benefits; so none is so *full*, but he wanteth something: as the *Israelites* had *Manna*, but they wanted *water*; and when they had *water*, they wanted *fleſh*; and this want made them discontented; so thele Rebels had the dignity to be *Levites*, and to be *Peers*; of high places, and heads of all their families, which was more then they deserved; but they wanted the honour to be *Priests*, and to be *Kings*, the chief *Governours* of Gods people, which they desired; and therefore were discontented, because their *conceit* was unſatisfiable, and their *desires* unsatisfied.

The common
condition of
man to be
ever wanting
something.

3. As *Pride* makes men discontented to be inferiorior unto any, so *Discontent* makes them always to envy their superiouris: and therefore *Envy* is the third head of this monster, and the third step unto rebellion; a most bateful vice before God and man, That I should pine away with grief, because God is *gracious* unto another; and I must be *angry* with God, because he will not be guided by me in the disposing of his favours: and therefore Saint *Augustine* calleth this a *devillic* vice, which caused *Cain* to kill *Abel*; the Patriarchis to sell *Joseph*; the Medes to molest *Daniel*; and the Nobility

How mon-
ſtrous a sin is
Envy.

Gen. 4. 8.
Acts 7. 9.

The Grand Rebellion.

Cyprian. in
Serm. de Li-
vore.

of *Jury* to persecute good King *David*, and to crucifie the sonne of *David*, Christ himself; *Et ideo perierte, quia maluerunt Christo invidere quam credere.*

And yet herein I must commend *Envy*, that, as the Poet saith,

— *Sit licet injusus Livor,*

Though it be *unjust* to others, yet is it very *just*, to destroy them first that would destroy others; as the *envy* of these *rebels* did, *Sampson*-like, pull down the house upon their *own heads*; and will, most *likely*, bring destruction unto those that follow them in rebellion.

4. *Murmuring.* 4. *Murmuring*, is a secret discontented muttering one to another of things that we *dislike*, or persons that we *disfaste*; and the very word in all languages seems as *barb* unto our ears, as the sinne is *bateful* unto our souls: for in *Greek* it is called *μυρμύζειν*; in *Latin*, *Murmurare*; in *English*, to *Murmure*; in *Brittish*, *Grugnach*; a sad word, and a *sowre sinne*: therefore the wise man saith, *Beware of murmuring, which is nothing worth*; and yet this sinne was frequent among the *Israelites*, (threes times in three Chapters) that they could never leave it, till, as *Saint Paul* saith, *they were destroyed of the destroyer*.

Exod. c. 15.
c. 16. c. 17.
1 Cor. 10.
5. *Hypocrisie.* 5. *Hypocrisie* is, when a man seems to be what he is not; for, as *Saint Hierom* saith, *Qui foris Cato, intus Nero, hypocrita est*; he that talks of *peace*, and prepares for *warre*; that protesteth *loyalty*, and yet hates his *King*; that in his *words* will advance the *Church*, but in his *actions* will overthrow the *Church-men*; that commands all *piety*, but commits all *iniquity*; that will not *swear* for a *Kingdom*, but *deceiſe* for a *penny*; that pretends the *safety* of the *Kings person*, but *purloyneth* away all his *power*; that will bend his knee, and say, *Hayle King*, but will spit in his face, and crown him with *thorns*, he is an *hypocrite*: So these *rebels* say, they are all *holie*, they love all their *brethren*, they hate *usurpation*, and cannot endure the *tyranny* of these *Governours*; but indeed, though they cryed, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, all for the *King*, and all for the *Church*; all for *Moses*, and all for *Aaron*; yet notwithstanding this *voynce* of *Jacob*, they had the hands of *Esau*, and they would have brought *Moses* and *Aaron* to confusion, as they brought themselves to destruction.

Job 20: 6, 7,
8, 9.
Matth. 7.15.

This is the *property* of an *Hypocrite*, and therefore *Job* speaking of an *hypocrite*, saith, (and it is exceedingly well worth the observing) *Thouḡ his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet be shall perish for ever like his own dung; they which have seen him, (that is, they which came out to see his pomp and his greatnessse, and have admired at the greatnessse of his glory) shall say, Where is he? or, How chance he doth not ride on with his honour?* *Job* answereth, *The eye which saw him, shall see him no more; that is, in the like Majestie, neither shall his place any more behold him: for, He shall flee away as a dream, and shall not be found; yea, he shall be chased away as a vision in the night.* And our *Saviour* knowing as well the *cruelty*, as the *subtlety* of *hypocrites*, biddeth us to beware of *hypocrites*: as the Poet saith,

— *ut atrī limina Ditis.*

Hypocrisie,
how odious
it is.

Shun *hypocrites* as the gates of Hell, and believe their *actions* rather then their *protestations*: for, as in the Old *Testament* *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* are the patterns of all *beastnesse*, so in the New *Testament* the greatest sinners are threatned to have their portion with the *hypocrites*.

6. *Lying.* 6. *Lying* must follow *Hypocrisie* at the heels: for, were it not for the *beaps*

beaps of lyes that hypocrites spread abroad, the world could not possibly be so easily seduced by their hypocrisy; and I read it in a Sermon of a learned Divine, That now adayes some phanatique Sectaries of desperate opinions, and despicable fortunes, (whom the Church and State find to be a malignant party), having little else to do, make it their trade to lye both by whole sale, and retayle; they invent lyes, and vent lyes; they tell lyes, and write lyes, and print lyes; yea, I may adde, and more palpable lyes, and more abominable, then either *Bonv* or *Butter* ever published of the affairs of Germany; and this they do as confidently, and impudently, as if they were informed by that lying spirit, which entred as a *Voluntier* into *Ahab's* Prophets; and by *lying*, and raising false rumours, they beget jealousies and feares in the people, and by blowing the coales which themselves kindled, and intlarging the difference betwixt King and Parliament, they set all in a combustion, and bring all into confusion: and that which grieves me most, he saith, that they are *Preachers*, which in the exuberancie of their mis-grounded and mis-guided zeal, do both preach and pray against publicke peace, as inconsistent with the *Independencie*, or rather *Anarchie*, that they ay me at.

7. *Slander*ing may be coupled unto their *Lying*, because we can *slander* none with that which is truth; therefore these *Rebels* say, *All the Congregation is holy*, and that is a lye; when there can be no holiness in the *Rebels*; and, *The Lord is among them*, which is another lye; for he will forsake all those that forsake him: then they say, *Moses and Aaron take too much upon them*, which is an apparent slander; and they adde, that they lifted up themselves above the *Congregation of the Lord*, which is another slander, as false as the Father of lyes could lay upon them; for I shewed unto you before, how truly they were called, and how justly they behaved themselves in their places; but as *Absolon* knew well enough, that to traduce his Father's Government, was the readiest way to insinuate, and to wind him selfe into a good opinion among the people, and to make the King odious unto his subjects; to these, and all other *Rebels*, will be sure to lay load enough of lyes and slanders upon their *Governours*; and so the namelesse Authour of the *Sovereign Antidote*, *Goodwin*, *Burroughs*, and abundance more, such scandalous, impudent, lying libels, have not blushed (which a man would think the brazen face of Satan could not chuse but do) so maliciously, and reproachfully, to lay to his Majesty's charge, the things whicb (as the Prophet saith) be never knew; and which all they that know the King, do know to be apparent lyes, and most abominable slanders against the Lord's Vicegerent: but,

Goodwin in his Anti-Cavalier Sermon upon The glorious name of the Lord of Hosts.

Quid domini facient; audent cum talia fures?

You know the meaning of the Poet, and you may know the reason why these grand Lyars, these impudent slanderers, do so impudently bely so good a King, so pious, and so gracious a Majesty; for, Lay on enough, *Et aliiquid adbarebit*, and throw dust enough in their faces; and let the *Governours* be never so good, the King as milde, and as unreprovable as *Moses*, and the Bishops like *Aaron*, the *Saints of the Lord*; yet some thing will stick in the opinion of the simple, that are not able to discern the subtlety of those distractors.

And as they diminish and undermine the credit and reputation of the best *Governours*, by no other engine then a lying tongue, and a false pen; so with the same instruments they do magnifie their own repute, and further their unjust proceedings, by deceiving the most simple with such equivocal lyes, as any sensible man might well wonder, that they should be so insensibly swallowed down; as, when they say, They fight for

A strange equivocation.

The Grand Rebellion.

for him whom they shoot at ; and they are for the King , when with all their might and main they strive to take away his power , to pull the sword out of his hand , and to throw his Crown down to the dust ; which is so strange a kind of equivocation , as might well move men , with Pilate , to ask What is truth ? which we can never understand , if any of these things can be true : which (as one saith most truly) is one of the absurdest gulleries that ever was put upon any Nation ; much like that Anabaptist which I knew , that beat his wife almost to death , and said , He beat not her , but that evill spirit that was in her .

The tale of an
Anabaptist.

Therefore the Lord hateth this abominable sinne , because it is impossible the people should be so soon drawn into rebellion , if they did not credit these defamations : But the wise man tells us , that *Stultus credit omni verbos* therefore no wise man will believe those false and wicked flanders , that such malicious Rebels do spread abroad against their King , Prince , or Priest , or any other Governour of Gods people .

8. Rayling .

After they had thus slandered these good men , they fell to open rayling against them , as you may see , Num. 16. 13,14. For now they had eaten shame , and drunk after it ; and therefore they cared not what they said ; and so now we find how the Rebels deal with our King , and with our Bishops too ; with our Moses , and with our Aaron ; for here in Ireland they rebell against their Sovereign , because he is no Papist , and will not countenance the Papists as they desire : And in England , they rayle at him , and rebell against him , because they say , He is a Papist , and doth connive at Popery , and hath a design to bring in Popery into the Kingdome , which is as flat a lye as the father of lies hath ever invented . So the Bishops here are driven out of all , (as my self am expelled , adibus & sedibus , and left destitute of all relief) because we are no Papists , but do both preach and write against their errors , as much as any , and more learnedly then many others . And in England we are persecuted , and driven to flee from place to place , or to take our place in a hard prison , (as my self have been often forced to flee , and to wander in the cold and dark long nights) because we are Papists , and Popishly given : Good God ! what shall we do , whither shall we go , or what shall we say ? for ,

Nusquam tutam fides, — nec hospes ab hospite tutus.

We cannot confide in the confiders , to whom we are become malignant enemies for speaking truth ; neither dare we trust in the followers of the publique faith , nor in the professors of the Catbolique faith ; whereof , men maliciously rejecting their godly Bishops , rebelliously fighting against their lawful King , and mortally wounding their own souls , have made a shipwrack . But , If they called the Master of the house Beelzebub , if they said he was a glutton , and a drunkard , what wonder if they say these things of us ? and if Christ the King of Kings was crucified between two Thieves , what marvel if this servant of Christ , our King , be thus pressed , opposed , and abused betwixt two rebellious factions ? And when we see our Saviour , and our King thus handled , it is lesse strange to find the Bishops and the Priests persecuted and crucified betwixt two heretical and tyrannical parties . Well , Jerusalem , Jerusalem , that killest the Prophets , and stonest them that are sent unto thee , take heed lest the King of peace shall say unto thee , Verily , thou shalt see me no more , till thou sayest , Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord .

9. Disobedience .

When they were grown thus impudent , from bad to worse , both over shooes and over boots , then Disobedience must needs follow ; and therefore now putting on their brazen foreheads , they tell Moses plainly , We will not come to thee ; we will do nothing that thou willest , but will crosse

trosse thee in all that thou intendest : this is our most peremptory resolution.

And so we see, that, *Nemo repente fit pessimus*, but the wicked grow worse and worse : first you must lend, then you must give, if not, we will take ; or if you deny your goods, we will have your bodies : so at first, what soever we do, it is for the King; and, because this is so palpable a mockery, that as every man knoweth, they that fight against the Earl of Essex, and his Army, do warre against the Parliament ; so they that fight against the Kings Army, do as certainly war against the King; then we grow so impudent, as to justify any rebellion against our King ; as in England, Godwin, and that seditious Pamphleteer, in opening *The glorious name of the Lord of Host*, do but a little lesse : For which application of Gods glorious name, and abusing the holy Scriptures, to such abominable transgression of Gods holy Precepts, to instigate the subjects to warre against their Sovereign, and to involve a whole Kingdom into a detestable distraction : I do much admire that they are not apprehended, and transferred to the Kings Bench Barre, to be there arraigned, and condemned to be punished according to their deserts.

10. When these Rebels had proceeded thus far, then contrary to the loyal obedience which they owed unto their Prince, and which the people promise unto Joshua, they ascended to the height of that odious rebellion, which may not unfitly be called

10. Rebellion
See the place.

J. Joshua 1. 16,

17. 18. 19. 20.

Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, cui human ademptum.

and is (as Thucydides saith). All kind of evill ; *Et qui facit peccatum non facit, sed ipse totus est peccatum* : and therefore Samuel saith, that Rebellion is as the sinne of Witchcraft ; when men do confederate to give their souls unto the Devill ; for now these Rebels are ready to take arms against Moses, and they had reduced all civill order to a confused partie, deposed and destroyed their Governors, if the Governor of all the world, by whom Kings do reign, and who hath promised to defend them, had not prevented the same from Heaven.

And the reason why they did all this, and proceeded thus farre against Moses and Aaron, is intimated in the words of my Text, *Si malati sunt*, because they would emulate or imitate Moses, that is, to play the Moses, or play the King, and play the part of the chief Priest themselves ; for this is certain, that none will envy, murmur at, slander, and disobey his King so farre, as to make an open rebellion against him ; but they that in some sort would rule and be Kings themselves ; especially when they shall seek, so farre to debilitate their Prince, as that he shall be no wayes able to make resistance ; for they think, If Treason prosper, 'tis no Treason : what's the reason ? if it prosper, who dares call it Treason ? and none would disobey their Bishops or chief Priests, but they that would, and cannot be Bishops themselves ; because pride and ambition are the two sides of that bellowes, which blowes up disobedience and rebellion.

But they that are bad servants, will prove worse Masters ; they that will not learn how to obey can never tell how to rule ; and if Moses were ; as these Rebels suggested, a Tyrant ; yet the Philosopher tells us, we had better endure one Tyrant, then, as they were, 250 Tyrants. And the Homily of the Church tells us, that contrary to their hopes, God never suffers the greatest treasons or rebellions for any long time to prosper.

The reason of
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in making
the world
the people
the Queen
the King

in making
the world
the people
the Queen
the King

The Grand Rebellion.

our discredit for our simplicity, and destruction for our disloyalty; but rather let us leave them as Delinquents, to the justice of our Lawes, and the mercy of the King; and this will be the readiest way to effect peace and happiness to our Nation.

CHAP. XII.

Sheweth where the Rebels do hatch their Rebellion: The heavy, and just deserved punishments of Rebels: The application, and conclusion of the whole.

4. Part. Where
they did it.

Our houses
are our Castles

Basilius de
Spiritu Santo,
cap. iii.

Now the Par-
liament Re-
bels have in-
vaded them-
selves in Ire-

WE are to consider, *Ubi fecerunt*, where they did all this; *in ea-
tris, non in templis*; that is, in their own houses, not in the house
of God: for in Gods house we teach obedience to our Kings, and beat
down rebellion in every Kingdom; this is the Doctrine of the Church. But
in our houses, in our cabins and corners, in private Coventicles, they teach
rebellion, which is the doctrine of those Schools. And these Schools
are called *Castræ*, Tents, or Castles; because indeed every man's house
is his Castle, or his Fort, where he thinks himselfe sure enough; so
did these Rebels, and they would not come out of them: neither Moses
the King could compell them, nor Aaron the Priest could persuade them, to
come out of their Castles, and forsake their strong holds, which their guilty
consciences would not permit them to do: and so all other rebels will ne-
ver be perswaded to forsake their places of strength, untill God pulleth
them, as he did these Rebels, out of their holes: for, were it not for these
Castræ, the Cities and Castles that they possesse, they could not so (like
subtile Foxes) run out and in, to nullifie the property, and to captivate
the liberty of the Kings faithful subjects, as they do: for, though they
do all this under those fair pretences, for the defence of the true reli-
gion, the maintenance of our liberties, and the property of our estates; yet for our Religion, it is now amongst us, as it was in the days of Saint Ba-
sil, *omnibus &c.* Every one is a Divine; and then *Ex* *terris* *exstirps* *uram*,
etc. All the bounds of our forefathers are transgressed, foundation of
destitute, and fortification of discipline is rooted up; and the innovators
which never had any other imposition of hands, but what they laid upon
themselves, have matter enough to set forward their sedition: And for
the other pretences, I dare proclaim it to all the world, that mine own
experience believeth, the liberty of the subjects, and the property of our
goods, and the true Protestant Religion, could not possibly be more abu-
sed; then it hath been by them that come in the name, and for the service
of the Parliament: and therefore I woulde to God, that all the oppressions,
injustice, and imprisonments, that have been made since the beginning of
this Parliament, were collected and recorded in a Book of remembrance,
that all the world might see and read the justice and equity of our Parlia-
ment, and the iniquity, oppression, and rapine of them, that to enrich
themselves, deprive us of our estates and liberties, and that under the
Parliaments name. For I hear, that as many have been impoverished, so
many both the Lords and Commons in this Kingdom of Ireland, that,
before the conjunction of these malevolent martial Planets, were very low
at an ebb, and their names very deep in many Citizens books, have now
wiped off all scores, paid all their debts, and clad themselves in Silks and
Scarlet, but with the extorted moneys, and the plundered goods of the
loyal

I
be
rich
selve
Land.

Loyal subjects: I hope it is not so in England.

Yet, as Platina tells us, that when the Guelphes and the Gobilines, in the City of Papia, were at civil discord; and the Gobilines promised to one *François Caisse*, all the goods of the Guelphes, if he assisted them to get the victory, which he did; and after he had subdued the Guelphes, he seized upon the goods of both; and when the Gobilines complained that he brake his *Covenant*, to pillage their goods, *Caisse* answered, that, Themselves were Gobilines, but their goods were Guelphes, and so belonged unto him: So both in England and Ireland, I see the Parliament-Forces, and the Rebels, (I hope contrary to the will of the Parliament) make little difference betwixt Papist and Protestant, the well-affectioned and disaffected; for, they cannot judge of their affections, but they can discern their estates, and that is the thing which they thirst after; *Hanc ignorat eano.*

But you will say, These are miseries unavoidable, accidents common to all warre, when neither side can excuse all their followers.

I answer, *Woe be to them therefore that were the first suggesters and procurers of this warre*, and cursed be they that are still the incendiaries, and blow the coales, for the continuall of these miserable distractiōns. I am sure, his Majestie was neither the *cause*, nor doth he desire the prolonging thereof for the least moment; but, as his royal Factor was a most peaceable Prince, so hath he shewed himself in all his life, to follow him *passibus equis*, and to be a Prince of peace: though, as the God of peace is likewise a man of warre, and the *Lord of Hosts*; so this peaceable Prince, when his patience is too much provoked, can (as you see) change his pen for a sword, and turn the mildness of a Lamb into the fountaine of a Lyon; and you know what Solomon saith, that *The wrath of a King is the messenger of death*, especially when he is so justly moved to wrath: And so much for the particulars of this Text.

2. Having fally seen the *ugliness* of this sin, you may a little view the ^{2. The punishment of these rebels.} greatness of the punishment: for,

Although I must confess, we shoulde slow to anger, slow to wrath, yet when the Magistrate is disobeyed, the Minister despised, and God himself disclaimed, it makes our hearts to bleed, and our spirites angry within us: yes, though the King were as gentle, and as meek as Moses, the meekest man on earth; and the Bishops as holy as Aaron, the Saint of the Lord: yet such disobedience and rebellion, would anger Sainctes; for so Tirius in his *Psal.*
Tirius, *Irritaverunt, They angered Moses in their tents*, and *Aaron the Saint of the Lord*: Nay more than this, they angered God himself, so farre that *fire was kindled in his wrath*; and it burned to the bottom of hell. And as these rebels were *Lords* and *Ladies*, *Clergy* and *Laity*: so God did proportion their punishments according to their sines: for the *Ladies*, that were to kindle *fire* upon Gods Alter, and shoulde have beene more heavenly, and those two hundred and fifty men which usurped the Office of the Priests; He sent fire from heaven to devour them; and the *Nobility* that were *Ley-Lards*, the Prophet tells you, *The earth opened, and swallowed up Dathan*, and covered the Congregation of *Abiram*. A most fearful example of a just judgement: for to have seen them dead upon the earth, as the *Egyptians* upon the shore, had beene very lamentable; but to see the earth opening, and the graves devouring them quick, was most lamentable, and to stratige, that we never read of such revengement of *dishonesty*; never any better deserved: and which is more, Saint Basilius saith, *and descendant in infernum damnorum*, they fell into the very pit of the damned; which daleful judgement, though they well deserved it, yet I will leave that undetermined;

Basilius hunc.

gentilium etiamque frumentorum quod in aliis annis non habebat etiamque excedens in aliis annis non habebat. And thence

The Grand Rebellion.

And if these rebels, proceeding not so farre, whatsoever they intended, as to offer violence, and to make an open warre against Moses, were so heavily plagued for the Embrie of their rebellion, what tongue shall be able to expresse the detestation of that sin, and the deserts of those Rebels, that by their subtily and cruelty, would bring a greater persecution upon the Church, then any that we read since the time of Christ, and by a desperate disobedience to a most Gracious King, would utterly overthrow a most flourishing State? A rebellion and persecution; the one against the King, the other against the Church, that in all respects can scarce be parallel'd from the beginning of the world, to this very day.

And therefore except they do speedily repent with that measure of repentence, as shall be in some sort proportionable to the measure of their transgression, I fear God in justice will deal with them as he did with the Jews, deliver them into the hand of their Enemies, that will have no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stoopeth for age; or rather as he did with Pharaoh King of Egypt, deliver them up to a reproba ble sentence, and harden their hearts, that they cannot repent, but in their folly and obstinacy still to fight against Heaven, untill the God of heaven shall overthrow them with a most fearful destruction; the which I pray God, they may foresee in time, and repent, that they may prevent it, that God may be still merciful unto us, as he useth to be to those that love his Name.

And so much for the words of this Text.

The application of all,

Now to Apply all in brief: if God shall say to any Nation, I will send them a King in my wrath, and give them Lawes not good: let them take heed they say not, We will take him away by our strength: for we have read, that He hath authority to give us a King in his displeasure, but you shall never read, that we have authority to disobey him at our pleasure, and to say, Nolumus hunc regnare super nos: or, if any do, let them know, that he which set him up, and settled him over them, is able to protect him against them; and they that struggle against him, do but strive against God; and therefore they have no better remedy, then to pray to God, which hath the hearts of all Kings in his hand; that he would, as the Psalmist saith, Give the King his judgements, and his righteousness unto the King's Son, that he would either guide his heart aright, and direct his feet to the way of peace: or as he hath sent him in his fury, so he would take him away in his mercy. But for our selves of these Islands we have a King, and I speak it here in the sight of God, and as I shall answer for what I say at the dreadful judgement, not to flatter him that hears me not, but to inform those of you that know him not so well as I, that had the happiness to live with my ever honoured Lord, the Noble Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, 16, or 17. years in the Kings house, and of them 6, or 7. years in the Kings service, He is a most just, pious, and gracious King; and I believe, the best Protestant King that ever England or Ireland saw, neither Popishly affected, nor Schismatically led to disaffect, but most constantly resolved to be a true Defender of that true Protestant Faith, which is established by Law in the Church of England, and he is such a King, of so unblameable a life, so spotlesse in all his actions, so clement, and so meek towards all men, and so merciful towards his very enemies, that the mouth of Envy cannot truly taxe him, nor malice it self disprove him in any thing. Yet we know, that as Moses the meekest among men, and David the best of Kings, were sore afflicted, slandered, and persecuted, not a little, by many of their own obliged subjects; yes, and the best Kings have had the greatest troubles; so this good King, hath had for his trial a great part of the like usage, I know not by whom, neither

The Grand Rebellion.

245

neither do I intend here to accuse others, but to instruct you, and by what I shew out of this Text, to teach you above all, to take heed of disobedience and Rebellion towards your King: and to let you understand, that what priviledges in the New Testament are acknowledged to be due to Heathen Princes, and what prerogatives the Spirit of God hath in the Old Testament warranted unto the Jewish Kings, and what the universal Law of Nature, hath established upon all the supreme Governours, do all of them appertain by unquestionable right unto his most sacred Majesty; and yet His Majesty, out of His incomparable goodnesse, insisteth not to challenge all these, but vouchsafeth to accept of those Rights and Prerogatives, which are undoubtedly afforded him by the Lawes of His own Lands: and these come farre short, scarce the moity of the other, because we know, if our Historians have not deceived me, how many of them were obtained, by little better then by force and violence, compelling Kings to consent unto them; whereas Lawes should be of a freer nature.

And therefore of all the Nations round about us, besides, that God hath intrusted Him with us all, we have most reason to intrust him, and to give credit unto his Majesties many Protestations (too high to be forgotten by him, or misdoubted by us) for his resolution, to maintain the Liberty of his Subjects, the just Priviledges of Parliament, and the true established Religion in the Kingdome of England: and likewise to rule over us according to our Lawes, in this Realm of Ireland. And we have least reason to rebel and take arms against him; and therefore let us not be perswaded by any means by any man to do it, because God will preserve his annointed, and will, as you see, plague the Rebels; but let us pray for our King, and praise God night and day, that he which might have given us a bramble, not only to tear our flesh, but also to set us all on fire, hath given us such a Cedar, such a gracious, and a pious King; and, if either forreign foes, or domestic Rebels, do preesse him so, that he hath need of us, let us adde our help, and hazard our lives to defend and protect him that protecteth us; and suffereth all for the protection of Gods service, as it was established in the purest time of Reformation, and for the preservation of our Lawes from any corrupt interpretation, or arbitrary invasion upon them, by those factious men, that under fair, yet false pretences, have, with wondrous subtlety, and with most subtle hypocrisie, seduced so many simple men, to partake with them, not only to overthrow the true Religion, to imbase the Church of Christ, that hitherto hath continued glorious in this Nation, and by trampling the most learned under feet, to reduce Popery into this Kingdom, and to bring in Atheism or Barbarism into our Pulpits, when they make their Coach-men, and Trades-men, like Jeroboam's Priests, the basest of the people, to become their Trencher-Chaplains, and the teachers of those poor sheep, for whom the Son of God hath shed his precious blood, but also to change the well-setled government, and to subvert the whole fabrick of this famous Common-wealth, either by their tyranny, or bringing all into an Anarchie; for if we have any regard of any of these things, either true Religion, or ancient Government, a gracious King, and a learned Clergy; a glorious Church, and a flourishing Kingdom; we ought not to spare our goods, or be niggards in our contributions to help his Majesty: yea, as Debora saith, To help the Lord against the mighty; Or, if we be cold and carelessse herein, penurious and tenacious of our worldly pelfe, preferring our gold before our God; or fearing graceless Rebels more then we love our gracious King: It may fall out, as Saint Augustine saith, Quod non capit Christus, rapit fiscus; or as it did with the Carthaginians, who because they would not assist Hanniball with some reasonable proportion of their estates, they lost all

The Grand Rebellion.

unto the Romans, and with the Constantiopolitans, that for denying a little to Palæologus, lost all unto the Turks; so we may be robbed and pillaged of all, because we would not part with some; and I had rather the King should have all I have, than that the Rebels should have any part thereof. Therefore I hope I shall persuade all good men to honour God with their riches, and to assist His Majesty to the uttermost of their powers, even to the hazard, and to the losse both of liberty and life. And doing this, our God which is the King of Kings, will bless us, and defend us from all evil, and make us Kings and Priests, to live with him for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord: To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, and glory, and dominion, from henceforth for evermore. Amen. Amen.

**[Heber 4.16, If I perish, I perish. Yet,
Eldras 4.41, The truth is great, and will prevail.]**

Jehovæ Liberatori.

The

TO THE
K I N G S
Most Excellent
M A J E S T Y.

Most Gracious Sovereign,



Hough the wisest man in all the Kingdom of Persia saith, Great is the truth and stronger then all things; Yet, the father of lies hath now plaid his part so well, that, as the Prophet saith, Truth is fallen in the Street, and Equity cannot enter in; And your Majesty, whom the God of Truth hath anointed his sole Vicegerent, to be the Supreme Protector of them both, in all your Dominions, hath accordingly lifted up your Standard against their Enemies; and I may truly say of you, as Menevenfis saith of that most Noble King Alfred.

Si modò victor erat, ad crastina bella parébat.
Si modò vicius erat, ad crastina bella parabat:

Neither do I believe, that *Lucan's* Verse can be applied to any man better than to your Majesty:

— Non te videre superbum
Prospera fatorum, nec fractum adversa videbunt.

K k 2

As

The Epistle Dedicatory.

As the height of your glory and prosperity never swelled your Pious heart, so your greatest crosses and adversities never dejected your Royal spirit; But as the Prophet saith of the Captain of the host of the Lord, so I say to you that are his Lieutenant, Ride on with your honor, or, ride prosperously, Because of the word of truth, of meekness, and righteousness, the people shall be subdued unto you; and because the King putteth his trust in the Lord, and in the mercy of the most Highest, he shall not miscarry; especially, while he fighteth, as he doth, the battail of the Lord, in defence of the Church of Christ, who hath promised to be his shield and buckler; which is the daily faithful prayer of

Your Majestie's most loyally

devoted Subject, and

most faithfully

obliged servant

Gryffith Offory.

The Epistle Dedicatory to the Duke of Bedford, by Gryffith Offory, 1610.

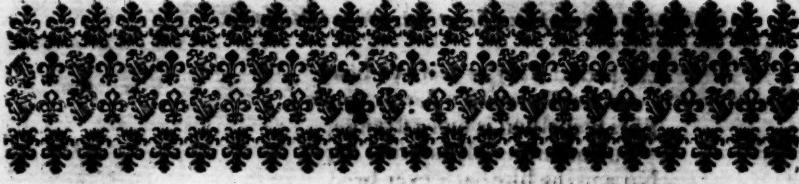
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Epistle Dedicatory to the Duke of Bedford, by Gryffith Offory, 1610.

WYATT

PROLOGUE

21



THE DISCOVERY OF MYSTERIES.

OR,

The Plots and practices of a prevailing

Faction in this present Parliament, to
overthrow both Church and State.

C H A P. I

Showeth the Introduction; the greatness of this Rebellion; the Original thereof; the secret plots of our Brownistical faction; and the two chifest things that they aynted at to effect their Plot.



Have long wandered in a region of Rebellion, among seduced Subjects; and disconsolate Poets; and now at last, after I had passed the raging Seas; and very hardly escaped the storms and dangers of the surging waves, I am arrived in my native Country: where I find my self incompassed with far greater storms and more violent winds then ever I thought could be on any Land; for though that Grand Rebellion which you may find lately described, was both magna & mira, very great and very grievous; such as I supposed could not be exceeded by any human malice; yet now (me thinks) I hear the Spirit saying unto me as he did unto Esaias, Son of man stand upon the hill from whence greater abominations; and a Rebellion far greater and more odious then either of Popish, Irish, or any other Sect or Nation of the World hath hitherto produced; and therefore I may now say with the Poet,

Kite flying against Barbara

The Parliaments Plots

Barbara Pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis.

Let proud Babylon cease to boast
Of her Pyramid's stately spires ;
This Rebellion is more strange,
Surmounting all infernal fires :
No age like hath ever bred,
Nor shall when these Rebels be dead.

The seed and
original of
this Rebel-
lion.

The seed of it was unseasonably sown in the Northern storm; and the Original of those Boreal blasts (either why or by whom those spirits were railed) is not so well known to me; therefore how justly the King did undertake the quarrel, I will not at this time determine; or with what equity the Scots made their approach into England, it is not my purpose to discuss: yet I must needs say, that our English Sectaries, and Amsterdam Recusants, which hated our Church and loved not our King, justum, quia iustum, only because he is so good, too good for them, did from hence arriperemus, take hold of this opportunity, by procuring those to proceed that were coming on, and discouraging the others of the Kings side, that were Cowardly enough (to say no worse) of themselves, to betray both King and Kingdom into the hands of the Invaders. So the good King was now with King David brought into a strait, either to take

counsel and follow the advice of those secret Sectaries, and the masked enemies both of the Church and State, that as yet insensible unto him, were such, in the bosome of his Courts, and most filily aynded at a further mischief then his Majesty could have imagined, as now it appear- eth by the consequences of this Parliament; or, else to hazard the dangers that his then open foes were like to bring upon his people: And I assure my self, eyes of flesh, that cannot pierce into the mysteries of the hearts and our secret thoughts, could see no further, nor make any better election then His Majesty did; that is, to call a Parliament, which the hearts of all the Kingdom called and cryed for; and which, in former times, by the wise institution and right prosecution thereof, was found to be the Pancreston, or, as the Weapon salve, an antidote to cure all the diseases, and to heal all the bleeding wounds of this Kingdom, (though of late we have sensibly felt the unhappy ending of some of them, which perhaps may be some accidental cause of some part of this unhap- piness:) here was His Majesties fair mind, and an act of special grace; for which all His Subjects ought most thankfull to shew themselves Loyal unto Him, when He preferred their safety before the prosecuting of his own resolutions.

But, *Decipiuntur specie recti*, we are many times deceived by the shadow of the truth, and betrayed under the vizard of virtue, for, as God produceth light out of darkness, and good out of evil, so wicked men, like the spiders, do suck poyon from those flowers, whence the Bees do extract honey; and these subtle-headed Foxes (whereof many of them had unduly got themselves elected into the House of Commons, and there fa- gionly combined themselves together to do their great exploit, to over- throw the Government both of Church and State, and minded to make the Parliament-House like Vulcan's Forge, where they intended to contrive their Iron-net, that should be able to hold fast all sorts of people, from him that sitteth upon the Throne, to him that wallowed in dust and ashes) turned the boses of our redresses to our extremam miseries, when, in stead of redifying our abuses, they intended principally to work our ruine in our just apprehension, though perhaps our happiness in their own mistaken conception.

And

And, as the Apostle saith, Known unto God are all his works from the beginning, and he hath eternally decreed, how, and by what means, to bring them all unto perfection; so the Devil, being God's Ape, and the wicked treading in his steps, do first mold their designs, and intentions in the Idea of their own brains, and conclude the works they would have done in their own conceits, and then they frame to themselves the means and wayes, whereby they are resolved to produce and perfect all those mis-shapen embryos that they conceived; and so these factious men, this brood of vipers, that would gnaw through the bowels of their mother, from the first convention of this Parliament had resolved upon their plot, and contrived among themselves, what great good work they would by such and such means bring to passe.

And that was (as I hope this subsequent discourse will make it plain to all, that will not be wilfully blind) the subversion of the ancient government of the fa-
borth of the Church and Kingdom; and to introduce a new Ecclesiastical Discipline, and to frame a new Common-wealth, much like, if not worse than that of our neighbours in the Low-Countries.

Gratum opus agricolum; a brave exploit; and a great work indeed, beyond the adventure of *Junius Brutus*, that expelled the Kings, but left the Priests alone; that purged the corruption of the Royal Government, but meddled not with the Religion of their Bishops and Prophets: and beyond the undertaking of *Martin Luther*, that pulled down the pride of the Pope, and all that Romish Hierarchy; but ventured not to trample upon the Scepter of Kings, and the Imperial Government, which he held Sacred, and inviolably to be obeyed; For, these men perceiving how God had so wisely ordered these Governments among his people, to assist each other, that the one can neither stand nor fall without the other, (as it is fully and truly shewed in the *Grand Rebellion*;) therefore as *Caligula* wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that so he might dispatch them all, and then, with one stroke, So these men would overthrow both Government, and destroy both King and Priest, both Church and State; at one time, with one blow, with one thunder-bolt: And so they should be famous indeed, though it were but like the faine of *Herodotus*, that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, or of *Rebilicus*, that killed the King of *France*; of *Nero*, that destroyed his mother; or *Oedipus* that murdered his own father; for a man may be as notoriously famous for transcendent villainies, and nefarious impieties, as another is for his rare vertues, and super-eminent deeds of piety: As in History *Herodes* is as well known for his base Cowardice as *Achilles* for his heroick Valour: And in the Scripture, *Judas* for his Treachery is as notoriously known, as *Saint Peter* for his Fidelity. Therefore these men go on with this great Design; and to effect the same, I find that they aimed at these two special things.

1. To take away all the lets and impediments that might hinder them.

2. To secure unto themselves all the helps and furtherances that might advantage them. For,

As a Vineyard that is well hedged, or a City strongly fenced with walls and bulwarks, cannot easily be laid waste and spoiled, before these defences be destroyed; so the wilde Boars cannot devour the grapes of God's Church, and swallow down the Revenues of her Gouvernours; and the Rebels cannot pull the Sward out of their Sovereigns hand, and lay his Crown down in the dust; so long as the means of their preservations are entire and not removed: Therefore these men endeavour to eradicate all the impediments of their Design. And they saw four great Blocks, that were as four mighty Mountains, which their great Faith (their publick faith being not yet conceived) must remove, before they could plant their new Church;

The Parliaments Plots

Four impedi-
ments of their
Design.

Church, and subvert the old Government of this Kingdom : and those were;

1. The Earl of Strafford's Head.

2. The free judgement of the Judges.

3. The power of dissolving the Parliament.

4. The Bishops votes in the House of the Lords.

For, as the heavenly Angels could do nothing against Sodom, while righteous Lot was in it; so these earthly angels, the messengers of Abaddon, can never effect their ends, to overthrow the Church and State, to make them as Sodom, full of all impurity and villany, until these four main stops be taken away: And therefore;

CHAP. III.

Sheweth the eager prosecution of our Sectaries, to take off the Earl of Strafford's head. How he answered for himself. The Bishops right of voting in his cause. His excellent virtues, and his death.

1. Impediment.

The Earl his
Charge.

They get Master Pym, the grand father of all the purer sort, and a fit instrument for this Design, in the name of the House of Commons, and thereby of all the Commonalty of England, to charge Thomas, Earl of Strafford, of High-Treason: A high charge indeed, and yet no less a crime could serve the turn, to turn him out of their way; because nothing else could subdue that spirit, by which he was so well able to discover the plots, and to frustrate the practices of all the faction of Sectaries; for as the Jews were no wayes sufficient to answer Saint Stephen's arguments, but only with stones; so these men saw themselves unable to confute his reasons, and to subdue his power, but only by putting him to death, and cutting off his head, for that fault which Pym alledged he had committed.

But then I demand, How this great charge of High Treason shall be made good against him?

It is answered, That England, Scotland, and Ireland, and every corner of these three Kingdoms must be searched, and all discontented persons that had at any time any Sentence, though never so justly pronounced against them, by him that was so great a Judge, yet conceited to be otherwise by themselves; must now be encouraged and countenanced by the faction, and most likely by this grand Accuser, to say all that they know, and perhaps more than was true, against him; for what will not envy and malice say? or what beast will not trample upon the Lion, when they see him grovelling and gasping for life in an inevitable pit, and it may be, compassed with so many mastiff dogs (I mean his enemies, and discontented witnesses) as were able to tear more than one Lion all to pieces? So by this means they are enabled to frame near thirty Articles against him, ut, cum non profit singulis, multa juvent, that the number might amaze the people, and think him a strange creature, that was so full of heinous offences, and so compassed with transgressions.

The Earl his
Answer.

But, Si satius accusare, quis innocens? If accusations were sufficient to create offenders, not a righteous man could escape on earth; therefore, the Law condemneth no man before he be heard, what he can answer for himself: And the Earl of Strafford coming to his Answer, made all things so clear, in the Judgement of the common-hearers, and answered to every Article so well, that his enemies being Judges, they much applauded his abilities, and admired

admired at his Dexterity, whereby he had so finely untied those Gordian knots, that were so foully contrived against him, and, as his friends conceived, had fairly escaped all those iron-nets, which his adversaries had so cunningly laid, and my popular country-man, with the rest of the more learned Lawyers, had so vehemently prosecuted to insnare him in the links and traps of guiltiness; and, in brief, the Lords, who as yet were unpoisoned by the leavened subtlety of this bitter Faction, could find not any one of all those Articles to be Treason, by any Law that was yet established in this Land, *sic te servavit Apollo*; So God delivered him, as he thought, and his friends hoped, out of all these troubles.

Yet, as a rivulet stopped, will at last prove the more violent, *viresque acquirit ibidem*, and recollect a greater strength in the same place; so rage and malice, hindered of their revengeful desires, will turn to be the more implacable; *Quia malitia eorum excexcavit eos*, Because the malice of men bewitcheth them, and hath no end, till it makes an end of its hated foe; therefore those men, that hated and maligned the Earl (like the Jews, that because their tongues could make no reply to the just defence of the holy Martyr, gnashed upon him with their teeth, and stopping their ears, ran upon him with one accord, all at once) because they had no Law, nor learning, to make those Articles Treason, they say with the Poet,

The nature of malice.

Act 7. 51.

Hac non succedit, alia aggrediemur viam;

Seeing we failed herein, we will attempt another way: And to that end, they frame a Bill of Attainder against him; and this, if it passe by the major part of both Houses, and have the Royal assent, will bring him to his just deserved death; And herein, I will not say, they shewed themselves worse than the Jews, because that, when their malice was at the biggest pitch against Christ, they said, *We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die*; and these haters of the Earl, seeing they had no Law, will have a Law, to be made, that shall bring him unto his death; because the House might have reasons, which my sense cannot conceive.

Yet some of his friends have said, that, after a former prosecution according to Law, to make a new Law, where there was none before, to take away a man's life, is almost as bad as the Romancy-Law, that I read of, to hang him first, and then judge him afterward, to which I assent not: and not many less than 60. worthy Members of the House of Commons would never yield to passe that Bill; and it had a greater rub among the Lords; where, it is thought not upon any slight conjectures, it had never passed, but that this rub must be taken away by a new device; for that the Faction judging some of them might be more timorous than malicious, and remembering, that *primus in ore deos fecit timor*, Fear is a powerful passion, that produceth many strange effects, the Apprentices and Porters, Water-men and Car-men, and all the rascal rout of the ragged Regiment were gathered together by some Cedorlamer, and came, as they did against Christ, with swords and staves, without order, with great impudency, to awe them, and to cry for Justice against him; and this was done, and done again, and again, until the busyness, that they came for, was done: A course, not prevented, that may undo all Justice, and bring us all to be undone.

And yet all this will not do this deed, until the King passeth His assent; for as yet the new Law of Orders and Ordinances without the King, was not hatched; And the good King, having so graciously, so indefatigably taken such care and such pains, in his own Person every day, to hear and search out the see all that could be laid unto his charge, and how he had answered each particular, was so just, and of such tender and religious conscience, that he was not satisfied (as men conceived) with the weight of those reasons that were

The Parliaments Plots

were produced, to passe the same. Therefore here I find another Stratagem used, such as Hannibal could not invent, to effect this hard task : What ? To perswade mildness to become severe, or to cause a just, and most clement Prince, so full of mercy, so prone to pardon where there is a fault, and so loth to punish, but where he must (by the Law of Justice), the greatest faule, to yield to put him to death, that was in many things so excellent in his life. The task was, to procure his assent to passe this Bill ; and how shall this be done ? As the *Man of God* could not be perswaded by any man, but by a *Man of God*, a Prophet by a Prophet ; so now the Bishops that were good men, men of conscience, and set apart by God to resolve and satisfie weak and tender consciences, are thought fit to be sent unto this good King, to perswade him, (as men supposed) that, to prevent a greater mischief, he might justly passe this Bill ; and either 6. or 4. of the prime Prelates, are requested by the Lords, to go unto the King, to assay how far they can prevail with him herein : And so they went ; and how they dealt with His Majesty, I do not fully understand, but am informed by some that went, that they assured Him, he ought to satisfie himself in point of Law by his Judges, and of State by his Council : And how they did any otherwise, in any other thing rectifie his Conscience, in point of Divinity, which belonged unto themselves, I cannot tell.

But, though I think no man can justly lay the least tittle of blame upon the just King, no, not the Earl himself, as himself professed, for yielding to such, and to earnest perswasions of I know not how many reverend Bishops, wise Counsellours, grave Judges, and the flower of all his people, to passe that Bill whatsoever it was :

5
The Bishops right to vote in any cause : Yet, to say what I conceive, with their favour, of my Brethren the Bishops, in the prosecution of this cause ; I am perswaded, that they had no reason to withdraw themselves from the Houle, and to desert their own Right, when the Bill, or the Judgement, was to passe against the Earl, upon this slight pretence, alledged against them, by the haters of the Earl, and no lovers of the Bishops, That a Clergy-man ought not to have any Vote, or to be present, at the banding of the cause of blood or death ; for they might know full well, when my Lords grace of York did most clearly manifest this truth : that the first inhibition of the Clergy, to be present and assistant in *causa sanguinis*, or *judicio mortis*, in the Canon of Innocent the third (as I remember, for I am driven to fly without my Books) was most unjust, only to tie the Bishops to his blind obedience, to the apparent prejudice of all Christian Princes, by denying this their service unto them ; and it is no wayes obligatory to bind us, that are, by the Laws of our Land, not only freed, but also injoyed to abandon all the unjust Canons, that are repugnanc to our Laws, and derogatory to our Kings, and to renounce all the usurped authority of the Pope : For, I would fain know, what Scripture, or what reason Pope Innocent can alleadge, to exclude them from doing that good service, both to God and their King, which in all reason they can, or should be better able to do, than most others. And I am sure, that neither in the old, nor in the new Testament, nor yet in the Primitive Church, until these subtle Popes began thus to incroach upon the Rights of Princes, to take away the Prerogatives of Kings, and to domineer over the consciences of men, this exclusion of them from the biggest act of Justice was never found ;

The Prophets and Apostles, the Priests and Prophets of the old Testament, and S. Peter also the Prince of the Apostles in the new Testament, judge in the case of blood, and pronounced the sentence of death against Malefactors ? As when *Ananias* and *Sapphira* were suddenly brought unto their end, by the judgement of the Apostle ; and if they be able and fit to judge of any thing, then why not of this ?

If you say, because they are the Advocates of *mercy*, the procurers of *pardon*, the Preachers of *repentance*, and men that are made to *save* life, and not to put any one to death, or to bring any man unto his end :

I answer, That they are therefore the *fittest* men to be the Judges both of life and death : For who can better and more *justly* judge me to death, than he that doth *most* love my life ? it is certain he will not condemn me without *just* cause ; even as God, that is *āmōn ḥ̄w̄m̄*, the Father of *mercy*, and even *mercy* it self, is the *fittest* and most righteous Judge that can be found both of death and damnation ; because his *mercy* and goodness towards his creatures will not permit his *severity* against sin, though never so *deterior* to his purity, to do the least *injustice* to their persons ; so our love of *mercy* and pity, will not suffer us to do any thing that shall transcend the Rules of *justice* and *equity* ; And as our inclination to *mercy* prohibits us to condemn the innocent, so our love to *justice*, and our charge to preserve it, will not permit us to justify the wicked ; for, the Scripture teacheth us, That *he which justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the innocent*, that calleth the *evil* good, and the *good* evil ; that spareth *Agag*, and killeth *Niboth* ; are both alike abominable unto the Lord.

Clergy, how fit
to be Judges.

And therefore notwithstanding this unjust *Canon*, I never find in any of our Histories, that the Bishops did ever withdraw themselves, and quit their *Votes* in this case, either before or after, save only from the 10th year of Richard the 2d, unto the 21st year of the reign of the same unfortunate King : which they did, not because they could not *justly* be present ; but because they had *just* reasons to be absent, as you may find it in the Annals of his time : Therefore I know not how to palliate their facility of yielding way to those *Non-Canonical* Lords, to produce those *non-ability* *Canons*, which they abhorred in all that made not for the furtherance of their design, to exclude them from doing this, which was one of their chiefest duties ; for who knoweth not the Lord *Say*, and Lord *Brook*, and others of the Lords, to hate *all* *Canons*, even the old *Canons* of the Apostles, as *inconsistent* with their new Rules of Independent Government ; and yet herein, to exclude the Bishops *Votes*, in the judgement of this man, and the passing of this Bill, which being admitted, might perhaps have turned the scales, they will take hold of the *unjustest Law*, and alledge one of the *worst* of *Canons*, a *Canon* against *reason*, and most repugnant to the *best* of God's Properties, which though they be all *equall* in themselves, *summe & perfectissime*, yet are they not so perceived by us ; but *his mercy is over all his works*.

Non-Canonical
call Lords.

But you will say, Was this man so *just*, that he was *unjustly* condemned to death ? Did all men so *untruly* complain against him ? And was he *good*, notwithstanding all the *evill* that was proved against him ?

I answer, That I dare not, and I do not say, that he was *unjustly* adjudged to death, or that the Bill it self was *unjust* ; But this I assure my self, that he was a *very wise* and understanding man, and indued with *most rare Heroick-vertues*, and most *excellent graces* ; as, among the rest, with those *The Earle's two incomparable endowments*, that cannot easily be found among many of *Vertues*, the *Nobles* of this *World*.

1. *Faithfulness* to his Prince, to whom (as I conceive) he shewed himself a *true servant*, and most *Trusty* in his greatest employments, save in what was (and I know not that) *justly* proved against him ; and, I believe, he would never have taken *Arms*, as some others of the Lords do now, against his Sovereign.

2. *Love unto the Churcb and Church-men* ; to whom, though others think it their glory to oppresse them, and a *virtue* to *condemn* them ; yet he was a *true Friend*, a *most Noble Benefactor*, and most *just*, unto his death, as

his very last speech unto his dearest Son, doth sufficiently testify unto all posterity; which speech was to this effect, (and I would to God it were indelibly imprinted in the memory of all our Nobility) That, as he regarded his father's blessing, or expected a blessing from God upon what his father left him, so he would be careful never to take away, or in any wise to diminish any part or parcell of the goods or Patrimony of the Church; which if he did, would prove a Canker, to waste and consume all that he had.

Yet, it may be, he was (which in truth I cannot imagin) as the Philosopher saith of *Marcus Antonius*, a man of that composition, that his vices did equalize, if not exceed his vertues, and his offences cloud all his graces, and obscure all his glory; And as the saving of one mans life, cannot save him from suffering, that doth unjustly put another man to death; so the rarest Vertues cannot justify the man that committeth so many horrible offences, as his accusers conceived this man did; to which it may be well replied, That a notorious Malefactor (though I apply not this to him) may be unjustly condemned: and so he may be justly condemned, and unjustly executed; as when he is not condemned for the fault committed, or condemned not according to the Law which condemneth that Fact; For though a Murderer desergeth death, yet any one may not presently be the death of that Murderer, nor the Judge condemn him for robbery: And though I should commit many offences worthy of death, yet if the Law doth not condemn me, I ought not to die for any of them. For, as the Apostle saith, *Where there is no Law, there is no sin, because sin is the transgression of the Law:* Therefore the Earl of Strafford might be an evill man, and do many things that in the sight of God and good men, were worthy of death; Yet, if our Law made not those crimes Capital, or if the Law made them Capital, and not Treason, we ought not for Treason to adjudge him unto death: So in sum the result is this, That he might justly deserve death, and yet be very unjustly condemned to death.

How a Malefactor may be unjustly condemned.

And it seemed to some of his friends, that so he was; especially because they had no plain unquestionable Law, but were fain, in some kind, to make a Law, to take off his head; and when his head was off, this new manner of proceeding should end, and be no Law for any other that came after: And a Declaration must be made, That the course prosecuted for his punishment, shall not afterward, be drawn into an Example; it must be produced for no Pattern, but for him alone and none other; lest perhaps, if the same course should be still practised, the contrivers of this Plot, might have the like payment to fall ere long upon their own heads. Therefore, some say, this may well draw a suspicion upon the justice of the Sentence, though I will not censure any man for any injustice therein.

Complaint to the House of Commons. p. 6.

The Earle's words at his death.

But, as the Earl said at his death; which he undertook like a good Christian, full of Charity, and no less Piety, it was an ill Omen to this Nation, that they should write the Frontispiece of this Parliament, with letters of Blood; which, if unjustly done, or unduly prosecuted, I fear may, with Abels blood, cry for vengeance in the ears of God, against the Contrivers of this mischief, to produce our miseries: And the God of Heaven doth only know, how much of the blood of this Kingdom must be squeezed out, to expiate all the mis-proceedings, and the fearfull projects of our people. God Almighty turn his anger from us, and let not the righteous perish with the wicked, not the sins of some few be laid upon us all.

This was the first impediment that was to be removed, before they could proceed any further in this Tragedy, and thus it was most artificially acted. And I say, He was a great, and a very great, impediment of their design,

design, which made me the *larger* in the prosecution thereof; because he was a person of that great ability, and so great fidelity both to the Church and State; and the taking off of his head, made a very wide gap for our enemies to enter into the Vineyard of Christ, and a large breach into the City of God, to deface the Church, and to destroy this Kingdom.

C H A P. III.

Sheweth, how they stopped the free judgment of the Judges; procured the perpetuity of the Parliament; the consequences thereof, and the subtle device of Semiramis.

2. **T**He next Let that might hinder their design, was, the great learning, The second long experience, and free judgment of the grave Judges, to declare what is Truth, and what is Law in every point; for these men being skilful in the Laws and Statutes of our Land, knew how contrary to the same, and sign. how repugnant to the fundamental Constitutions of our Government, the erecting of a new Church, and the framing of a new Common-Wealth would be; and their judgment, being to be inquired in any emergent Doubt, might prove very prejudicial unto their plots, and a hinderance of their Design, except it were diverted by some course.

Therefore to stop this stream, to put a gag in their mouths, to imprison all truths that might make against them, and to make these Judges yield to whatsoever they do, or at least not to contradict any thing they say, they get many of them to be accused of High-Treason; and they do but accuse them, and not proceed to any trial against them, which was a pretty plot of their policy; because that hereby they kept them, and the rest of their fellow-Judges (that had any finger in the mis-sentencing of the Ship-money, and were therefore in the same predicament, and to be under the same Censure) under the lash, and to be still silent, for very fear of their proceeding against them: for they saw by many presidents, that those men which favoured their design, or contradicted not their wiles, were winked at by this Faction, though they were the greatest Delinquents; and therefore redimere se captos, to free themselves out of the hands of these men, they might conceive it their safest course to gain-say none of their conclusions; which was a Plot of no small value to further their design, by this removal of this second impediment.

3. The third Let that stood in their way to make stop of their impious design, was the Royal power to dissolve the present Parliament, as formerly to dissolve any other, which they knew to be an inseparable flower of the Crown; *Timor undique nostris*, this brought them in fear on every side, lest, if they were too soon discovered, they might suddenly be prevented, and their plot might prove abortive, *Like the untimely fruit of a woman, that perisheth before it seeth the Sun;* or as the apples of Sodome, vanishing when they are touched, into Nothing; or, at the best, but to stinking blasts: Therefore to escape this rock, they sail about, and like cunning Water-men, they look towards you when they row from you; their eyes and mouths are one way, when their hearts and minds are another way; for they tell the King, that the discontinuance of Parliaments hath produced abundance of distempers in this State, and a world of grievances both in the Church and Common-wealth: besides they say, what the King and every man else saw to be true, That the Scots were entred into

The fair pretences for the continuance of the Parliament.

our Land, and settled in the bosom of this Kingdom; and though perhaps if some things had been better looked into, we might at first most easily have kept them out; yet now, *durius ejicitur, quād non admittitur hostis*, it was too late to shut the door, and it is not so easy to expel and drive them out, except we made them a bribe of gold to pass over the river, and so to go homewards again.

And this cannot be done without a great deal of money; which moneys though the Parliament should grant them, (as we are most willing to do, to free your Majesty from these guests, and to prevent the dangers of an intestine war); yet they cannot suddenly be levied and collected, as the times and occasions now required; therefore it must be borrowed to supply our present necessities; and lenders we shall find none, except we can shew them a way how they shall be repaid again; and the experience we have lately had in these latter years, of so many Parliaments so unhappily and suddenly dissolved, puts us out of all hope to find any way to secure their debts, except your Majesty will pass an Act, (for as yet they durst not say they needed not His assent to what they did) that this Parliament shall not be dissolved, until it be agreed upon by the consent of both houses.

How the King was seduced by their pretences.

This and the like were their fair pretences, like the *Syrens voyces*, very sweet, and very good; and the good King that ever spake as he thought, could not think that His great Council, whom He trusted with all the Affairs of His Kingdom, meant any otherwise then they said, or looked any further then they shewed Him; He never dream'd that they intended to have an everlasting Parliament, and so perfidiously to over-reach both the King and the Kingdom.

But though our *gracious King* (being not so much versed with the dissembling subtily and serpentine windings of wicked hypocrites, that are to be removed from the King, and expelled out of his House) supposed all them to mean sincerely, and to deal fairly as they seemed to do; yet I do admire that the *wisdom* of the Kings Counsel, (but that they, which, as the Apostle saith, *are not ignorant of the devices of Satan*, are not permitted by these men to be of His Council) could not espy what mischief might lurk under this fair shade, or what might be the *Consequences* of such a Parliament, that is inconsistent with a Monarchy, and therefore must in a convenient time be ended, or else will make an end of all Monarchical Government; Why then might not a year or two, or three, (or more, so the years were limited) suffice to determine all businesses, but that the life of this Parliament should be endless, and the continuance thereof undetermined? This is beyond the age of the Counsel of Trent, that they say lasted above forty years; for I presume, if some of the contrivers of this Design might have their desires, the youngest of us should hardly see the *Dissolution* of this Parliament, *Til the earthly Houses of our Tabernacles be dissolved*; for it is likely they could be well contented, as one saith, to make an *Ordinance* that both Houses should be a Corporation, to take our Lands and Goods to themselves and their successors, and when any of that Corporation dieth, toties quoties, the survivor and none else should choose a successor to perpetuity; so they should be *Masters* of our Estates and disposers of all we have (as they are now) for ever.

What the faction could be contented with.
Complaint p. 19.

The plot of *Seniramis*.

And therefore, this was a Plot beyond the Powder-plot, and beyond the device of *Seniramis*, that with a *lovely face*, desired her husband, she might rule but three daies, to see how well she could *mange* the State, and obtaining her request, in the first thereof, she removed all the Kings Officers, in the second she placed her own minions in all the places of Power and Authority, (as now the faction would do, such as they confide in,

in, in all places of strength) and in the third day she cut off the King's head, and assumed the Government of all the King's Dominions into her own hands; for not three daies, nor three years will serve their turn, for fear they shall not have ability in so short a space, to finith all their strange intended projects; and therefore, that they might not be hindered, their request is *unlimited*, that the Parliament should not be dissolved, till both Houses gave consent, which they were contented should be ad Grecas Calendas.

Yet God that knew best, what punishments were due to be inflicted for their former Actions, and for all the subtle Devices of their hard hearts, gave way for this also, that this third Impediment of their projects might be removed; that so at last, their sins, like the sins of the Amorites by little and little growing unto the full, might undergo the fulness of Gods vengeance, which as yet, I fear, was not fully come to pass; for till the Parliament was made perpetual, the things that they have done since, were absolutely *unimaginable*; because that while it was a *dissoluble* body, they durst not so palpably invade the known rights, either of King or Subjects; whereas now, their Body being made *indissoluble*, they need not have the same apprehension of either, having strengthened themselves by a Bill against the one, and by an Army against the other; and therefore all the dissolutions of Parliaments from the beginning of them to this time, have not done half that mischief, as the continuance of this one hath done hitherto: and God only knowes what is to succeed hereafter.

How the faction hath strengthened it self.

But seeing themselves have publickly acknowledged in their Declarations, that they were too blame, if they undertook *any* thing now, which they would not undertake, if it were in His Majesties power to dissolve them the next day, and they have since used this means, which was given them to disburthen the Common-Wealth, of that debt, which was thought *insupportable*, to plunge it *irrevocably* into a far greater debt, to the ruine of the whole Kingdom, to change the whole frame of our Government, and subjecting us to so *unlimited* an arbitrary power, that no man knows at the sitting of the House, what he shall be worth at the rising, or whether he shall have his liberty the next day, or imprisonment. Many wise men do say, they see no Reason that this trust being forfeited, and the faith repented in them betrayed; the King may not immediately re-assume that power of dissolving them, into his own hands again, and both our unjustly abused King, and our much injured people, declare this Act to be void, when as contrary to their own Faith and the trust of the King, they abuse it to overthrow the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; though I could bearably wish, that because it still carrieth the Countenance of a Law, the faction would be so *wise* to yield it to be presently dissolved by a Law.

What many wise men do say.

C H A P. IV.

sheweth the abilities of the Bishops; the threefold practice of the Faction to exclude them out of the House of Peers; and all the Clergy out of all Civil Judicature.

The fourth im-
pediment of
their design.

4. There was one stop more that might hinder, or at least *hardly* suffer their plots to succeed according to their hearts desire; and that is, the *Bishops Votes* in the *Upper House*, nay they cannot endure to call it so, but, in the *House of the Lords*; for they *rightly* considered therein these two special things.

{ 1. Their Number, } { Which are two main things to stop
{ 2. Their Abilities. } { and hinder many evils: For,
1. They had *Twenty six Voyces*, which was a very considerable number, and might stop a great gap, and stay the stream, or at least moderate the violence of any unjust prosecution.

The abilities
of the Bishops.

Pardon me
good Lords
for so plainly
speaking truth.

A threefold
practice a-
gainst the
Bishps.

2. They were men of *great Learning*, men of *Profound knowledge* both in *Divine and Humane Affairs*, and men *well educated*, *a cunabulis*, that spent all their time in *Books*, and were *Conversant* with the *dead*, that *feared* not to speak the *truth*, and have *wearied* themselves in reading *Histories*, comparing *Laws*, and considering the *Affairs* of all *Common wealths*; and so were *able*, if their *modesty* did not *force* them, to discourse *de quolibet ente*, to untie every *knot*, and to explain every *riddle*; and being the *immediate servants* of the living *God*, set apart as the *Apostle speaketh*, to offer *Sacrifice* and to administer the *Sacraments* of *God*, to *prepare* a people for the *Kingdom of Heaven*, it ought not, and it cannot be otherwise *imagined*, by any child of the *Church*, that is a true believer, but that they are men of *Conscience*, to speak the *truth* and to do *justice* in any cause, and betwixt any parties more than most others, especially those young *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, whose years do want *experience*, and the course of their lives, some in *Hawking and Hunting*, and others in *Dicing and Bowling*, and visiting *Black-Friars Play-houſe*, or perhaps in *worſer exercises*, doth sufficiently shew how *weak* their judgment must needs be in *great Affairs*, and how *imperfect* their *conscience* is as yet in *holy things*, I hope not to be preferred before these grave and Reverend men.

And therefore, lest these *grave men* should prove *great hindrances* of their *wijust* proceedings, before any of their *worst intentions* be *well perceived*; there must be an exclusion of them from *Parliament*, and from those *Lords*, whose consciences and knowledge they may then the better *captivate*, and bring them the sooner to *side* with them, for to effect their *great Design*. And it is a *world* of wonders to see, with what *subtlety* and *industry*, with what *Policy* and *Villany*, this one work must be effected. It would fill a volume to collect the *particulars* of their *Devices*; I will reduce them to these three heads.

1. They used all means to render them *odious* in the eyes of all people.
2. They brought the *baseſt* and the *reſſue* of all men, *water-men*, *por-ters*, and the *worſt* of all the apprentices, with threats and menaces, to thunder forth the *death* and *deſtruction* of these men.

3. Upon a pretended treason they caused twelve of them, besides the *Arch-Bishop* that was in the *Tower* before, to be clapt up at *once* into *prison*; where they kept them in that *ſtrong house*, until they got it *Enacted* that

that they should be excluded from the Upper-House, and both they and their Clergy should be debarred from the Administration of any secular act of Justice in the Common-Wealth.

1. They endeavoured to make them odious unto the people two waies.

1. In making that Order (or giving that notice unto the people) that any man might exhibit his complaint against *Scandalous Ministers*, and he should be heard; which invitation of all discontented sheep to throw dirt in their Pastor's faces, was too palpably malicious; for our Saviour told us, *We should be sent as sheep into the midst of Wolves*, but here is a sending for the Wolves to destroy the Shepheards; and it came to pass hereby, that no less than 900 complaints and petitions were brought in a very short space, (as I was informed by some of their own House, that feelingly disliked these undue proceedings) against many Learned and most faithful Servants of Jesus Christ, that were therefore hated, because they were not wicked; and persecuted because they were conformable to the Laws of the King and the Church. And the rest of our calling that were factious and Seditious, were both countenanced and applauded in all their Seditious courses, and the more they railed against our Church-Government, the more they were favoured by these enemies of the Church-Governours. As to instance in both particulars (as you may find in the Author of the *Sober Sadness*, p. 33.) Master Squire, Master Stone, and Master Swadlin, whom they have imprisoned, and scarce allowed them straw to lye on. Master Reading, Master Griffib, Master Ingoldsby, Master Wilcocks, and many others, having done nothing worthy of death or of bonds, are inserted into the black bill of *Scandalous* and superstitious Ministers, only for Preaching Obedience to Sovereign-Authority, and other points consonant to the Holy Scriptures; and those that are scandalous indeed, as Doctor Burgess the ring-leader of all Sedition, Doctor Downing that is reputed as variable as was Doctor Pern, Master Calamy that is little better, Master Harding a most vicious man, Master Bridge a Socinian, and Master Marshall, not free from the suspicion of some unjust persuasions of the weaker Sex, and many more such factious men are not only dispensed with, for all faults, but also rewarded and advanced for their infidelity to God, and disloyalty to His Vice-gerent: This the Author of the *Sober Sadness* affirmeth of them.

2. By framing Petitions themselves (as it is conceived) in the name of thousands of people, from Cities and Countries, that either never saw or never knew what was in them, against Episcopacy and Episcopal men; and then exhibiting the said petitions unto themselves, and the rest of their seduced brethren, to instigate others of their own faction, that affected not Episcopacy, and those offenders that by their Ecclesiastical censure were justly punished, and yet thereby unjustly provoked to hate them, to frame the like petitions against this Apostolical function, and to make the World believe how odious these Reverend men were in the judgment of so many millions of men, which were indeed most ignorant and simple, and which God knows, and themselves afterwards confessed, knew not what they did, nor to what end their hands were purloyned from them; under fair pretences, that were alleged for the Reformation of some abuses, but were subscribed to most *scandalous* Petitions, which the poor men utterly renounced, when they understood how unchristianly they were seduced: So strange were their plots to make the Bishops odious.

And yet you must not think, that these courses are more strange than true; for our Saviour tells his Apostles, that were men beyond exceptions;

1. To make them odious
two waies.

1. Way.

The Ministers
why persecu-
ted.

Petitions a-
gainst Episco-
pacy, how un-
justly pre-
dicted.

tions, full of inspirations, and abundantly indued with the gifts of sanctification, They should be hated of all men for his names sake; and, if you look into the sufferings of Saint Paul, and the most horrible imputations that were so scandalously raised against the Holy Fathers, you need not admire so much to see these men suffering such things at the hands of sinners, to be made the scorn of men, and as the off-scouring of the people, as they were not long since, when the Bishops and the most learned Preachers might pass with more honour, and less contempt, at Constantinople among the Turks, or in Jerusalem among the Jews, than in the City of London among this brood of *Ausbaptists*.

2. How the
scum of the
people threat-
ten them.

2. After they had thus brought them upon the Stage, and used them thus strangely without cause, they get *Ven* and *Manwaring*, and others of the same Sect, to gather together the scum of all the Prophanest rout, the vilest of all men, and the out-cast of the people, such, as Job saith, are not worthy to eat with the dogs of the flock: and as they came before for the Earl of Strafford's head, so now again, they must come in great numbers, without order, without honesty, against all Law, and beyond all Religion, with swords and staves, and other unfashionable though not inconsiderable weapons, to cry, *No Papists, no Bishops*, and if they had added, *No God, no Devil, no Heaven, no Hell*, then surely these men had obtained (if the Parliament could have granted their requests) the summe of their desires; and they would have thought themselves better than either King or Bishop: but as yet they go no farther, than, *No Papist, no Bishop*; and by this they put the good Bishops in great fear, and well they might be possest of that fear, *qui cadit in fortem & constantem virum*: for mine eyes did see them, and mine ears did hear it said, *What Bishop soever they met, they would be his death*, and I thanked God they knew not me to be a Bishop. Then they set upon Saint Peters Church of Westminster, burst part of the door to pieces, and had they not been most manfully withstood by the Arch-Bishop of York his Gentlemen, and the Prebends Servants, together with the Officers of the Church, they had entred, and likely ransacked, spoyled, and defaced all the Monuments of the Ancient Kings, broken down the Organs, and committed such Sacrilege and prophanation of that Holy place, as their fellow Rebels have done since in Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, and other places, whereof I shall speak hereafter; the like was never seen among the Turks and Pagans; and after these things, what rage, cruelty, and barbarity they would have shewed to the Dean and Prebends, we might well fear, but not easily judge; I am sure, the Dean was forced to hire Armed Souldiers to preserve the Church for many daies after; for, seeing these riotous Tumults could not as yet obtain their ends, they came, nay, they were brought again and again, and they justled and offered some violence unto the Arch-Bishop's Grace, as he went with the Earl of Dover into the Parliament House: which made him and the rest of his brethren justly to fear what might be the issue of these sad beginnings, which they conceived must needs be very lamentable, if timely remedy were not applied, to prevent these untimely frights and unchristian tumults.

Their furious
assault upon
Saint Peters
Church in
Westminster.

Therefore when no Complaints either to the House of Lords or Commons could produce any safe effects, but rather a frivilous excuse than a serious redress, that they came to petition against the Government, and not to seek the destruction of the Governours, the Bishops were inforced (and, in my judgment, flesh and blood could take no better course in such a case, in such distress, and I believe it will be found wisdom hereafter) to make their Petition for their security, and Protestation against all Acts as null, (they might have added, to them and whom they represented) that should be enacted in their unwilling absence, while they were

were so violently hindered from the House; and, it may be, some word might pass in this Protestation, that might be bettered, or explained by another word; yet, on such a sudden, in such a fright, when they scarce had time to take Counsel of their pillows, or to advise with their second thoughts (*qua semper sunt saniores*), *To watch for iniquity, to turn aside the just for a thing of nought, to take advantage of a word, or to catch men for one syllable, to charge them with High Treason to bring them unto death;* so many Reverend Bishops to such a shameful end, was more heavy than ever I find the Jews were to the old Prophets, or the Pagan Tyrants unto the Primitive Fathers; nor do I believe you can Parallel the same charge in any History: yet

3. For this one necessitated Act of the Bishops, the House of Commons do suddenly upon the first sight thereof, charge twelv of them with *High Treason*; they were not so long in *Condemning* it; as the Bishops in *Composing* it; and accordingly the Lords commit them unto Prison. And if this was *Treason*, I demand, why could they not prove it so to be? Or if it was not, why should such an House, *Flos & Medulla regni*, the greatest and the *Highest* Court of Justice, from which (the King consenting with them) there lieth none appeal, but only to the Court of Heaven, accuse them of *High Treason*? I would not have that Court to charge a man with any thing that were not most true, for certainly, whosoever *unjustly* compasseth my death is *justly* guilty of death himself, when as the Poet saith,

Quam nec artifices arte perire suā.

It may be they would have us to believe this *Treason* was not proved, nor the charge so fully followed as they intended, out of some mercy to save their lives; but I could sooner believe, they rejoiced to see them fear, and were glad of their mistake, that they might charge them, and by such a charge cast them into prison, that so they might the more easily work their Design, to cast them out of the Parliament, which now they have soon effected, and procured an *Act* for their exclusion.

And you must know, that to cast out from doing good, or serving God, is a work of the Devil, and not of God; so the wicked Husbandmen did cast out the right Heir of the Vine-yard, out of his own inheritance; so the Jews did cast out the blind man, and all that professed Christ out of their Synagogue. But you may better judge of this good *Act*, by these consequences which are like to be the fruits thereof.

1. Hereby they are all made incapable to do any good, either for Gods t. Made incapable of doing any good.
honour, or their neighbours benefit, by executing justice, or pronouncing judgment, in any cause in any temporal Court: and justice which long ago hath fled to Heaven, and wanders as a stranger here on earth, must be countenanced and entertained only by the sons of men, by secular Lords and Gentlemen: and the Spiritual Lords the Servants of God, and messengers of Heaven must have nothing to do with her; not because they are not as well able as any other to do justice, but, because the others cannot endure to let them see it, for fear they should hinder their *injustice*, and therefore justice and judgment are like to speed well on earth, when their chieftest friends are banished from them, and it may be worldlings, oppressours, or most ignorant youths, rather than any just understanders of their natures, must be their Judges.

2. Hereby they are made unable to defend themselves or their calling from any wrong; their respect was little enough before, and their indignities were great enough; and yet now we are exposed to far greater miseries, and to unresistable injuries, when a Bishop hath no so much Authority as a Constable, to withstand his greatest affronts.

3. How they were committed to Prison.

But *bad Iacobus est*, this is that which the Devil and his great *Atreides's*, his prime Champions to enlarge his Kingdom would fain have, our Souls to remain among Lions, and all the means or defence to be taken from us, our enemies to be our Judges, and our selves to be murdered with our own weapons. In the time of *Pope* there were many Laws *de immunitate Clericorum*, whereby we were so protected, that the greatest Prince could not oppres us, as you may find in the Reign of King John, and almost in all our Histories: and when we renounced the Pope, God made Kings our nursing Fathers, and Queens our nursing Mothers, and we, putting our selves under their protection, have been hitherto most graciously protected: but now by this Act we are left naked of all defence, and set under the very sword of our Adversaries, and as the Psalmist saith, *They that hated us are made Lords over us*, to call us, to assas us, to undous.

3. Debarred of
that right
that none else
are.

4. Made more
contemptible
than all o-
thers.

*Ut refert in
traffatu suo de
Episcopatu. P.
6162.*
M. Toyer.
Sir Henry Spelman. p.118.
Idem. p.403.
Idem. p.519.

How former
times respected
the Clergy.

3. Hereby they are made more slavish than the meanest Subject, and deprived of that benefit and priviledge which the poorest Shoemaker, Tailor, or any other Tradesman or yeoman, hath most justly left unto him: for, to be excluded, debarred, and altogether made incapable of any benefit is such an insupportable burden, that it is set upon no mans shoulders but upon the Clergy alone, as if they alone were either unworthy to receive, or unable to do, any good.

4. Hereby they are made the unparalleled spectacle of all neglect and scorn to all forraign people; for I can hardly believe the like Precedent can be shewed in any Age, or any other Nation of the World, no not among the very Infidels or Indians; for, in former times, the Bishops and Clergy-men were thought the fittest instruments to be employed in the best places of greatest trust, and highest importance in the Common-Wealth: and Kings made them their Embassadors, as the Emperour *Valentinian* did *Saint Ambrose*. *Ambrosius* own Chronikles relate how former times respected the Clergy; and how our Kings made them both their Counsellors, and their Translators, Chancellours, Keepers of the Great Seal, and the like Officers of the chiefeſt conſeſſment, as *Ethelbert* in the year of Christ 605, saith, *I Ethelbert, King of Kent, with the consent of the Reverend Arch-Bishop Augustine, and of my Princess, do give and grant, &c.* And the said *Ethelbert* with the Queen and his Son *Edbald*, and the most Reverend Prelate *Augustine*, and with the rest of the Nobility of the Land solemnly kept his Christmas at *Canturbury*, and there assembled a Common Council, *tam cleri quam populi*; as well of the Clergy as of the People; And King *Adelstan* saith, *I Adelstan the King do signify unto all the Officers in my Kingdom, that by the advice of *Wolfram* my Arch-Bishop, and of all my Bishops, &c. In the great Council of King *Ina*, An. 712. The Edicts were Enacted by the Common Council and consent, omnium Episcoporum, & Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium sapientum seniorum, & populorum totius regni; & per preceptum regis Ine.* And in the second Charter of King Edward the Confessour, granted to the Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster*; it is said to be, *Cum concilio & decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, aliorumque snorum Optimatum, With the Council and Decree of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Earls, and other Potentates.* And so not only the Saxon Kings, but the Norman also, ever since the Conquest, had the Bishops in the like or greater esteem, that they never held Parliament or Council without them. And surely these Princes were no Babes that made this choice of them, neither was the Common-Wealth neglected, nor justice prejudiced by these Governours. And whoſoever shall read *Mores gentium*, or the pilgrimage of Master *Purchas*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the rest of the Greek and Latin Histories, I dare assure him, he shall find greater honour given, and far less contempt cast upon

upon the Priests and Flamins, the Prophets of the *Sibils*, than we find of this *Faction* left to the Servants of the Living God ; who are now dealt with all worse, than Pharaoh dealt with the *Israelites*, that took away their straw, and yet required their full tale of Bricks; For these men would rob us of all our means, and take away all our Lands, and all our Rights, and yet require not only the full tale of Sermons and Services, as was used by our Predecessours, but to double our fees, to multiply our pains, and to treble the Sermons and Services, that they used to have of our forefathers, more than ever was done in any Age since the first Plantation of the *Gospel*; How the Clergy are not used.

And when we have done, with *John Baptist*, the utmost of our endeavours, like a shining and a burning lamp, that doth waste and consume it self to nothing, while it giveth light to others ; they only deal with us, as Carriers use to do with their pack-horses, hang bells at their ears to make a meddious noise, but with little provender lay heavy loads upon their backs ; and when they can bear no more burdens, take away their Bells, withdraw their masters, call them *Jades*, exclaim against their laziness, and then, at last, turn them out to feed upon the Commons, and to die in a ditch ; And thus we have now made the Ministers of Christ to be the Emblems of all misery, and in pretending to make them more glorious in the sight of God, we have made them most base in the eyes of all men.

And sherefore the consequence of this Act, is like to prove most lamentable, when the people, considering how that hereby, we are left naked of all comfort, and subject to all kind of scorn and distresses, and how that this being effected, is but the Preludium of a far greater mischief, they will rather with no great cost, make their children of some good Trade, and their children will chuse so to be, than with such great cost, and more care, and yet less hope, to bring them up to worse condition than the *meanest* of all Trades, or the lowest degree of all rusticks ; When as they can challenge, and it shall not be denied them, to have the priuiledges of the Law, and property in their goods, which without their own consent, yielded in their prisons or their representours, cannot be taken from them : And the Clergy, The Clergy alone are deprived of Magna Charta. only, of all the people in this Kingdom, shall be deprived of the right and benefit of our great Charter, which so many famous Kings and pious Princes have confirmed unto us ; and when we have laboured all the dayes of our lives, with great pains, and more diligence, to instruct our people, and to attain to some competency of means to maincain our selves, and our families, we shall be in the power of these men, at their pleasure, under the presence of Religion, contrary to all justice, to be deprived of any part of our freehold, when we shall have not one man of our own Calling to speak a word in our behalf, on no Seat of Justice throughout the whole Kingdom.

*O terque quaterque beati, Quis ante ora patrum contigit opperere? O most miserable, and lamentable condition of Gods Ministers ! I must needs speak it, though I should die for it ; and if some did not speak it, I think the *Angels* would cry against it, and proclaim it, Better for the Clergy, were their *bodies* only in this world, never to have been born, or at least never to have seen a Book, then to fall into the hands, and to be put under the censure of these men that do thus love Christ, by hating his Ministers, who as I said before, by this one Act are made liable to undergo all kind of evils, which shall not only fall upon the present Clergy, (for were it so, our patience should teach us to be silent) but also to the increase of all prejudices to the *Gospel*, more than my fore-sight can expresse, in all succeeding Ages.*

And therefore I may well say with Jeremy, Shall not my soul be avenged Jer. 5.9,29. on such a nation as this ? And we need not wonder, that such plagues, calamities, and distresses, have so much increased in this Kingdom ever since

the passing of this Act, and yet the anger of the Lord is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still ; and I fear, his wrath will not be appeased, till we have blotted this, and wiped away all other our great sins and transgressions, with the truest tears of unfeigned repentance.

These are like to be the consequences of this Act : And yet our good King, who we know loved our Nation, and built us a Synagogue, and was (as I assure my self) most unwilling to passe it, was notwithstanding overperswaded (considering where thirteen of the Bishops were, even in prison, and in what condition all the rest of them stood, in question whether all they should stand, or be cut down root and branch) to yield His assent unto the Act ; though, if the case in truth were rightly weighed, not much less prejudicial to his Majesty, than injurious to us, to be thus deprived of our right, and exposed to all miseries, by excluding us from all Civil Judicature. And I would to God the King and all the Kingdom did continually consider, how his Majesty was used ever since the confirmation of this Act ; for they no sooner had excluded the Bishops and Clergy out of their right, but presently they proceeded, and prosecuted the Design ever since, to thrust out the King from all those just Rights and Prerogatives, which God and Nature, and the Laws of our Land, have put into his hands, for the Government of this Kingdom : neither was it likely to succeed any otherwise, as I have fully shewed ; and I would all Kings would read it, in the Grand Rebellion.

How the King
hath been uled
ever, since this
Act passed.

That the Act
should be an-
nulled.

1. Reason:

But I see no reason why it may not, and why it should not, be retralled and annulled, when the Houses shall be purged of that Anabaptistical, and Rebellious Faction, that contrived and procured the same to Passe ; for these three special Reasons :

1. Because, that contrary to all former Precedents, that Bill for their exclusion, was (as it is reported) at the first refused, and after a full hearing among the Lords, it was by most Votes, by more than a dozen voices, rejected : And yet, to shew unto the World, that the Faction's malice against the Bishops had no end, and their rage was still implacable ; at the same Session, and which is very considerable, immediately ssoon as ever they understood it was rejected, the House of Commons revived it, and so pressed it unto the Lords, that (if I may have leave to speak the truth) contrary to all right, * it must be again received ; and while the Bishops were in prison, it was, with what honour I know not, strangely confirmed.

2. Because this Bill had the Royal assent, after that a most riotous tumult, and many thousands of men, with all sorts of Warlike weapons, both on land and water, most disloyally had driven His Majesty to flee from London, that most Rebellious City, not without fear, for his own safety, even for the safety of his life, as himself professeth. And when they had so cunningly contrived their Plot, as to get some of the Kings servants and friends, that were about him, and employed in the Queens affairs, to perswade Her Majesty to use all her power with the King, for the passing of this Bill, or else Her journey should be stayed, as formerly they had altered Her resolution for the Spaw ; and at Rochester she should understand the sense of the House to stop Her passage unto Holland, whereas the passing of this Bill, might make way for Her passage over : And many other such frights and fears, they put both upon the King and Queen, to inforce Him, full sore against his will, as we believe, to passe this harsh Bill, for the exclusion of the spiritual Lords out of the House of Peers, and of all the Clergy, from all Secular Judicature.

But Master Pym will tell us, as he did, that it was the opinion of both Houses, There was no occasion given by any tumults, that might justly cause His Majesties departure.

To

* For I conceive this to be an approved Maxim, That no Right, nor proved forfeited by some offence, can be taken away without wrong:

2. Reason.
In his Majes-
ties answer to
the Petition of
the Lords and
Commons. 16. of July. p. 8.

Ald. Gar. speech
at Guild-ball.

To whom I answer, with the words of Alderman Garraway, If the Houses had declared, that it had been lawful to beat the King out of Town, I must have sat still with wonder (though I should never believe it): but when they declare matters of Fact, which is equally within our own knowledge, and wherein we cannot be deceived, as in the things we have seen with our eyes; if they dissent from truth, they must give me leave to differ from them. As if they should declare, They have paid all the money that they owe unto the City, or that there * was no Croffe standing in Cheapside, we shall hardly believe them.

And therefore, seeing we all remember, when the Alarm was given, that there was an attempt from Whitehall upon the City, how hardly it was appeased, and how no Babes thought the Design of those subtle heads that gave that false Alarm was no less, than to have caused Whitehall to be pulled down; and they that loved the King, and saw the Army both by land and water, which accompanied the persons accused, to Westminster the next day after His Majesties departure, (as if they had passed in a Roman Triumph) conceived the danger to be so great, that I call Heaven to witness, they blessed God that so graciously put it in the Kings heart, rather to passe away over-night, though very late, than hazard the danger that might have ensued the day following.

The meaning therefore of both Houses may be, That there was nothing done, which they confessed to be a tumult; And no marvel; Because they received encouragement, as we believed, from their defence; and no reproof, that we found was made, for this indignity offered unto the King. But if I be constrained, and in danger, it is not enough for me, that I am voted free and safe; For if that, which looks, as like a tumult, as that did; or, as the representation of my face in the truest Glasse, is like my face; doth come against me and incompass me about, though I may be, perhaps, in more safety; yet I shall think my self in great fear, and in no more security, than His Majesty was at Edge-bill.

3. Because, as the viewer of the Observat. hath very well expressit, No Act of Parliament can prevail to deprive the King of His Right and Authority; as an Attainer by Parliament could not bar the Title to the Crown from descending on King Hen. 7. Nor was an Act of Parliament disabling King Hen. 6. to re-assume the Government of his people, of any force; but, without any repeal in it self, frustrate and void. 7 Rep. 14. Calvins case; an Act of Parliament cannot take away the protection or the Subjects service, which is due by the Law of Nature. 11. rep. Sur de la Wares case. William de la Ware, although disabled by Act of Parliament, was nevertheless called by Queen Elizabeth to sit as a Peer in Parliament; for that it seems the Queen could not be barred of the service and counsel of any of Her Subjects, 2. H. 7. 6. a Statute, that the King by no non obstante shall dispence with it, is void; because it would take a necessary part of Government out of the Kings hand. And therefore I see not how this Act can deprive the King of the service and counsel of all his Bishops and Clergy, but that it is void of it self, and needeth no repeal; or if otherwise, yet seeing that besides all this, 13. of the Bishops were shut in prison when this Act passed, and their protestation was made long before this time, and it was so suddenly framed, so illegally prosecuted, and with such compulsive threats and terrors procured to be passed; I hope the wisdom of the next Parliament, together with their love and respect to the Church and Church-men, will nullifie the same,

* For now I understand it is pulled down.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth the Plots of the Faction, to gain unto themselves the friendship and assistance of the Scots ; And to what end they framed their new Protestation ; How they provoked the Irish to rebell, and what other things they gained thereby.

And thus the *Sectaries* of this Kingdom, and the *Faction* in this Parliament, have by their craft and subtily prevailed to have all the chiefest impediments of their Design to be removed : So now the *bedge* is broken down, and all the *Boars* of the *Forrest* may now come into the *vineyard*, to destroy the *vine*, and to undermine the *City of God* : But, *into their counsels let not my soul come.*

2. The furtherances of their Design were five.

2. When they had taken away these stops and hinderances of their projects, they were to recollect and make up the furtherances, that might help to advance their Cause, for the founding of their new Church, and the establishing of their famous *Democratical Government*, and popular Commonwealth. And these I find to be principally five.

1. The gaining of their Brethren of *Scotland*, to become their fast and faithful friends.

2. The framing of a *Protestation* to frighten the *Papists*, and to insnare the *simple*, to be led as they listed to prosecute their Design.

3. The condemning of our late *Canons*, as abominable in their judgement, and inconsistent with their Religion.

4. The appointing of a *new Synod*, the like whereof was never heard in the Church, since *Adam*, to compose such *Articles* as they liked, and to frame such *Discipline* as should be most agreeable to their own dispositions.

5. The settling of a *Militia*, a word that the vulgar knew not what it was, for to secure the Kingdom, as they pretended, from those dangers that they feared, that is, from those *Jacks* of *Lent*, and men of *Clouts*, which themselves set up as deadly enemies unto the Church and State ; but indeed insensibly to get all the strength of the Realm into their own hands, and their Confederates ; that so they might, like the *Ephori*, bridle the King, and bring him as they pleased, to abolish, and establish, what Laws and Government they should propose ; whereby, perhaps, he might continue King in *Name*, but they in *Deed*.

These were the things they aimed at, and they effected the first three, before they could be discovered, and their Plots discovered ; but in the other two, they were prevented, when God said unto them, as he doth unto the Sea, *Hitberto shalt thou go, and no further, here shalt thou stay thy proud waves* : And therefore, I am confident (and I will all good Christians were so) that their purposes shall never succeed, nor themselves prosper therein, while the World lasteth ; because God hath so mercifully revealed so much, so graciously assisted our King, and so miraculously, not only delivered him from them, but also strengthened him against them, contrary to all appearing likely-hood, to this very day ; which is a sufficient argument to secure our faith, that we shall by the help of our God, escape all the rest of their destructive Designs.

But to display their *Banners*, to discover their *Projects*, and to let the *World* see what they are, and how closely and yet *cunningly*, they went about to effect their work ; I will in a *plain* manner set down what I know, and what

what I have collected from other Writings, and from men that are *fide digni*, (for one mans eyes cannot see all things, nor *infallibly* perceive the Mysteries of all particulars) for to *confirm* the faithful Subjects in their due obedience, both to God, and their King, and to *undeceive* the poor seduced people, that they perish not in the contradiction of *Corab*.

1. It is believed, not without cause, with far greater probabilities than a bare suspicion, that our own *Anabaptistical Sectaries*, and this *Faction*, were the first inviters of those angry spirits (that conceived some cause to be discontented, and were glad of *secret entertainers*) to enter into the bosom of this Kingdom. Whatsoever those our Brethren of *Scotland* did, I will bury it according to their *A&t*, in oblivion; neither *approving*, nor yet *blameing* them for any thing. But for any *Subject of England*, to enterchange *Mes-sages*, and to keep *private intelligence*, with any that seem to be in Arms against their King, and the invaders of his Dominions, to *animate* them to come, and advance forward; to *refuse* their *Soveraigns Service*, and the *Oath* of their fidelity, which was tendered unto them; and to *binder* the Kings Souldiers to do their duties, either by denying to go with him, or refusing to *fight* for him when they went, (which if some men were brought to their *Legal tryal*, I believe, would be more than sufficiently proved against them) can be no leſſe than *beynows Crimes*, perhaps, within the com-passe of high *Treason*.

Or were these things but our *jealousies and fears*, which do wear the garments of Truth; yet their *proceedings* in Parliament do add more fuell unto the fire of our suspicion; as, for our men, whom we have chosen to *plead* for us, and to *treat* with them, to respect them more than us, to *enrich* them, by impoverishing us, giving them no leſſe than 300000. l. who had entered into our Land, and brought upon us such *fears*, of I know not how many mischiefs that might succeed; and not only so, but also, (to shew what *love* they bare to them, and how *little* regard they had of us, their Native Brethren, that put such trust and confidence in their fidelity, as to commit all our fortunes and liberties into their hands) paying *weekly* such a *Pension* for their provision, (besides the maintenance of our own Army, which were forced to carry them their monies, when themselves were unpaid) as in a *short time* was able to exhaust *all* the wealth of this Kingdom; and yet for all his Majesties continual calling upon them to *dispatch* their discharge, and to *finishe* the *Treaty*, for the good of both Kingdoms, keeping them here so exceeding *long*, and making so *very much* of them, (which in truth we envied not, but admired what it meant, when we saw with what continual *feastings* they were entertained in *London*, and their *lodging*, frequented as the Kings Court) till all the people began to *murmur*, and to wax weary of so *great* a charge, and such a burden, as they knew must at last light upon their shoulders; which must needs be matters worthy of our best examinations.

But as yet the common people that seeth no further than the *present tense*, and the outside of things, did *little* know, what many wise men did then foresee, that these men aimed further than they seemed to do, and delayed the busynesse, *purposely* till they had attained many of their desires, and had fully *endeared* themselves into the affections of the *Scots*, that (if need required, that they could not effect *all* the residue of their design as they intended, which now could not so suddenly be brought unto perfection,) they might *recall* them here again to assist them, to do that by *force*, which by their *craft* and *subtilty* they should fail to do; as now by their *sending* for them, going unto them, and alleagding the *A&t* of *Pacification* for their assistance, to *withstand* their King and to *overtrow* our Church, it is apparent to all the World, how *perfidiously* they dealt with God and man, and how *treacherous* their thoughts were from the beginning,

The indeering
of themselves
unto the Scots.
Our Sectaries
the inviters of

How they be-
haved them-
selves towards
the Scots:

Why they de-
tained them
here so long;

The Parliaments Plots

both to the King and Kingdom. Yet, As we found our Brethren of Scotland (howsoever these men behaved themselves in their secret intentions) to have carried themselves none otherwise than as wise, rational, and religious men, in all the Treaty ; So I assure my self, they will hereafter still continue, both *faithful* unto God, and *loyal* unto their King ; and, as they perceived not their intentions at the first, so they will not now *joyn* with them in any *Association* of Rebellion to withstand their own Liege Lord, and to change the established Laws and Religion of our Kingdom ; but will rather live in *peace* and *happines* in their own Land, than by forsaking their enjoyed quietnes, to involve themselves in the *unhappines* of a desperate War in another Country.

2. The compelling of all people to take their new framed Protestation.

* Which word is like the &c. in the Canonical Oath.

2. After they had thus endeared themselves unto their Brethren of Scotland, they framed a *Protestation*, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully they might, with their lives, powers, and estates, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his Majesties Royal Person, Honour, and Estate, the power, and priviledge of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and every person that should make the *Protestation*, in whatsoever he should do in the lawful pursuance of the same ; and to their power, and as far as lawfully they might, to oppose, and, by all good means, endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise *do any thing to the contrary of any thing in the said *Protestation* contained ; and neither for fear, hope, nor other respect, to relinquish this Promise, Vow, and *Protestation*.

In which *Protestation*, though no man can espy the *least shadow* of ill, *prima facie*, at the first reading thereof ; yet if you look further, and search narrowly into the *intentions* of the composers, the *frame* of the *Protestation*, and the *practice* of these *Protestors*, ever since the framing of it, you shall find that *Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne* : these men are no *Changelings*, but as like themselves as ever they were ; For,

1. To terrifie the Papists, & to raise a Rebellion in Ireland.

1. As it was intended, so it succeeded ; it *terrified* the *Papists*, and made them so *desperate*, as almost to despair of their very Being, as concerning the place where, or the manner how, they should live ; Which thing, together with many other harsh and hard proceedings against many of them, and the small countenance which they shewed unto a very moderate *Petition* that the *Papists* exhibited unto them, hath driven abundance of them into *Ireland*, (whom I saw my self) and there consulting with the *Irish* (which were then also threatened by the *Agents* of this *Faction* there, that ere long they should be severely handled, and brought to the Church whether they would or no, or pay such a *Mulct* as should make them poor) what course they should take in such a *desperate* condition, wherein they were all like to be *ruined*, or to be rooted out of all the Kings Dominions, they concluded what they would do ; To *defend* themselves by a plain *Rebellion*. So this course against them hath been the leading-card (as some of them confessed) of that great *Rebellion* ; which being kindled (as some *Sectaries* in *England* expected) they thought they would so much the more weaken the King, by how much the more combustion should be raised in each one of his Dominions : And therefore notwithstanding all the Kings gracious *Messages*, and wishes unto the House of Commons (which I wish all men would remember, how affectionately he desired it) to hasten to relieve that *bleeding* Kingdom, yet still they protracted and neglected their redresse ; and at last, passed such *Votes*, made such *Orders*, and procured such *Acts*, as rather respected themselves, and their posterity, to get all the land and goods of the Rebels to themselves, that were the *Adventurers*, than the relieving of us that were distressed, and would (as I told some of the House of Commons) rather increase the

the Rebellion, than any wayes quench that destroying flame. And this was (as it succeeded, and, as you see hereby, most likely intended) a most detestable Plot, for the kindling of that Rebellion, and continuing of that bloody War in Ireland, without which, they knew this Rebellion in England could never have gained so much strength as it bath.

2. By their large expression of what Religion they protested to defend : not the Protestant Religion, as it is established by Law, and expressed in the 39. Articles of the Church of England ; but as it is repugnant to Popery, and taught perhaps by Burton, Burges, Goodwin, Burrows, or the like Amsterdamian Schismatics, they opened the gap so wide, and made Heaven-gate so broad, that all Brownists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Familists, Adamites, and all other New-England-brood, and Out-landish Sectaries whatsoever, that opposed Popery, might return home, and joyn with them, as they have done since, to overthrow our established Church and State. And this Plot, to increase their own strength, was as craftily done, and is as Detestable as the other, which, to weaken the King in England, caused a Rebellion in Ireland.

3. By their illegall compelling, and forcible inducing of all the people in the Kingdom to take the same, or to be adjudged ill-affected and po- 3. To descrie pish ; and after the Lords had rejected the imposing of it, they by their Declaration, which shewed, That what person soever would not take it, was unfit to bear Office, either in Church, or Common-wealth, prevailed in this Plot so, that they descried the number of their own Party, they understood their own strength, and they perceived thereby many things, which they knew not before ; for now they had with David, numbered Israel, and, so far as the wit and policy of the Devil had instructed them, they had searched into the secrets of all hearts.

4. Having compelled the people to take it, they have hereby insnared all the simpler sort and tender consciences to stick unto them, when they tell them, and press it upon their souls, That they have made a Protestation to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject, and therefore they are bound to adhere to the Parliament to the uttermost of their power ; and so by this equivocall Protestantation, they have seduced thousands into their Rebellion, and led them blindfold unto destruction.

But to let you see, not the sincerity of their hearts, but the mystery of their iniquity, by this their Protestation ; you shall never find them urge it unto their iniquity others, or remembryng it themselves, For the defence of the Kings Person, Crown, or Dignity, or for the liberty of any Subject, but only such Subjects as will be Rebels with them : For, how can they be said to defend any of these, when they do their very best to destroy His Person, and deprive him of all his Royal Dignities ? and to plunder and imprison all true Subjects for being true Subjects unto their King ? Whereby you see, how these Rebels are likewise perjur'd, and have weaved this Protestation like a Spiders web, through which themselves might passe when they pleased, and like Vulcans are all perjured, to catch the simpler sort, to adhere most eagerly to their Designs ; and red. So it is but a circle of all subtleties, and not unwittily questioned. *An protestatio Parliamentaria deterior sit juramento cum, &c.* For if there be any thing injoynd to be done by that Protestation, which was unlawful to be done before the Protestation was taken, it is no more to be justified by that Act, than any other unlawful thing is by a rash and wicked vow ; and it ought not to be urged to do mischief ; and if there be nothing to be injoynd thereby, but what was every mans duty before, there was but small need to draw any argument from any Protestation : but if they intended to draw men from the duty of allegiance to which they were legally sworn, & all

Priviledges of
Parl. multiply-
ed, and are like
Pharaohs kine.

all men understood, to do somewhat which the *ignorant* did not understand; then such a *voluntary* Protestation might do the deed; for they have protested to maintain the *Priviledges* of Parliament. And yet the *wise*st of us now may *justly* protest, we cannot tell what those *Priviledges* are, or how far they should extend in the judgement of the House of Commons; for they are multiplied like the *Rats* of *Egypt*: And as Pharaohs lean Kine, did eat up all his fat Cows; so these *meager* *Priviledges* have eaten up all our *goodly* Laws. And therefore, the *unlimited* universality of these *Priviledges* in the *Protestation*, extending it self as far as the & cetera in the *Canonical Oath*, was but a *mischievous* plot in the Contrivers, to catch the simple to adhere unto them; And it is a *madness* in any man that hath *legally* sworn to defend the King's Person, Crown, and Dignity, which he knoweth, and hath *irregularly* protested to maintain the *Priviledges* of Parliament, which he knoweth not, immediately to draw his sword against his known Sovereign, or to Rebel against his well-known lawful Authority, in the behalf of some thing, he knoweth not what, but is told by these men, It is a *Privilege* of Parliament. *O ye unwise among the people, When will you understand, Who hath bewitched you, that you should not believe the truth?*

C H A P. VII.

sheweth how the Faction was enraged against our last Canons. What manner of men they chose in their new Synod. And of six special Acts of great prejudice unto the Church of Christ, which under false pretences, they have already done.

3. The con-
demning of our
last Canons.

FOR the *Canons*, that were last made, I must confess, my self, and many others of my Brethren, were *very* averse unto our sitting, to make any at that time; yet *many* Reasons were shewed us, that we might sit (and we had the *Judges* of the Common-Laws opinion under their hands shewed us, for the *legality* of our sitting) and conclude such *Canons* as might be for the *glory* of God, and the *good* of his Church; but of those that are made, though I assure my self, the *worst* of them, is not so ill as they alledge, nor *near* so bad as *most* (I might say the *best*) of their *illegal* Orders; yet, there were *many* of us that never gave our votes to passe them; and though not for any *offence* that we saw in them, yet, for the *scandall* that might be taken at them, we heartily wished they had never been so zealously propounded at that time.

But the *Sedaries* of *London*, and the *prevalent* *Faction* in *Parliament* did, with open mouth, spend much time to the *no small* prejudice of the whole Kingdom, and made many *long* *Speeches* to exclaim against them, as against a *Bundle* of superstitions, that obscured the *purity* of our Religion, an *introduction* unto Popery, and an *intolerable*, unheard of the like, invasion upon the liberty of the Subjects, that revived again the *Papal Tyranny*, which, contrary to our *Fundamental Laws*, have incroached to make *Canons* and *Constitutions* to bind our Consciences; whereupon they *causethem*, and condemn them out of their house, and the House of God, out of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*: and not only so, but also the *Contrivers* of them, and *Consenters* to them, they terrifie, and threaten to adjudge them, sometimes with a *premuire*, to have forfeited *all* their goods and possessions, and sometimes to be *fin'd*, (as we were at last) with such a *heavy* *Mulct*; as, in all other mens judgement, did far exceed the *pretended* *offence*, especially of us that never *consented* to them.

III

And

And yet we find, not only in *Lindwood*, and others of our Canonists, but also in the book of *Martyrs*, and the rest of our English Histories, that the *Arch-Bishops*, within their Provinces, have at several times made Canons and Constitutions, for the Regulating of all the people committed to their charge, without any suspicion of the least violation of our laws; but the *Faction* say, *Sic volumus*, and the Houses of Parliament understand what is Law better than I do, and therefore accordingly (before the makers of them were called to make their answers, by what Authority they made them, or by what Law they could justify them) they reject the Canons and censure their makers. Yet notwithstanding their distaste of them, it is conceived by some, that the *Clergy* having His Majesties *writ* to be convoked, and leave to compose such Canons, as they thought fit to be observed, for the Honor of God, the discharge of their duty, and the good of the Church, and having the *Royal assent* and approbation to all that they concluded; (which is all that I find the Statute provided in this case requireth) though they should be defective, or perhaps offensive, in some circumstances; yet if they be not legally abrogated, after a full hearing of all parties, and the Kings consent to reject them, as it was to approve them, they are still as binding, and in as full force as ever they were; though, for mine own part, I will not undertake the task, to make that good, when as both the Houses have condemned them; but I say:

4. This *Scandal* taken against these *Canons*, made way for the *faction* to call for a new *Synod*, or Assembly of Divines, for the rectifying of things amis, as well in *Discipline* as in *Doctrine*; And in this new intended *Synod*, the Divines are nominated, not according to the rules and Canons of the Church, and the *Customs* of all Nations, since the first *Synod* or Council of the Apostles, by *Divines*, that can best judge of their own abilities, as when the *Spirit of the Prophets* is subject to the *Prophets*: but, fearing the *Clergy* would have sent men that were too *Orthodoxal* for their faith, they deprived them of their rights, and, forgetting their *Protestation* to defend the right of the Subject, the choice is made by themselves, that are *Lay-men*, and *Young men*, and many of them perhaps *Prophanes* men, or at least not so religious, nor so judicious as they ought to be, for a business of this nature, of so great concernment, as the direction of our souls to their eternal bliss.

And now they being nominated, we know most of them what they are; men, not only justly suspected to be ill disposed to the peace of our Church, and too much addicted to innovation, to alter the Government, to reject and cast away the Book of Common-Prayer, to oppose Episcopacy, and to displease the grave and godly *Governours* of Gods Church; but also apparently fashioned to the humours of these their own Disciples (who are to be the only judges of their determinations) that (although some few Canonical men, and most Reverend, Learned, and Religious *Bishops*, and others, for fashion sake, to blind the World, are named amongst them; yet, when, as in a *Parliament*, so in a *Synod*, the most desperate *faction*, if they prove prevalent to be the major part, will carry any thing in despite of the better part, they shall stand but as *Cyphers*, able to do nothing) they might abolish our old established Government, erect their own new invented Discipline, and propagate their well affected Doctrine in all Churches; for you may judge of them by their compaers, *Goodwin*, *Burrows*, *Arrow-Smith*, and the rest of their ignorant, factious, and schismatical Ministers, that together with those intruding *Mechanicks*, (who without any calling either from God or man, do step from the *Butchers* board, or their *Horses* stable, into the *Preachers* Pulpit) are the bellows which blow up this fire, that threateneth the destruction of our Land, like *Sheba*'s trumpeter, to summon the people unto Rebellion, and

4. The ap-
pointing of a
new framed
Synod.

Lay-men
choosers of the
Clergy, as if a
shepherd did
choose precious
ones.

What manner
of men they
have chosen.

The Parliaments Plots

What Synod
they should
have chosen.

like the red Dragon in the Revelation, which gave them all his poison, and made them eloquent, to disgorge their malice, and to cast forth floods of slanders after those that keep Loyalty to their Sovereign, and to belch forth their unsavory reproaches against those that discover their affected ignorance, and Seditious wickedness, in defence of truth; and are the Instruments of this faction, to seduce the poor people to the desolation of the whole Kingdom, if not timely prevented by their repentance, and assistance to enable him whom God hath made our Protector to defend us against all such transcendent wickedness. And these are the main ends for which they summoned such a new Synod of their furious and Fanatick teachers, upon whose temper and fidelity, I believe, no wise man that knows them would lay the least weight of his souls felicity. Whereas if they desired a Reformation of things amiss, and not rather an alteration of our Religion and the abolition of our now settled Government, they would have called for such a Synod as was in Queen Elizabeths time, when the 39 Articles of our Religion were composed, and such as they needed not to be ashamed to own in future times, nor the best refuse to associate the rest, for the illegality of their election; for if there be any scandalous Governours, (as we deny not but there may be a *Cham* in the Ark, a *Judas* amongst the Apostles, and perhaps an unjustifiable Prelate among the Bishops, as there was a proud Lucifer among the Angels) or if they think it necessary to correct, qualify, explain, or alter some expressions or ceremonies in our Liturgy, and Book of Common-Prayer, we are so far from giving the least offence to weak Consciences, that we heartily wish a lawful Synod, which may have a full legal power, as well to remove the offences, as to punish the offenders, and to establish such Laws and Canons, as well against Separatists and Schismatics, Anabaptists and Brownists, as against Recusants and Papists, and such as may be for the Glory of God, and the peace of our Church; which was our sole intention in the last Synod.

But seeing their Plot was rather to establish a new Church than to redress the defects of the old, and to countenance and advance those boute-fues that schismatically rent our Church in pieces, and most wickedly defile the pure Doctrine of the same, by degrading and displacing the grave Governours thereof, I will (to give you a taste of what fruit you are like to reap from them) very briefly set down the sum of these two points.

Two points
handled.
1. What they
have already
done in the
Affairs of our
Church.
1 Cor. 5.5.
1 Tim. 1.10.
1. Opened a
gap to all li-
cenciousnes.

1. What they have already done.

2. What Discipline and Doctrine are like to ensue, if they should be enabled or permitted to erect their new Church; for, (as you may find it in the Remonstrance of the Commons of England to the House of Commons.)

1. Under colour of Regulating the Ecclesiastical Courts, (Courts that have been founded by the Apostles, and had alwaies their Authority and Reverence among Christians, even before the Secular power (when the Emperours became Christians) had confirmed them) they have taken away (in respect of the coercive part thereof, which is the life of the Law, and without which the other part is fruitless) all the Spiritual jurisdiction of Gods Church; they have taken away Aarons rod, and would have only Manna left in Gods Ark; so that now the crimes inquirable and censurable by those Courts, though never so heinous, as Adultery, Incest, and the like, cannot be punished; Heresies, and Schisms, which now of late have abounded in all places, can no waies be Reformed, and the neglect of Gods service can as hardly be repaired, when as the Ministers cannot be enforced to attend their Cures, the Church-officers cannot be compelled to perform their duty, and the Parishioners cannot be brought by our Law to pay their Tythes and other necessary Duties; which things

all

are all so considerable that all Christians ought to fear how lamentable will be the end of these sad beginnings; for, my self have seen the *House of God* most unchristianly profaned, the *Church-yard* and the dead bodies of the *Saints* so rooted and miserably abused by Hogs and Swine, that it would grieve *meir men*, that scarce ever heard of God, to see such a *barbarous* usage of any *holy place*; and when the *Ministers* have given a seven-nights warning to prepare for the blessed *Eucharist*, and the *Communions* came to partake of those *holy mysteries*, they were fain to return home without it, for want of *Bread* and *Wine* to administer it; and yet now, the *Church-Governours* haue not any power to redres any of these abominable abuses!

2. Under shew of Reforming the *Church Discipline*, and bettering the Government thereof, they have voted down those very *Governours*, the all the *Gover-Bishops* and their *Assistants*, the *Deans* and *Chapters*, whose function was nours of Gods constituted by the *Apostles*, and hath from that time continued to this very day; As the most Learned Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Bishop *Hall*, Master *Mason*, Master *Tayler*, and that worthy Gentleman Master *Tbeyer*, and others have sufficiently shewed to all the World.

3. Under the pretence of expunging *Popery*, which Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Parry*, Bishop *Babington*, Bishop *Bilson*, Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Hall*, and abundance more of the Reverend Bishops have confuted, expelled and kept out of our Church, more than any, yea than all their schismatical Disciples, whose *Learning* was no waies able to answer the weakest Arguments of our Adversaries, the *Service Book* that is established by *Act* of Parliament, and was by those *holy Martyrs*, that lost their *lives*, and spilt their blood in defence of the Protestant Religion, and defiance of Erroneous Popery, so Divinely and devoutly composed, as all the *Reformation* can bear witness, and I am well assured, the whole flock of these Convocants shall never be able, without this, to make any neer so pious; must be totally cried down, and hath been in many places, burned, used to the uncleanest uses, and ceareed all to pieces; And to let you see their abomination herein, I must crave patience to transcribe, that it may the more generally passe, the Speech of Alderman *Gerraway*, Alderman where he saith, pag. 7. Did not my Lord Maior (that is, *Pennington*) first enter upon his Office with a Speech against the Book of *Common Prayer*? Hath the Common Prayer ever been read before him? Hath not Captain *Ven* said, that his Wife could make prayers worth three of any in that Book? O Masters! There have been times, that he which should speak against the Book of *Common-Prayer* in this City, should not have been put to the patience of a *Legal-Triall*; we were wont to look upon it as the greatest treasure, and the *Jewel* of our Religion; and he that should have told us, he wished well to our Religion, and yet would have taken away the Book of *Common-Prayer* would never have gotten credit. I have been in all the parts of *Christendome*, and have conversed with *Christians* in *Turkey*; why, in all the Reformed Churches there is not any thing of more Reverence than the *English Liturgy*; not our *Royal Exchange*, nor the *Navy* of Queen *Elizabeth*, is so famous as this; in *Geneva* it self, I have heard it extollled to the skies. I have been three months together by Sea, and not a day without hearing it read twice; the honest *Mariners* then despised all the World but the *King* and the *Common-Prayer Book*; he that should be suspected to wish ill to either of them, should have made but an ill voyage; and let me tell you, they are shrewd Youths, those *Sea-men*; if they once discern that the person of the *King* is in danger, or the Protestant professed Religion, they will shew themselves mad bodies before you are aware of it; I would not be a *Brownist* or an *Anabaptist* in their way, for —————— And yet, these men have so basely abused, and are so violent

How the Mar-
iners esteem the
Liturgy.

lent to abolish this excellent Book and Divine Liturgy, that *Many will not believe it though it should be told unto them*: I would they did but read that *Act of Parliament* which is prefixed unto the same, to see if they regarded either the Law of *God or Man*, the *Religion* of the Clergy that composed it, or the *Wisdom* of the Parliament that confirmed it.

4. Abused the images and pictures of the Saints and other holy things.

Luk.2.7:

4. Under colour to shew their hatred to *Idolatry*, they have broken down the glass-*Windows* of many Churches; shot off the heads of the *Images* of the *Blessed Virgin*, and of our dear Saviour, represented in her lap, upon the porch of Saint *Maries* in *Oxford*; thrown away the *Pictures* of Christ, and of other his *Holy Apostles*, and Gods *blessed Saints*, into the Rivers; taken the Ministers *Surplices* to make *Frocks* to preserve their cloathes when they dressed their Horses; and in *Worcester* they have done what I am ashamed to speak, and would loathe any modest ear to heare; made the *Pulpit*, and (not far from the Town) the *Font* their houfe of office, as I was informed by one of the *gravest Doctors* and *Prebends* of that Church; thrown down the *Organs*, which cost above fifteen hundred pounds, and taken the *Pipes*, and *Copes* of the *Prebends*, and gone round about the Streets, with the *Copes* on their backs, and the *Pipes* in their hands, dancing the *Morrice-dance*; So in *Winscomb* in *Glocester-shire*, they brake down the *Organs*, and made that *Chyrch* their *Slaughtter-house*, when they killed certain Sheep that they had stollen, and dressed the same upon the *Communion Table*; and in *Lincoln-Minster* the *Souldiers* brought their Horses into the *Quire*, laid their hay upon the *Holy Table*, and made the *Houfe of God* a *Stable* for their Horses, that did now eat their bay where the Christians did use to Communicate the *Body* and *Blood* of Christ; so that these men give their Saviour no better entertainment now in his glory, than the *Jews* did when he came in his *Humility*, but he shall be still kept low, and a *Stable* shall be good enough for his *Mansion*; yet, as in *Canterbury* they did but little less, so in *Winchester* they added this to their former prophanations, to take the ashes of those *Saxon Kings*, that were kept in certain *Urn s*, and threw them about the ground, as if death it self could not appease their rage.

Sava sed in manes manibus arma dabant.

It would fill a whole volume to relate all the *Villanies* that they did of this kind, the consideration of which *prophane usage* of *Holy places*, made a worthy Gentleman *Pathetically* to set down these fervent speeches; I would to God we had not cause to complain of the *Horrid* and *barbarous* attempts of divers among us (Christians I can scarce call them) against some the mother-Churches, * who as if they had studied to affront the Almighty to his face, and *purposely* with *Manasses* to anger him, have not spared to *prophane* those goodly Structures, and *irreligiously* and *Anti-christianlike* to deface the *Instruments* there prepared and employed in the service of the great God: at the very thought whereof, I tremble and stand amazed, and can hardly believe the Christian World in *any age* (no not under the *Gothes* and *Vandals*) can parallel it with an example of

* Canterbury,
Worcester,
Winchester,
Chichester, and
many others.

Master *Twyer*
in his Treas
tise of Episco
pacy. p. 50, 57.

cl. 3.9.29.

like abominable and *Atheistical Villanies*, yet to this day uncensured: and I am *beartily* sorry that it should be told in *Gath* or *Ascalon*, in any *forraign Nation*, that our *English People* should have any such *Sect* amongt them, so voyd of all *humanity*, so destitute of all thoughts of a *Deity*, and so full of all *incredible impieties*. And therefore I must use the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, *Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord?* Or, *shall not my soul, be avenged on such a Nation as this?* Or, is it any wonder, that there are such *Wars*, such bloody *Wars*, such

such barbarous rapines ; and that these miseries do still continue amongst us, when we not onely proceed to commit; but also to defend and justify these and the like abominable wickednesses ; and have pleasure in them that do them ? for, it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

3. Under the colour of advancing the true Protestant Religion, they have branded the best Protestants, (even those that have most learnedly both preached, and written against the Church of Rome, and all her erroneous tenets, and were not long since registered in the class of Puritans, and for that cause kept under water) for Papists, and superstitiously Popish, and so Malignants , and opposers of the true, to be established, Religion ; and they have encouraged and promoted to the Livings and Lively-hoods of the most Orthodox and Canonical men, Anabaptists and Brownists, and other Sectaries of most desperate opinions, that (as Saint Bernard saith of the like, *Multiplicati sunt super numerum*;) As the Caterpillars overspread all the Land of Egypt, so these are multiplied in every corner, without number ; and these tares have almost choaked all the Wheat in Gods field, and do preach most desperate Doctrines, destructive both to themselves, their Proselytes, and all the truest Protestants throughout all this Kingdom ; when as Sedition and Rebellion, besides their other damnable Doctrines condemned by the Church, must ever be at one end of their Sermons, and published in their Pamphlets ; As for instance, you may find in the bloody books, and fiery writings, of the darling Secretaries of the red Dragon, that warreth against the Saints, Stephen Marshal, Master Bridges, Jo. Goodwin, Burroughs, and the rest of the Locusts,* that are sent out of the bottomlesse pit to seduce the people of God, and to lead them headlong unto perdition.

But, let me advise the Servants of Christ, to remember their Saviour's words. To beware of false Prophets ; they shall deceive many, and many, love to be deceived by them ; those whom God hath given up, that they should believe a lye ; *Qui infatuati seducuntur, & seducti judicabuntur* ; but you that desire to escape their snares may know them by their fruits, which are, Rebellion against their King, and Rayling against their Governours, Perjury against God, by the breaches of those Oathes, which in the face of the Church they have taken, both to the King, and to their Superiors ; and a wilful perverting of the sacred Scriptures, to the perdition of their Proselytes ; besides many other bitter fruits, that worse than any Aeronite are able to poison any Christian soul, that do but taste of their Philatra's : or, if you will believe these Apples of Sodom, to be as sweet as they seem fair, then remember by what marks the Prophets and Apostles tell us that we may know them ; 1. Such as ran before they be sent, as Weavers, Tailors, and the like, that never had any calling or Authority to enter upon this sacred Function. 2. They went from us, but are not of us ; such as were called, but then forsook their first love, and apostatized from the Church, and, like ungracious children, did throw dirt in their mothers face, or, like the brood of Vipers, do labour to gnaw out her bowels ; and here let the world judge, whether we went from them, or they from us ; whether we or they apostatized from that Oath and profession which all and every one of us did make, when we entered into holy Orders.

3. These false Prophets, saith the Apostle, do lead simple, or foolish men, captives ; just as their Master first seduced Eve, and sheathen'd so do these ; and because they have left worth, than can attain to the height of their ambition, you may see most of them by women raised, to great fortunes, that their pride disdaineth to be obedient ; or if they have of such wives, yet are they swelled with envy, which is as rebellious in itself, as pride is in the other. ¶ And to leave a way with me still, both good & ill.

Rom. 1. 32.

Heb. 10. 31.

; Branded the
true Prote-
stants, and
advanced Anab-
aptists.* Qua glo-
renatur in unum
Innumeris pestis
Erebi, Claud.Three notes
by which we
may know the
false Apostles.1. Note.
Jer. 23. 1.2. Note.
1 John 2. 19.3. Note.
2 Tim. 3. 6.

Gen. 3. 1. 8.

6 Ordered to take away all the revenues of the most worthy Clergy.

6. Under the pretence of making our Clergie more spiritual and Apostolique, they have voted away most of our temporal estates, the Lands and Lordships of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends, and the Pluralities of those persons that possessed double Benefices, and made their Order that no man should pay any rent, or any dues, unto any of the forenamed persons. And by this taking away the free-hold of the Clergy now in present, (which they hold with as good right, and by the same Law, as the best Lord in England holdeth his Inheritance) and by this discouragement of Learning for the time to come, they thought to make our Clergy Angelical; but have proved themselves, I will not say, diabolical, but most injurious unto the Church of Christ, by committing an Act of as great injustice, and as prejudicial to the Common-wealth, as can be found among the Pagans. For what can be more unjust, or more inhumane, than to take away my Lively-hood, which is my very life, in mine old age, without any offence of mine, for which I had laboured all the dayes of my life? And what consequence can this produce, than (that which succeeded in the like case, in Jeroboam's time, when he robbed the Priests and Levites of their Inheritance) ignorance and barbarity, and the basest of the people to be the Preachers of Gods Word, whereby the blind do lead the blind, untill both do fall into the ditch; as I can testifie, some of our greatest Nobility intended to make their sonnes Priests and Bishops, while the glory of Israel, and the beauty of our Church remained unobserved, and now, contempt and poverty being enacted and ordered to be their portion, those resolutions are vanished; and the Universities can bear me witnesse, the lowest Gentrie are not so well contented to undertake this highest calling. These, and many other things ejusdem farinae, of the same mold, they have already done, to overwhelm the ship of Christ under the waves of this turbulent Faction. And these prophanations of Gods divine Service, and the violations of the Sepulchres of the dead (whole ashes and bones, like canes sepulchrales, they have disturbed in their graves) and those unheard-of sacrileges on Gods Priests and portion are so equally practised, that it is almost hard to judge which are greater, either their impiety towards God, their inhumanity towards the dead, or their injustice towards the living.

*Sablatis studiorum premiis,
ipsa studia per-*
*reunt, C. Tacit.
1 Reg. 12. 31.
Matth. 15. 14.*

CHAP. VIII.

Sheweth what Discipline or Church-government our factious Schismatics do like best. And twelve principal points of Doctrine, which they hold as twelve Articles of their faith: and we are to believe the same, or suffer; if this faction should prevail.

2. What discipline and doctrine the new Synod is like to set up.

2. For the discipline and the doctrine that they would establish, they have not yet, and I believe they can never fully agree what they shall be; their desire is first to overthrow the old, and then they will take care, and consult how to devise a new; but I could wish they would let the old alone till they could agree to produce a better.

Yet, because their blind zeal is so violent, to have their own unjust desires, to destroy the vine-yard of Christ root and branch, I, that have served seven years, a Lecturer, among them, in the heart of London, and was conversant with the purest of these holy brethren, and thereby understood most of their Anabaptistical, and ridiculous tenets, and what discipline they best liked, will here draw you a model of their Utopian, or New-England Church

Church, which they would transport hither, to obscure the glory of old England.

1. For their discipline and government: Some wold have the Scottish ^{1.} Their discipline Synods, and that form of Goverment, which old furious Knox hath first plaine brought among them, and is fully described by that Reverend Arch-Bishop Bancroft; Others like better of the Geneva Assemblies, instituted by M. Calvin, and continued by Theodore Beza, two worthy members of that Church, or the discipline of the Hugonots in the new French Reformation, which differeth but a little from the other; But most of them like better of the manner of Amsterdam, where every Church is independent, and every Pastor is a Pope in his own Parish; and to that purpose, you may remember how vehemently they have lately most foolishly written * for this ^{* As Smith, Boff, Daven-} Independent Government; and how the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooks, two leading Captains of that faction, have often protested ^{port, Canne,} they would dispense with all sorts of Religions, so they might freely exercise their own; and that such a toleration ought to be granted, to all others; because their Independencie cannot otherwise consist; for he that is accountable to none, will use what Religion he pleaseth, without controul; and therefore they support their own Army by men of ^{and many other anonyms.} all Nations and Religions, not their grand Adversaries the Papists excepted, but of fifty or sixty Souldiers that billeted in Adelrop, there were no less than three or four Papists amongst them.

But how unsutable these Governments would prove to stand with our English Nobility, and Gentry, (besides the novelty of them, and how farre dissonant they are to the Apostolique discipline) I will appeal to their own judgement, when every undiscreet Parson, and poor Vicar, shall be able, upon every discontent to excommunicate the best man in his Parish, and as we have seen some of them debarring whom they pleased from the holy Table, because their great anger, or little judgement, conceiveth them to be unworthy. When as the Church deemed it fitter that none of her children should undergo the least indignity for any personal distaste, but upon due examination of witnesses, a full hearing, and a just censure in open Court; which course if it be neglected, should be rather punished in the offenders, than the discipline dissolved, the Governours removed, and a new fantastical fancie erected.

2. For the Doctrines of these men, they are like the poetical fiction of those Sisters, facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen; I did once intend, while I lived amongst them to collect a whole Volume of them; but Satan then prevented me, and plotted my destruction for mine intention: yet now, I will set downe these few, out of those many, which I then observed.

1. Though Moses saith, The secret things belong to the Lord our God, but the things revealed, belong to us and our children for ever: yet these men are all Gnostiques, they know very much, even of the secrets and counsels of God, and they are sure who shall be saved, and who shall be damned; and, as men of the Cabinet-counsel of God, broach their illusions for divine revelations, and perswade the people, that what they say, or do, is all from God; and therefore that this War which they prosecute, was preordained of God for the destruction of the wicked, to whom they formerly preached their damnation, and thereby have caused many silly soules most desperately to end the miseries of their wretched life, by putting themselves to an untimely death.

2. They onely, as the elect of God (which shall be the sole heires of heaven) are the Lords Proprietaries of all this worldly wealth, and the ^{They judge} probates being enemies unto God, have no right unto any of Gods creatures; and therefore they think they may lawfully take away the goods of ^{only the elect.} those

those reprobates, whom now they call *Malignants*, and they have as good warrant for it, as ever the *Israelites* had to spoil the *Egyptians*; for they tell us, that Saint *Paul*, which knew right from wrong, tells them plainly,

1 Cor. 3. 22, 23 that whether they be things present, or things to come, even all are yours, and yo

Christ's, and Christ God's; but they understand not that men have a double right unto these worldly goods. 1. As *Christians*, and so God as a merciful Father, hath provided all things for them. 2. As the Creatures of God; and so God, as a faithful Creator, openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with plenteoufulness; and maketh his Sun to shine upon the just, and upon the unjust; and so the wicked have as good an interest in their estates as the godly; and besides, God hath not given them the power to distinguish, who are the elect, or who are reprobates.

And therefore if we have any regard of our goods, that God hath given us, we have great reason to look about us: for these are the greatest *Cheat-*
ers in Christendome, and as they have made us *Malignants*, so they will make us *reprobates* when they please, that they may enjoy those things that we have.

3. Because *Balaam* faith, God beheld no iniquity in *Jacob*; and the Apostle saith, *To the pure, all things are pure*; they teach their *Proselytes*, that in them, which are the *holie Brethren*, there is no sin; and their adultery, drunkenesse, cozenage, and the-like odious crimes, are no crimes, because God loving them so tenderly, as a fond mother seeth no fault in her untoward child, so he takes no notice of any offence that they commit; but for the ungodly, their *Prayers* are sinnes, their *Alms* are odious, and whatsoever commendable duty they do perform, God accounteth their best actions to be heinous transgressions, and to adde the more weight of punishment to their damnation; which Doctrine how abominable it is to God, and how destructive to all men, to make these *holie Brethren*, and their sanctified Sisters senselle in all sinnes, uncapable of repentance, when the whole bath

no need of the Physician; and to discourage all other ignorant men from doing good duties, when the performance of them shall multiply their stripes; is so apparent to all men, that I need not stand to confute it: for, if *Conias*, (though he were the *Signet upon my right hand*, or, as the apple of mine eye) doth offend, I will cut him off; and, if the wicked forsake his wickednesse, and do that which is just, love mercy, and speak truth, he shall be accepted, and the Lord will not call light darknesse, nor good evill, in any one.

4. Because our Saviour saith, *Our friend Lazarus sleepeth*; when as indeed he was dead; and the Heathens say, *Sleep is a shade Savers*, the brother of Death: they take this colour to hide their adulteries, that while the husband sleepeth, the wife is as free from him as if he were dead, a foolery so ridiculous, that the naming of it, is a sufficient confutation of it, and yet you shall hardly withdraw our *London-Anabaptists* from it.

5. Because *Abraham* said that *Sarab* was his Sister, and Saint *Paul* said, *I wist not brethren, that he was the High Priest*; they hold it as an Article of their Creed, that for *officious lyes and equivocations*, being for the furtherance of their cause, the good work which they pretend, they may, and ought to use them, to swallow them down like water, they make no bones of them; and therefore it is dangerous to treat, and weaknesse to give credis, without sufficient pledges, to the faith of these men; whose profession may as lawfully deceive us, as their Religion teacheth them to destroy us: and I believe the experience which his Majesties Officers had of them in the performance of their promises and conditions of departure from *Winchester, Reading, and other Townes* surrendered unto them, may sufficiently confirm this *equivocall* point of their *Publique* faith.

6. Because

That there is a double right to the things of this world.
Psal. 104. 8.
Math. 5. 45.

3. They think themselves free from all sin
Numb. 23. 21.
Tit. 1. 15.

To the unbelieving, nothing is pure.
Titus 1. 15.

Math. 9. 12.

Jer. 22. 24.
Ezek. 33. 15.

4. They allow the women to offend while their husbands sleep.
Joh. 11. 11.
1 Cor. 7. 39.

5. They justify many kinds of lyes, and equivocations.
Gen. 12. 13.
Act. 23. 5.

6. Because the Lord straitly charged the *Israelites* to root out the wicked *Canaanites*, and the rest of those cursed Nations; and translated the root out all Kingdom of Israel from *Saul* unto *David*, because he spared *Aggas*; and those that they our Saviour bids us, *succidere sicum*, to cut down that unprofitable tree which bare no fruit: they are so filled with such unmerciful cruelty towards all those they term wicked, and judge Malignants, that they had better fall into the hands of *heathen Tyrants*, than of these their holy brethren, who embruing their hands in the blood of so many faithful Christians, doing with the Psalmist, *The righteous rejoice when they see this vengeance, they shall wash their feet in the blood of the ungodly*: for as Solomon saith, *The tender mercies of the wicked are mere cruelty*. And I believe the first inventors of that Design to root out all the Papists in *Ireland*, and to get that *All* to purchase all the *Lands* of the Rebels, had tasted too much of this bitter root of such destructive Doctrine; whereby you see how the Religion of these men robbes us of our *Estates*, keeps no faith with us, and takes away our lives.

7. Though among the works of God, every flower cannot be a *Lilly*, every beast cannot be a *Lyon*, every bird cannot be an *Eagle*, and every Planet cannot be a *Phabus*; yet in the School of these men, this is the doctrine of their to be new erected Church, that with God there is no respect of persons, and neither *Circumcision* availeth any thing, nor *uncircumcision*; but whether they be bond or free, masters or servants, *Jew*, or *Gentile*, *Barbarian*, *Scythian*, a country-Clown, or a Court Gallant, rich or poor, it is all one with God, because these *Titles of Honour*, Kings, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, are no entities of Gods making, but the creatures of mans invention, to puffe him up with pride, and not to bring him unto God; and therefore though for the bringing of their great good work to passe, they are yet contented to make the Earl of *Essex* their General, and *Warwick* their Admiral, and so *Pyn* and *Hampden* great Officers of State; yet, when the work is done, their Plot perfected, and their Government established, then you shall find, that, As now, they will eradicate *Episcopacie*, and make all our Clergie equall, as if all had equally but one talent, and no man wortbier than another; so then there should be neither King, Lord, Knight, nor Gentleman, but a parity of degrees among all these holy brethren. And to give us a taste of what they mean; as the Lords concurrence with them enabled them to devour the Kings power; so they have since, with great justice, prevailed with the House of Commons to swallow up the Lords power, and have most fairly invaded their priviledge, when they questioned particular Members * for words spoken in that House, and then the whole House, when they brought up and countenanced a malicious and seditious Petition, which demanded the Names of those Lords, that consented not with the House of Commons in those things, which that House had twice denied.

8. Because our Saviour saith, *Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all these things, that is, meat, drink, and cloathes, and all other earthly things, &c. shall be cast unto you*; and again, *Be not carefull for tomorrow*; they teach their Proselytes, that they ought not to pray, by any means, for any of these things; whereas Christ biddeth us to say, *Give us this day our daily Bread*.

9. They cannot endure to say the Lords Prayer, for that's a Popish superstition, but their Prayers must be all tautologies, and a circular repetition of their own indigested inventions.

10. You must not say, *God speed you*, to any neighbour, or any traveller, lest he intends some evill work, and then you shall be partaker of his sin.

11. They will not allow any of their Disciples to pray for any of the Reprobates; and therefore they do exceedingly blame us, and tear our Litur-

Psal. 58. 9.

Prov. 12. 10.

Gal. 5. 6.

Col. 3. 11.

The Parliament Plots

gie, because we say, *That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men.*

12. Because Christ saith, *Call no man father on earth, for one is your Father which is in Heaven*, the child must not call him that begat him, and养seth him, his father; nor kneel unto him to ask him blessing, nor perform many other such duties which the Lord requireth, and the Church instructeth her children to do to this very day: and this foolish Doctrine of calling no man Father, no man master, or Lord, and the like, in their sense, (because they understand not the divine meaning of our Saviour's words) hath been the cause of such undutifulnesse, and untowardnesse, such contempts of superiours, and such rebellions to Authority, as is beyond expression; when as by their disloyalty, being thus bred up in them from their cradle, they first despise their father, then their Teachers, then their King, and then God himself.

CHAP. IX.

Sheweth three other speciall points of Doctrine, which the Brownists and Anabaptists of this King dom do teach.

13. Because they can find no Text in Scripture (when as the Alcoran is not so impudently hellish, as to justifie the action) for to warrant men, to absolve our consciences from any Oaths that we have voluntarily taken, for the performance of any businesse; I cannot say that they do professedly teach, but I do hear they do usually practise this most damnable sin; as, that Master Marshall, and Master Case, did absolve the Souldiers taken at Branceford from their Oath, which they took, never to bear Arms against his Majesty; which is a sin destructive both to body and soul, when their Perjury added to their Treason, makes them two-fold more the children of hell, than they were before; and if they be taken again, they can expect nothing but their just deserved death; and therefore I do admire that any man can challenge the name of a Divine, which doth either preach or practise a point so devilish.

14. They think
sacrilege to
be no sin,
Act 20.34.
1 Thes. 2.9.
1 Cor. 1.12.

14. Because Saint Paul saith, *These bands have ministred to my necessities, and to them that were with me: and again, Labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you, we preached unto you the Gospel of God:* and because the rest of the Apostles and Disciples were Fishermen, Tradesmen, or professours of some Science, either liberal or mechanick, as Saint Luke was a Physician, Joseph a Carpenter, and the like, who did live by their manual crafts, and were chargeable to none of their people, but sought them, and not theirs, to win their souls to God, and not their monies unto themselves; therefore they think it no robbery to take away all the revenues of the Church, nor sacrilege to rob the Clergy of all the means they have; because they should either labour for their livings, as the Apostles did, or live upon the peoples Almes, as many poor Ministers do, to the utter undoing of many souls, in many distressed, and most miserable Churches.

But because this revenue of the Church, and the Lands of the Bishops is that golden Wedge, and the brave Babylonish garment, which the Anabaptistical Achans of our time do most of all thirst after, in this their pretended holy Reformation, I must here *sistere gradum*, stay awhile and let you know:

1. That the taking away of any Lands or goods given and consecrated to holy uses, and to convert the same to any other purpose than which they were

were dedicated, is termed *sacrilege*; that is, the stealing of holy goods from the right owners, to our selves and others to whom we leave them.

2. That this *sacrilege* is a sin; for it is a snare to the man, who devoureth that which is holy, and after vowe to make inquiry; that is, whether sinne such a service be needful, or such a taking away be a sin.

3. That this sinne is a very great sinne; for Saint Paul saith, *Thou that*; A great sin, abborrest *Idols*, committest thou *sacrilege*? And *Idolatry* is the giving of our goods and service to false gods; *Sacrilege* the taking away of goods dedicated to the service of any God, especially of the true God. And this seemeth by the Apostles words to be a greater sinne than the other; because the devil laboureth more to take away the service of the true God, than to establish his own service; for he knoweth that as light taken away, darkness must needs follow, so the true Religion being destroyed, *Idolatry* must needs succeed; and he knoweth that *Idolatry* hath been bountiful enough to the service of *Idols*, that he needeth not so much to fear the taking away of their goods, as to care that the goods dedicated to Gods service, be taken away.

*Hosea 2.8.
Ezech. 16.
1. Reg. 18. 19.
Gen. 3.2.*

4. That this sin is a very dangerous sinne, both to

§ 1. The Persons that commit it.
§ 2. To the Common-wealth that suffers it; for

1. Not onely *Achan*, *Ananias*, and *Sepphira*, and other private men perished for this sinne, but the proudest Kings, and greatest Peers that became sacrilegious, were plagued and destroyed by God; as *Belshazzar*, the great Monarch of *Affyria*; *William Rufus*; and abundance more that you may find in our Histories: for the curse of God, like Democles sword, by a slender thred hangs over their heads, and makes them like those that perished at *Endor*, and became as the dung of the earth. And I beseech you mark it, Make them like a wheel, and as the stubble before the wind, persecute them with thy tempest, let them be confounded, and be put to shame, and perish, whib say, Let us take to our selves the houses of God in possession; and if this be the guerdon of them that say it, I wonder what shall be the plague of them that do it; and I wonder more that the very thought of this Curse doth not make their hearts to tremble, if their consciences were not seared, to be senselesse of all fear.

2. The sin of *sacrilege*, extendeth it selfe not onely to the persons committing it, but also to the whole Nation that suffereth it, as the sin of *Achan* Nations, was not onely a snare to catch him to be destroyed, but it troubled all *Israel*, so that they were still discomfited, and never prospered, till the *sacrileger* was punished, and the Lord appeased.

If you say, The sinne is taken away, when the Parliament takes these things away.

I answer, that we must not idolize the Parliament, as if it were a kind of omnipotent Creature, and like the Pope, such an infallible Lord God upon earth; as that their Votes and Sanctions were the supremest rule of justice; that cannot be unjust, because they are enacted by the whole State; because no conclusions are therefore truths, because determined by a whole Councell; so no Lawes are therefore just, because done by a whole Parliament, but when they do agree with the common rules of truth and justice, which God hath given unto men, and shewed the same in his holy Word, which he hath left to be the right rule of our actions.

And therefore if the greatest Assemblies, Parliament, or Councell, make not the will of God the rule to guide their proceedings thereby, their Sanctions are so farre from taking away the nature of the sin, that they do increase the evill, and make it the more out of measure sinfull, and to become a national sin, that before was but personal; and the more exceedingly sinfull, when the same is confirmed by a Law, so that none dares speak against

4 A most dan-
gerous sin.
*Joshua 7.
Act. 5.4.
1. To the sacri-
leger.*

against it, and the sinners are become senseless in their sinnes: and therefore the Prophet demandeth, how any man, that feareth God, dares meddle with such a people, that will thus justifie their sinnes, saying, Shall the throne of iniquity, that is, any unjust course, have fellowship with thee, which framest mischief by a Law? And the Lord doth extremely threaten them, that walk after unrighteous ordinances, as that they should sow much, but not reap; tread the Olives, but not annoint themselves therewith; and sweet wine, but not drink it; because the Statutes of Omri are kept, and all the works of the house of Achab, and they walked in their counsels: and the Prophet Hosea doth more fully set down the wrath of God both against the makers, and the observers of all unrighteous Laws.

Mich. 6. 15, 16.

Hos. 5. 10, 11.

Object.

If you say, The Lands and Lordships of the Bishops were not the patrimony of the Church, but were only, in superstitious times, given by our Kings and others unto the Church-men; and therefore now, the King being in want, they may be restored to the Crown again.

Sol.

I confess the Lands of the Church are the free bequests of godly Kings, and of other pious men dead long agoe, with most fearful imprecations made against all those that should seek to alter their Wills and Testaments: and the Apostle saith, If it be but a mans Testament, no man altereth it; that is, no honest man ought to alter it, though perhaps his Will might have been made wiser, and his goods bestowed to better use; for our Saviours Maxim, when he gave a Penny to him that laboured but one hour, and but a Penny to him that had endured the heat of the day, is unanswerable, Is it not lawful for me to do what I will, with mine own? And therefore,

1. As others daily leave their estates of great Amount to whom they please, many times to strangers, and perhaps to idiots, or debauched persons, of wicked lives, and noxious manners; and yet no man grudgeth, or endeavoureth to take away those just Legacies, which their good Benefactours had bestowed upon these unjust men; so there is no reason, that any mans eyes should be evill for the goodnessse of their Ancestours unto the Clergie, but that their Wills should stand to those uses after their death, as intemerate, as if they were now alive to dispose of their beneficence.

Deut. 33. 11.

2. They are most injurious to the King, (who is wise as an Angel of God, and therefore holdeth this sacrilege odious to his Princely heart) that would seek to enrich his Crown with that, which will shake it on his head, and endanger all his Posterity to such fearful judgements as his Progenitours have denounced, and God hath executed upon many Kings and Princes for the like sinnes; for, as Moses prayeth against the sacrilegious enemies of Levi, Smite through the loines of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again? so, we find that many ancient families, having by the Statute of Dissolution taken some of the Lands and Tithes of the Church into their possessions, have found the same like the Gold of Tholous, or the Eagles feathers; pernitiosa potentia, that will consume all the feathers where they shall be mingled.

Pierius in Hieroglyph.

Aelian. lib. 5.
cap. 14.
Var. Hist.

Who so is wise will consider these things, and will not, to satisfie these Anabaptistical dregges of the people, and the enemies of all Christian Religion, sacrilegiously take away, with Aelian's boy, the golden plate from Diana's Crown, the Lands and Revenues of the Church; but, having not so learned Christ, they will do that which becommeth Saints, and suffer the dead to enjoy their own will in that wherein they put them to no charge, and if they do intend to promote Gods service, they will not rob Saint Peter, to pay Saint Paul, but will rather say with holy David, God forbid that I should offer sacrifice to God of that which cost me nothing.

15. As any wooden Preachers, like Jeroboam's Priests de face plebis, scarce worthy to be compared with the Grooms of their stable, or such

bumi

bum serpents, poor abjects, as Job speaks of, *The sonnes of vilenesse and bond-men, more vile than the earth they crawl upon, are fit enough to be their teachers, and beggarly pensioners; so any place, a thatched Barn, a littered Stable, or an ample Cow-house, is thought by these to be very fair and fit to be the House of Him that was born in a Stable, and laid in a Manger; and any service, prayers without sense, such as our Saviour blames, and preaching without learning, without truth, such as their Enthusiasts conceive in illa borda, & quicquid in lucuum veneris, without any further study, or meditation, is justified to be most acceptable to God; witness the Author of One argument more against the Cavaliers where that great Scholar in his own opinion, rails against our grave Bishops, and most impudently reproacheth a very reverend man of known worth, and great learning, by the scandalous Epithete of The ceremonious Master of Balliol Colledge, Doctor Laurence, whom for a most learned and pious Sermon preached before the King, upon these words of Exodus, Put off thy shooes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground; he doth, just like the eldest son of his dear father the devill (as Tertullian calleth *Harmogenes*, primogenitum diaboli) most falsely, and shamelessly, charge him with the wearing of consecrated slippers, which was never done, but is one of those scurrilous invented imputations of this malitious Accuser of his brethren; now thrown at him, whose shooes, either for learning or piety, I am sure, this rambling Arguist, and railing Rab-shake is not worthy to bear; and for the service of God in our Churches, though the holy Prophet, which was a man according to Gods own heart, praised God in the beauty of holiness, upon all the best instruments of musicke ever used in the Church. Psal. 147. 1. 149. 3. pt. 150. 3,4,5; and commanded us, as well in the grammatical sense, as in the mystical sense, to sing praises unto our God with Tabret and Harp, to praise him in the sound of the Trumpet, in the Cymbals and dances, upon the well-tuned Cymbals, and upon the loud Cymbals; yet this zealous Organ-musicke, gives us none other Title, than Cathedral Roarers, and Squeakers: and good reason it is he should be very angry with dairing and squeaking in pag. 24. Churches; for that having been possent of a very competent living with cure of soules these four or five years together (if I am not mistaken in the Author) he never yet either read, or preached, in these, or any other Church; so necessary is Non-residence, and so usefull are dumb dogges, when they are willing to snarl and bark against Government and Religion: but it is strange to me, that such a divine harmony, which Musick now hath made others sober, should make this spawn of the red Dragon mad, useful. for we know some Law-givers commanded children to be taught Δασδ, Theodorit. Epist. 1. 2. Patriarch de Musica. after the grave composed tones of the Dorick way, ad corde fer aidentur, cende, to soften the fiercenesse of their dispositions, and admodum fervorem temperandum, to cool and allay the heat and distempers of their minds; as Achilles was appeased in Homer, and Iudas was drawn to commiseration, lucido carmine, by a sad Poem sung to bird-singing, when he intended the utter destruction of Antioch; and the Scripture refleth the like effect of Davids harp in King Saul: yet all this noise, and hallowed air, which reviseth devout souls, hath only filled this anxious malignant withenasy winds, and stinking expresions, so contrary to the words of God himself, Exodus 3. 5, and against the judgements of all Divines; and the practice of all Saints, and primitive Ecclesiastes, from the first birth of Gods Church, ha most ignorantly denieith any place to pag. 15. 18. he holier than another, which makes me afraid, that Heaven will this man and his faction is deemed no holier than Hell, & the Lords day no holier than Monday, no more than they hold the Church holier than their Sisters, or the holiest Priest, though he were Aaron himself, the Servt of the Lord, holier than the prophetest worldling; for I find no difference shal be made betwixt them.*

they make either of persons, times, or places, but such a commixtion of all things as if they intended to reduce and bring the whole world into that confused Chaos, which God first created, before he disposed the parts thereof into their several stations.

But I am loth to spend any more time about this ignorant Argument, that is, as all the rest of their Writings are, as full of railing and unsavoury speeches, as any mortall pen can diffuse; therefore I leave him to do with his heart and mouth as that Moravian Cabaret (whereof he speaketh) did with those Churches, which the Goths and Vandals had defiled.

Thus you have some, and I might adde here abundance more, of their absurd and impious Doctrines, which their ignorant simplicity produced, and their furious zeal published, out of mis-interpreted Scriptures; nor that all these points are taught by every one of their Teachers, but that all these and many more are taught and maintained by some one or other of them, as I could easily expresse it, if it were not too tedious for my Reader; but the bulk of my Book swells too big, and their fancies are but Dreams fit for laughter; and I brought these only as Vinegar to be tasted, and then to be spit out again.

CHAP. X.

Showeth the great Bug-bears that affrighted this Faction: the four speciall means they used to secure themselves; the manifold lies they raised against the King; and the two speciall Questions that are discuss'd about Papists.

1. The setting of the Militia, and putting the whole Kingdom into the posture of Defence, as they termed it.

2. They dreamt of a desperate Disease, and,

3. They devised an Empirical way to cure it.

4. The disease was a monstrous fear of Popery, and the re-establishment of abolished superstitions in our Church, to invade their consciences; and of the Papists, with fire and sword, to waste their estates, and to take away their lives and liberties; and through that groundless fear, they looked on other innocent Ceremonies that were established in the Church, as dangerous Innovations, and introductions to Idolatry.

And in the State, they feared the practised wayes and endeavours, to produce an arbitrary government, by our advancing of a boundlesse Privilege, even to the dispoysling of the Subject of his property, and robbing him of the benefit of the laws: these were their fears.

And the grounds of these fears were lying fictions, and most scandalous detraction and defamations; for their invented Letters that shold come from Holland, and from Denmark, and some other places beyond the Seas, (wheres we were better believe them, then go try whether they were true) which informed them sometimes of a Fleet of Danes, sometimes of another Nation, that shold come to afflit the King for the setting up of Popery, and the securing of himself in a tyrantical and arbitrary government over them; and every day almost produced a discovery of new treacheries against the Parliament, wher terrible things affrighted them;

as the stable of Horses underground, (for indeed they were invisible Horses, such as Elihu's servant saw, terrifying their guilty consciences;) and that of the Taylors in Moor-fields, and the like horrid machinations

chinations, that were to come against them, I know not from whom, and God knowes from whence; which things, how false they were, time, which is the mother of truth, hath long agone made manifest and ridiculous, to any man that is not bewitched with these lying fancies: therefore, lest these dreams of their distempered brains, should be too soon decryed, and so prove defective to produce their intended project, they alledge, The Queen is a Papist (and I would to God they were so truly religious, and void of hypocrisy in their profession, as she, most gracious Queen, is in her religion) then they say, The Bishops are all Papists, Deans and Prebends are of the same stamp, and all the Kings Chapleins, that were preferred by the Arch-Bishop, were either close Papists, or protest Arminians, which are but Cosen-germans unto the other; Arminianism being but a Bridge to passe over unto Popery.

And with these and the like false flanders against the King, Queen, and Clergy, they so bewitched most of their well meaning brethren of the same house, and amazed all the simpler sort of people of this Kingdom with these fears, and filled them with such jealousies, with those Pamphlets, that they caused to be printed, and dispersed every where, that they were at their wits end, for fear of this lamentable alteration of their religion, and deprivation of their liberties.

2. The disease being thus spread, like a Gangrene, over all the parts of 2. The Carte: the body of this Kingdom, they like skilful Physitians devise the cure; and that is, the preparation of a Militia, and this Militia they would have put into such hands as they pleased, such as they might confide in; and I wish the whole Kingdom knew who those men were, and who they are, that they do confide in; for I know,

1. Some of them are poor men of most desperate fortunes, if Bank-rup-
ters may be termed such;

2. Others to be most factious and schimatical men, addicted to Anabaptism, and Brownism, and other worser Sects; as amongst the London Com-
manders, Ven, Manwaring, Fowke, Norington, Brady, Best, and the
rest, whereof there are twice as many schimatical, and, as it is conceived,
beggarly Sectaries, as are right honest men among them; and if we looked
among their Lords, and all the rest of their nomination throughout the
Kingdom, I doubt we shall find some of them to be just of the same condition.

And because the King (to whose care and trust God had committed all the people of this Kingdom (and not to them, that are called by the King, and chosen only by men, and that only for this time,) and of whom he will require an account of the laws and religion, wherof he made him keeper and defender, and not of them) thought most rightly, that this Militia should be committed rather to such men, as he might confide in (as it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and His Father of ever blessed memory) rather than to any that they should name, which was to dis-robe himself of all his regal power, of the chiefest garland of his royal Prerogatives, (without which he could hold his Crown by no better tenure, then *durante benefacito*) and to put the sword out of his own hand, into the hands of them that could not love him, because they could not trust him, as they alledged; (and what reason had he to trust them that were causelssly so distrustful of him?) they startled at this deniall.

And because the King of heaven had by this time opened the Kings eys; God openeth to let him see what hitherto he could hardly imagine, that these men (to the King's eyt; whom he had granted for the good of his kingdom, so many Acts of grace and favour, as never any King of England did before, and had very graciously offered to commit to the hands of their own choosing, so large a share of the Militia, as might have rendred the whole kingdom most secure, if security in a just and legall way, had been all that they

sought for) had their intentions far otherwise then they pretended, and that not only the government of the Church was intended to be altered, and the *Governours* thereof destroyed, but himself also was hereby dis-robed of those rigthes, which God and the Lawes of the Land had put into his hands, and the Kingdom brought either into a base Tyranny, or confused Anarchy, when all things shall be done according to the arbitrary power of these factious and schismatical men, therefore he utterly refused to grant their desires, and most wisely withstood their design.

How they strengthened themselves to make their orders fit with-out the King.

Whereupon, these men put their heads together, to consult how they might strengthen themselves, and make their ordinances firm and binding without the King; and to that purpose, having by their former doings, gotten too great an interest, as well in the *faith*, as in the *affections* of the people; in confidence of their own strength, they came roundly to the businesse, and what they knew was not their right, as their former Petitions can sufficiently witnesse, they resolve to effect the same by force, but as insensibly as they can devise; as,

1. To seize upon the Kings *Navie* to secure the Seas.
2. To lay hold upon all the Kings *Magazine*, Forts, Towns, and Castles.
3. To with-hold his *moneys* and revenues, and all other means from the King.
4. To withdraw the *affections*, and to poysen the *loyalty* of all his Majesties Subjects from him.

And hereby they thought (and it must have been so indeed, except the Lord had been on his side) *they bad made their bill so strong, that it could not be moved*, and the King so weak and destitute of all means, that he could no wayes *subsist*, or relieve himself, as a member of their own House did tell me, for

1. Earl of Warwick made Vice-Admiral.

1. They get the Earl of Warwick to be appointed Vice-Admiral of the Seas, and to commit all the Kings Navie into his hand, and to take away that charge from Sir John Pennington, whom most men believed to be far the better Sea-man, but more *faithful* to his King, and the other *purer* to the Parliament.

2. Sir John Hotham put into Hull for the Magazine.

2. They send Sir John Hotham a most insolent man, that most *uncivilly* contemned the King to his face, to seize upon the Kings *Magazine* that he bought with his own money, (when they might as well take away my horse that I paid for) and to keep the King out of Hull, which was his own proper Town, and therefore might as well have kept him out of White-Hall, and was an A& so full of injustice, as that I scarce know a greater.

3. They detained the Kings moneys. Estay 1.23.

3. Because *moneys* are great means to effect any worldly affaire, and the *finews* of every warre, when as men and arms, and all other *necessaries* may be had for money, some of them and their followers shew themselves to be just as the Peers of Israel, *companions of thieves*, *meer robbers*, which forcibly take away a mans mony from him; they take all the Kings *treasure*, they intercept, detain, and convert all the Kings revenues and cu-stomes, to strengthen themselves against the King.

4. They labour to render the King odious by lies.

4. Because their former Remonstrances framed by this *faction*, of the ill government of this kingdom, though in some things true, (which the King ingeniously acknowledgeth, and most graciously promiseth to redresse them) yet in all things full of gall and bitternesse against the King, could not so fully poysen the love and loyalty of the Kings Subjects, as they desired, especially the love of those that knew his Majesty, who the better they knew him, did the more affectionately love him, and the more *faithfully* serve him; they thought to do it another, and a surer way, with apparent *yes*, palpable *flanders*, and abominable accusations, invented,

invented, printed, and scattered over all the parts of this kingdom, by their Trencher Chaplains, and parasitical Preachers, and other Pamphletters, some busie Lawyers, and Pettifoggers, to bring the King into an odium, disliked and deserted of all his loving Subjects. And what created power under heaven was able to dissolve that wickednesse, which subtily and malice, had thus treacherously combined to bring to passe?

Hereupon (after many threatening votes, and actual hostility exercised against his Royall person) the King is forced to raise a guard for the defence of himself, and those his good Subjects that attended him; then presently that small guard, that consisted but of the chief gentry of the Countrey, was declared to be an Army raised for the subversion of the Parliament, and the destruction of our native liberties; an invincible Army is voted to be raised, the Earl of Essex is chosen to be their Generall, with whom they promise both to live and die, the Earl of Bedford General of the Horse, moneys are provided, and all things are prepared to fetch the King and all delinquents, or to be the death of all withstanders; and that nothing might hinder this design, though the King in many gracious Messages attested by the subscription of many noble Lords that were upon the place, assured them, he never intended any warre against his Parliament, yet they proceed with all eagernesse, and declare all those that shall assist the King, either with Horse, money, or men, to be malignants and enemies unto the King and Kingdome, and such delinquents as shall be sure to receive condigne punishment by the Parliament, *Hoc mirum est, bot magnum.*

And among the rest of their impudent slanders, this was their Master-piece, which they ever harped upon, that he countenanced Papists, and intended to bring Popery into this Kingdgm, and to that end had an Army of Papists to assist him.

But to satisfie any sensible man in this point, I would crave the resolution of these two Questions:

1. Whether every Papist that is subject to his Majestie, is not bound to assist and defend his King in all his dangers?

2. Whether the King should not protect his Subjects that are Papists in all their dangers, so far as by the Law he ought to do it; and accept of their service, when he himself is invironed with dangers?

For first, I believe there is no Law that inhibites a Papist to serve his King against a Rebellion, or to ride Post, to tell the King of a Design to murder Him, or any other intended Treason against Him; or, being present, to takeaway a weapon from that man that attempted to kill the King; because his not coming to Church, doth not exempt him from his Allegiance, or discharge him of his duty and service unto the King; and therefore if a Fleet from France or Spain, or any other foreign part should invade us, or any Rebellion at home should rise against His Sovereign, and seek to destroy those Lawes and Liberties, whereof himself and his Posterity hath as good an interest to, as any other Subject; say, he is bound by all Laws to assist his King, and to do his best endeavour, both with his purse and in his person, not only to oppose that external Invasion; but also to subdue, as well that home-bred Rebellion, as the foreign Invasion.

2. If a Papist should be injured, his estate seized upon, his house plundered, and his person, if taken, imprisoned, not because he transgresed any other Law, but that he dispensed not with the Law of his conscience, to be no Papist; and being thus injured, should come unto his King, and say, I am your Subject, and have lived dutifully; I did nothing which the Law gives me not leave, I have truly paid all duties, and bumbly submitted my self to all penalties; and yet, I know not why, I am thus used, and abused

1. Lye, that he intended to war against the Parliament.

Two questions to be resolved.

All Papists bound to assist their King.

3. The King bound to protect dutiful Papists.

abused by my neighbours; I am driven from my house by force of Arms; and I have no place to breathe, but under your Majesties wings, and the shelter of your power; therefore I beseech you, as you are my King, and are obliged to do your best for the safety of your true Subjects, let me have your protection, and you shall have my service unto death? I would fain know what the King should do in such a case; deny his protection, or refuse his service? The one is *injustice*, the other not the best wisdom; especially if he needed service: for as the Law of nature and of nations requireth all Subjects, to obey their Kings, and faithfully to serve them, of what Religion soever their Kings shall be; so *Lege relationis*, every King is bound to protect every faithfull Subject, that observeth his Laws, or submitteth to their penalties, without corrupting of his fellow Subjects, of what Religion soever he is: because they are his Subjects, not as they are *faithfull Christians*, but as *obedient men*; and he is to rule, not over the *faith* of their souls, but the *actions* of their bodies; and it is an Axiom in Divinity, that *Fides non est cogenda*; and if Kings cannot perswade their subjects to embrace the true Faith, they ought not to cut them off, so long as they are true Subjects: And therefore with what *reason* can any man blame the King, either for protecting them in their distresses, or accepting their service in his own extremities; I cannot understand. And yet, for the *goodly company* of *Papists* which his Majesty entertaineth in all his Armies, they cannot all make up so much as one *good Regiment*, as an Officer in his Majesties Army confidently affirmeth; but it will serve their turn to *taze* the King, to lay imputations upon him, even the *very things* that belong unto themselves (as the whole summe of those things that are expressed in *Englands Petition to their King, mutatis mutandis*, might truly be presented to the two Houses, that have now almost destroyed us all) and to make them mighty faults in him, which are no faults at all in themselves; because there is no fear of their favouring Popery, though, as they have very many, so they should have never so many more in their Army.

3. Lye, that he caused the Rebellion in Ireland.

The cause of this slander.

3. Another *Slander* they not onely whispered, but also dispersed the same farre and near among the people, to make the King still the more odious unto his Subjects, that he was the cause of the Rebellion in Ireland, and that the Rebels there had his *Commission* under the *Broad Seal* to plunder the Protestants, and to expell them thence; that so, the Gospel being rooted out of Ireland, Popery might the easier be transported and planted here in England; whereas themselves in very deed were the sole causers of this Rebellion, as I have shewed unto you before; and the colour of this slander was, that the *Rebellion* being raised, the *Ring leaders* of those Rebels, the sooner to gain the simple to adhere unto them, perswaded them to believe that they had the Kings *command* to do the same; and to that purpose shewed them the *Broad Seal*, which they had taken from *Ministers*, and *Clerks of the Peace*, and others, whom formerly they had plundered, and taken their Seales from them, which they *cunningly affixed* to certain *Commissions* of their own framing; as M. *Sherman* assured me, he saw the *Broad Seal* that was taken from one *M. Hart*, that was Clerk of the *Peace* in the County of *Tumond*; and was found in the pocket of one of the chief Leaders of the Rebels, when he was killed by the Kings *Souldiers*; yet, this false and lewd practice of these Rebels in Ireland, was a most *welcom news* to this *Faction* in England, to lay this imputation upon the King, that he was the *cause* of this Rebellion, which themselves had kindled, and were glad to find such a *colour* to impune it unto him, that it might not be suspected to be raised by them.

Many other such *falsehoods*, *Lyes*, and *impudent Slanders*, hath the *father of lies* caused these his *Children* most impudently to *father* upon the King, but

but as the Philosopher saith, *Non quia affirmatur, aut negatur, vis erit, aut non erit*, Things are not so and so, because they are said to be so; neither can they be no such things, only because they are denied to be such; as *Gold* is not *Copper*, because ignorant men affirm it to be so; nor a drunken man sober, or a vitiuous man virtuous, because they deny him to be good, and blazon him abroad for one of the sonnes of Belial; but as *Gold* is *Gold*, and *Brasse* is *Brasse*, so godly men are good, wicked men are evill, and Rebels are none other then Rebels, let men call them what they will; and so our King is not such a man as they say, because they affirm it; but he is indeed a most just, vertuous, and most pious Prince, let them say what they will, Their tongues are their own, and we cannot rule them: and so all his followers are better Protestants indeed, and less Papists in all points of faith, than the best of them, that term us so by false names. God forgive them these flanderous accusations:

How things
are indeed.

CHAP. XI.

Showeth the unjust proceedings of these factious Scattars against the King; eight special wrongs and injuries that they have offered him. Which are the three States. And that our Kings are not Kings by election or Covenants with the People.

And yet, for all these straige courses, contrary to all humane thoughts, which is marvellous in our eyes; the Lord of Heaven whose counsell shall stand, and whose will shall be done, hath them all in derision, dissipates all these devicrs, and turns all the counsell of Achitophel against his own head, when he opened the eyes of many millions of the Kings true Subjects, to behold and detest these unfaifful dealings, and disloyall proceedings against so gracious a King; and therefore petitioned, and subscribed, that his Majesty standing upon his Guard, and defending himself from such indignities as might follow, they would hazard their lives and fortunes to affit him, to repell those more than barbarow injuries, that were offered unto Him.

Therefore now, *Memoria proditur est*, I find it written, that without fear of God, without regard of Majesty, without Justice, without benefite; they are resolved, rather chaff to repent of their former wickednesse, to involve the whole Kingdome in an unnatural civill War; and to maintain the same against the will, and contrary to the desires both of the King and Kingdom; and it is almost incredible, what wicked courses, and how unjust, and insufferable Orders and Ordinances you shall find recorded, that they have made!

S 1. Against the King.

S 2. Against the Subjects.

S 3. Against the Law.

Which are all said to be exceedingly

abused by them; for,

1. Against the King, it is registred to Posterity, that they have proceeded, besides many other things, in all these particulars:

1. They possesse all the Kings Houses, Towns, and Cattles, but what he gets by the strength of his sword, and detain them from him; so that we may say with our Saviour, *The Foxes have holes, and the fowls of the air nests*; but the King of England hath not an house allowed him by the Houses of Parliament, wherein to put his head; and they take not only his Houses, but also his rents, and revenues, and (as I understood when I was in Oxford) his very clothes, and provision for his Table, that

Psal. 118. 23.
Ezay. 44. 10.

1. Their pro-

ceedings a-

gainst the

King.

1. Wrong.

March. 8. 16.

The complaint
to the House
of Commons.
Pag. 19.

that seeing they could not take away his life by the sword, they might murder him with cold or famin, when he should not have the subsistence (if they could hinder him) to maintain life and soul together, which is the shame of all shame, and able to make any other men odious to all the world, thus maliciously and barbarously to deal with their own most gracious King; neither doth their malice here end, but they with-hold the Rents of the Queen, and seize upon the Revenues of our Prince, which, I assure them, my Countrey-men takes in great scorn, and I believe will right it with their lives, or this Parliament-Faction shall redeem their errors with no small repentance, when as we find no Prince of Wales was ever suffered by his Subjects to have such indignities offered him by the greatest Peers of England.

Alderman
Garraway his
Speech.

Sober Sadness,
pag. 22.

2. Wrong.

And here I cannot omit what Alderman Garraway saith of the reproach of Master Pym, touching the maintaining of the Kings other Children, which he professeth made his heart to rise, and hoped it did so to many more: "Is our good King fallen so low, that his Children must be kept for him? It is worth our inquiry, Who brought him to that condition? We hear him complain, that all his own Revenue is seized, and taken from him; Is not his Exchequer, Court of Wards, and Mint here? his Customes too are worth somewhat, and are his Children kept upon Alms? How shall We and our Children prosper, if this be not remedied? And I pray God these things rise not up in judgement against them and this Nation; but hereby they intended to verifie that disloyal Speech which One of them uttered in a Tavern, and God will avert it from his Servant, That they would make the King as poor as Job, unless he did comply with them.

3. Wrong.

The Petition
to his Maj:sty
the 15. of July
1642.

*Non turpe est
ab eo vinci
quem vincere
est nefas; neque
ei inbonefè ali-
quem submitti,
quem Deus su-
per omnes excus-
bit.*

*Dicitum Arme-
ni Pompeii.*

2. If any man which they like not attend the Kings Person, though he be his sworn servant, or assist him in his just defence, which he is bound to do by the Law of God and man; yet he is presently voted and condemned for a Malignant, Popish, disaffected, evill Counsellour, and an enemy to the State; and that is enough (if he be catched) to have him spoyled and imprisoned at their pleasure; nay, my self was told by some of that Faction, that because I went to see the King, I should be plundered and imprisoned, if I were taken.

3. Though they do solemnly profess that his Majesties personal safety, and his royal honour and greatnesse are much dearer unto them then their own lives and fortunes, which they do most heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly imploy for the support and maintenance thereof; yet for all this hearty Protestation, they had at that very time (as the King most accurately observeth in his Answer) directed the Earl of Warwick to assist Sir John Hotspur against him, appointed their Generals, and, as Alderman Garraway testifieth, raised ten thousand armed men out of London, and the Neighbour-Countries before the King had seven hundred: and afterwards, though the King sent from Nottingham a gracious Message and sollicitation for Peace, yet they supposing this proceeded from a difference of his own strength, or being too confident of their own force, slighted the Kings Grace, and most barbarously proceeded in the most hostile manner, waged warre, and gave battail against the Kings Army, where they knew he was in his own Person, and as one of their Preachers taught the Sunday before the Battail, that they might with a good conscience, as well kill the King (*corresco dicere*), as any other man; so (according to Captain Blouges directions, as Judas taught the High-Priests servants) we know what Troops and Regiments were most aimed at, whereas they do most ridiculouslly say they have, for the defence of his person, sent many a Cannon-bullet about his ears, which he did with that Kingly courage, and Heroick magnanimity; yea, and that Christian resolution, and

and dependance on Gods assistance pass through, that it shall be recorded to his everlasting honour, and their indelible shame and reproach, so long as the world endureth.

4. They have most Disloyally and Traiterously spoken both privately & Wrong, and publickly such things against his Majesty, as would make the very Heathens tear them in pieces, that should say the like of their Tyrannous Kings, and such as I could not believe they proceeded from the mouth of a Christian against so Christian a King, but that I find most of them were publickly uttered, made known unto his Majesty, and related by himself, and those that were Ear-witnesses thereof, as (*Horrescere refert*) that he was not worthy to be our King: not fit to live: that he was *The Traitor*: that the Prince would govern better: and that they dealt fairly with him they did not depose him, as their fore-fathers had deposed Richard the second, whom all the World knoweth to be most Traiterously Murdered: and the whole progress of that Act, whereby he was deposed, is nothing else but the *Scandal* of that Parliament, and an horrid treason upon the fairest relation of any Chronicle: and the good Bishop of Carlile, was not then affraid, in open house to tell the Lords so to their faces; and I would our Parliament men would read his Speech.

5. They command their own Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations to 5. Wrong, be Printed *Cum privilegio*, and to be published in Publick throughout the whole Kingdom, and they are not a little punished that neglect it; and whatsoever Message, Answer, Declaration or Proclamation cometh from the King, to inform his Subjects of the Truth of things, and to undeceive his much seduced people, they freightly forbid those to be Printed, and imprison (if they can catch them) all that publish them, as they did many worthy Ministers in the City of London, and in many other places of this Kingdom.

6. They have publickly voted in their House, and accordingly indeavour- 6. Wrong, ed by Messages to perswade our brethren of Scotland, to joyn in their assistance with these grand Rebels, to rebel against their Sovereign; but I perswade my self, (as I said before) that the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, are more Religious in themselves, more Loyal to their liege Lord, and indeed wiser in all their actions, then, while they may live quietly at home in a happy peace, to undertake upon the persuasions of Rebellious Subjects, such an unhappy war abroad.

7. It is remonstrated and related publickly, that, as if they had shaken off all subjection, and were become already a State Independent, they have Treated by their agents with forraign States, and do still proceed in that course; which, if true, is such an usurpation upon Sovereignty, as was never before attempted in this Kingdom; and such a Presumption, as few men know the secret mischiefs that may lurk therein.

8. They suffer and licence their Pamphletters: Pryn, Goodwin, Burges, 8. Wrong, Marshal, Sedgwick, and other emissaries of wickedness, to publish such Treasons and Blasphemies, and abominable Aphorisms; As, that the negative vote of the King is no more then the dissent of one man; the Affirmative vote of the King makes not a Law, ergo, the Negative cannot destroy it; and the like absurd and sensless things that are in those Aphorisms; and in Prins book of the Sovereign power of Parliament, whereby they would deny the Kings power to binder any Act; that both the Houses shall conclude; and so, taking away those just prerogatives from him, that are as Hereditary to him as his Kingdom, compell him to assent to their conclusions: for which things our Histories tell us, that other Parliaments have banished (and upon their returns they were hanged) both the Why the two Spencers, the Father and the Son, for the like presumption, as among others Spencer died.

*Per aspera vid.
Elismer post-
nati p.99.*

Pag. 48.

Pag. 19, 20, 21.

The Letter to
a Gentleman
in Gloucester-
shire, p.3.

Lamberts Ar-
chivon, 271.
Vid. the Viewer
p.11.

Which be the
three States of
England.

Speed. l. 9. c. 19.
p. 712.
Anno. 1 Ric. 3.

other Articles, for denying this Prerogative unto their King, and affirming, that if he neglected his duty, and would not do what he ought, for the good of the Kingdom, he might be compelled by force to perform it: which very thing, divesteth the King of all Sovereignty, overthroweth Monarchy, and maketh our government a meer Aristocracy, contrary to the constitution of our first Kings, and the judgment of all ages; for we know full well, from the Practice of all former Parliaments, that seeing the three States are subordinate unto the King, in making Laws (wherein the chiefest power consisteth) they may propound and consent, but it is still in the Kings power to refuse or ratify: and I never read that any Parliament man, till now, did ever say the contrary: but that if there be no concurrence of the King (in whom formally the power of making of any Law resideth, ut in subiecto,) to make the Law, the two Houses (whose consent is but a requisite condition to compleat the Kings power) are but a lifeless convention, like two Cyphers without a figure, that of themselves are of no value or power, but joyned unto their figures, have the full strength of their places; which is confirmed by the Viewer of the Observations, out of

11. Hen. 7. 23. per Davers, Polydore, 185. Cowel inter. verbo Prerog. Sir Thomas Smyth de republ. Angl. l. 2. c. 3. Bodin, l. 1. c. 8. For if the Kings consent were not necessary for the perfecting of every A&T, then certainly (as another saith) all those Bills that heretofore have passed both Houses, and for want of the Royal assent, have slept, and been buried all this while, would now rise up as so many Laws and Statutes, and would make as great confusion, as these new orders and ordinances have done.

And as the Lawyers tell us, that the necessity of the assent of all three States in Parliament, is such, as without any one of them, the rest do but lose their labour; so, *Le Roy est assensus eeo faciunt A&T de Parliament*, and as another saith, *Nihil ratum habetur, nisi quod Rex comprobarit*, Nothing is perfected but what the King confirmeth.

But here in the naming of the three States, I must tell you, that I find in most of our Writers, about this new-born question of the Kings power, a very great omission, that they are not particularly set down, that the whole Kingdom might know which is every one of them; and, upon this omission, I conceive as great mistake in them, that say the three States are,

1. The King.
2. The House of Peers.
3. The House of Commons.

For, I am informed by no mean Lawyer, that you may find it upon the Rolls of Henry the fifth, as I remember, and I am sure you may find it in the first year of Richard the third, where the three States are particularly named, and the King is none of them; For it is said, That at the request, and by the assent of the three Estates of this Realm, that is to say, the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and Commons of the Land, assembled, it is declared that our said Sovereign Lord the King, is the very undoubted King of this Realm: Wherein you may plainly see, the King that is acknowledged their Sovereign by all three, can be none of the three, but is the head of all three, as the Dean is none of the Chapter, but is Caput capituli; and as in France, and Spain, so in England, I conceive the three Estates to be,

1. The Lords Spiritual, that are, if not representing, yet *in loco*, in the behalf of all the Clergy of England, that, till these Anabaptistical tares have almost choked all the Wheat in Gods field, were thought so considerable a party, as might deserve as well a representation in Parliament, as old Sarum, or the like Borough, of scarce twenty Houses.

2. The Lords Temporal in the right of their Honor and their Posterity,

3. The

And to make the World believe, how *justly* and sufficiently *legal* they could do this, they made another Ordinance for the inhabitants of the Counties of Northampton, Rutland, Derby, &c. to pay the twentieth part and to be *assessed* by the Assessors that they name, in imitation of the Statute lately made for the four hundred thousand pound : and it is more than probable, that this proceeding is but the *prædium* of the like extaction to be extended, when their need requireth, to all the other parts of the Kingdom ; which is a most miserable course, and injustice not to be paralleld, to cast themselves, into a necessity of getting money, to maintain an impious War against their King, and then out of that necessity to compel their fellow-Subjects, and those peaceable men, (that do abominate this War) to maintain the same (yea, and to fight in the same, to kill men against their consciences) in despite of their teeth ; or if they refuse to do it, to send, or at least to permit, a party of Horse, Dragooneers, and other strength to go to fetch their Money, Plate, or other goods, as if they were the goods of the deadly enemies of the Common-wealth ; and this for none other reason, but for that the owners thereof are good Subjects to the King, and not well affected to their *injust*, and *wicked* proceedings.

But let me perwade all men, that do fear God, still to suffer any thing, which they cannot avoid, from the violence of these wick'd men, rather than to contribute any thing unto them, to further such abominable courses, as they prosecute against the Law of God and man ; Because the Lord commandeth us, to fear none of those things that we shall suffer, but to stand in Rev. 2, 10. our integrity unto death, and we shall be crowned with the crown of life.

3. They have discharged the Apprentices and servants from their Masters services, and have either compelled, or persuaded them, to serve in their Army against the King, and that without the consent, and against the will of their Masters and Dames, yea, sometimes against the commands of their own Parents, which I speake from their own mouths.

3. How they discharged the Apprentices & compelled them to fight.

4. They have imprisoned very many hundreds of most able, and most honest men ; even so many, that the Prisons are not able to contain them, but they are fain to consecrate the greatest houses in London, to become Prisons ; as the Bishop of London's houle, Ely-houle, Winchester-houle, Lambeth-houle, Crosby-houle, the Savoy, and the like. And this they do for none other cause, but either for performing the duties of their places, and discharging their obedience to his Majestie ; as the last Lord Major Garney, which deserved rather to be commended, than committed, if we believe many that were present at his Tryal ; or petitioning unto them ; as Sir George Bynion, and Captain Richard Lovelace, and Sir William Boller of Kent, because they did not therein flatter, and approve their present wicked courses ; or intending to petition unto the King for relief of these lamentable distresses, as those Gentlemen of Hereford-shire and West-minster ; or for being, as they conceived, disaffected unto their disloyall Orders. A strange thing ! and injustice beyond precedent, not the like to sound among the Pagans, That (where no Law can condemn a man for his affections, when no action is committed against Law) men shall be robbed of their estates, and adjudged for Malignants (which is also a crime most general, and without the compasse of any Statute) and then for this new-created sin, to be condemned and imprisoned, and therein to remain without Tryal of his offence, perhaps as long as the Archbishop of Canterbury. And this wonder, is the rather to be wondered at, because it is the sense of both Houses, (if we may believe Master Pym) That it is against the Rules of Justice, that any man should be imprisoned upon a general Charge, when no particulars are proved against him : For never Charge can be more general than to be ill-affected, or a Malignant, or a man not to be confid

4. How they imprisoned our men without cause.

Complaint p. 3

M. Pym in his Speech at the Guild hall.

in,

in, whereof you find ten thousand in the City of London, and many hundred thousands in the Kingdom : and therefore, when we find so many persons of Honour and Reputation *imprisoned*, only upon this *surmise*, without any other *particular Charge* so much as once suggested against them, (as was the Lord of Middlesex, the Lord of Portland, and abundance more) and detained in prison, because they were *ill-affected*, in that they have not contributed to the *maintenance* of this War, we see how *insensibly* they have *accused* themselves to have laid this *insupportable punishment*, beyond the *desert* of the *transgressors*, and against the *Rules of all Justice*, and how they have forgotten their *Protestation*, and exceedingly infringed the *liberty* of the Subjects, whereof they promised to be such *faithful Prosecutors*.

G H A P. XIII.

Sheweth the proceedings of this Faction against the Laws of the Land, the Priviledges of Parliament; transgressed eleven special ways.

3. Their proceedings against the Laws.

3. **F**or the Laws of our Land, which are either *private*, as those chiefly which belong unto the Parliament, and are called the *Priviledges of Parliament*; or *Publick*, which are the *Inheritance* of every Subject: you shall find how they have invaded, and violated, each one of these: For,

1. Against the Priviledges of Parliament.

1. Touching the *Priviledges of Parliament*: We confess, that former Kings have graciously yielded many just *Priviledges* unto them, for the freedom of their persons, and the liberty of their *speeches*, so they be free from *Blasphemy* or *Treason*, or the like unpardonable offence; but such a freedom as they challenge, though for my self, I confess my skill in Law to be unable, to distinguish the *legitimate* from the *usurped*; yet in these subsequent particulars, I find wise men utterly denying it them: As,

1. Denying us to dispute of their Priviledges.

1. When they forbid us to *dispute* of their *Priviledges*, and say, That themselves alone are the sole Judges of them; when as in former Ages they have been adjudged by the *Laws of the Kingdom*, when *Thorpe* the Speaker of the House of Commons, hath been committed, and detained Prisoner, upon an Execution, and the House confirmed that Act.

2. Committing and putting out their Members.

2. When the Members of the House (of whose *elections*, and transgressions against the *House*, or any of their fellow-Members, or the like, the *House* is the proper Judge) which ought to have as *free liberty* as any of the rest, upon any emergent occasion, are committed; as *Master Palmer*, and others were; or put out of the *House*, as *Sir Edward Deering*, the *Lord Faulkland*, *Sir John Cu'pepper*, *Sir John Strangwayes*, and others, have been voted hand over head, for speaking more *reason*, than the more violent party could answer, or in very deed, for speaking their minds *freely*, against the *sense* of the *House*, or rather against some of the *prevalent Faction* of the *House*, which we say is no *Priviledge*, but the *pravity* of the *House*, to deny this *just Priviledge* unto those Members, that were thus committed or expelled: For, hereby it doth manifestly appear, that, contrary to the practice of all *former Parliaments*, and contrary to the *Honour* of any *Parliament*, things were herein debated and carried, not by *strength* of argument, but by the *most voices*; and the *greater number* were so far from understanding the *validity* of the *alleged Reasons*, that, after the *Votes* passed, they scarce conceived the *state* of the *Question*, but thought

Complaint.
p. 11.

thought it enough to be Clerks to Master Pym, and to say Amen to Master Hampden by an implicite faich.

3. When they deny the Members of their House, or any other employed by them in this horrid Rebellion, should be questioned for Felony, Treason, Murder, or the like capital Crimes, but only in Parliament, or at least, by the leave of that House whereof they are Members, or which doth employ them; for by this means any Member of their House may be tried for any capital Crime. *Vide Dyer, p. 59. 60.*
Crompton, 8. b.
Eliam post-natus, 9, 10, 11.
The viewer, 20, 21.
P. 43.

and as senseless a Priviledge as ever was challenged, and was never heard of till this Parliament: For, why should any man refuse his Tryal, or the deniall of them to be tryed by the Law, implyeth a doubt in us of the innocency of those, whom we will not submit to justice; and their Tryal would make them live gloriously hereafter, if they were found innocent, and move the King to deliver those men, that had so wickedly conspired their destruction, to the like censure of the Law. But for them to cry out, The King is mis-informed, and we dare not trust our selves upon a Tryal, may be a way to preserve their safety, but with the losse of their reputation, and perhaps the destruction of many thousands of people.

If they say, They are contented to be tryed, but by their own House, which, in the time of Parliament, is the highest Court of justice; It may be answered, said a plain Rustick, with the old Proverb, Ask my fellow, if I be a Thief. For mine own part, I reverence the justice of a Parliament in all other judgements betwixt party and party, yea, betwixt the King and any other Subject; yet, when the party accused shall be judged by his own Society, his Bretbren, and his own Faction, I believe any indifferent Judge would see this to be too great partiality against the King, that he shall not have those, whom he accuseth to be tryed by the Laws already established, and the ordinary course of Justice; and if the Judges offend in their Sentence, the Parliament hath full power, undenied them by his Majesty, to question, and to punish those Judges, as they did for that too palpable in justice (as they conceived) in the case of the Ship money; but they will be judged by themselves, and all that dissent from them, must be at their mercy or destruction. And yet it is said to be evident, That no Priviledge can have its ground or commencement, unlesse it be by Statute, Grant, or Prescription. And by the Stat. 26. Hen. 8. cap. 13. it is enacted, That no offender in any kind of high Treason, shall have the priviledge of any manner of Sanctuary: So all the Grants of such a priviledge, if any such should be made, are meerly void, i Hen. 7. Staffords case, and noe one Instance could hitherto be produced, whereby such a Priviledge was either allowed, or claimed, but the contrary most clearly proved by his Majesty out of Wentworths case.

And therefore, seeing your own Law-books tell us, That the Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend to Treason, the breach of the Peace, and (as some think) against the Kings debt: it is apparent, how grossly they do abuse the People by this claim of the Priviledge of Parliament.

4. When they connive with their own compaeres for any breach of privilege; as with Master Whitakers, for searching Master Hampdens pockets, and taking away his papers, immediately after the abrupt breaking up of the last unhappy Parliament, and those that discovered the names of them that differed in opinion from the rest of the Faction, in the busyness of the Earl of Strafford's and specially with that rabble of Brownists and

The Parliaments Plots

and Anabaptists, which with unheard-of impudency, durst ask that question publickly at the Bar, Who they were that opposed the well-affected party in that House? as if they meant to be even with them, whosoever they were. And likewise that unruly multitude of zealous Sectaries, that were sent, as I find it, by Captain Ven, and Isaac Pennington, to cry Justice, Justice, Justice, and, No Bishops, no Bishops; and this to terrifie some of the Lords from the House, and to awe the rest that should remain in the House, as they had formerly done in the case of the Earl of Strafford; and when others that they like not, are for the least breach of pretended Priviledge, either imprisoned, or expelled; for I assure my self, there cannot be bigger breaches of Priviledges than these be, nor greater stains to obscure the Honour, and vilifie the repute, of this Parliament.

5. The ingaging one another in civil causes, (that they may be conglutinated together for their great Design), to do things, not according unto Justice, but for their own ends, contrary to all right; and their favour is scarce worth the charge of attendance, to them that speed best by their Ordinances; but the complaint is, that men have the greatest injuries done them, in this, that themselves call the highest Court of Justice, which others say, hath now justified all other inferior Courts, and made all unrighteous Judges most just.

6. The surreptitious carrying of business, hath been debated and put unto the question, and upon the question determined, and the Bill once and again rejected, yet at another time, even the

third time, when the Faction had prepared the House for their own purpose, and knew they could carry it by most voices, the same question hath been resumed, and determined quite contrary to the former determination, when the House was more orderly convened; as it is said they did, to passe the Ordinance for the Militia, which many men dare avouch to their faces to be no Priviledge of Parliament, but a great abuse of their fellow-Members, and a greater injury unto all their fellow-Subjects.

7. Their parting of some men, and others have been accused, for no lesse than capital Crimes, (as Master Griffith was) yet if these men incline, and conspire with this Faction, to confirm those Positions, which they proposed to themselves, to overthrow the Church and State, and to uphold their usurped Government, and tyrannical Ordinances, they will pretend twenty excuses: as, The great Affairs of the State, The multiplicity of their businesses, The necessity of procuring monies, The shortness of their time, (though they sat almost three years already) that they have no leisure to determine these questions (which in truth they do purposely put off, lest they should leese such a friend unto their party;) but when any other, which dissenteth from their humours, doth but any thing contrary to the straitest Rules of the House, they do presently (notwithstanding all their

The L: Digby greatest affairs) call that matter into question, and it must be examined and followed with that eagerness (as in my Lord Digby's case) that he must be forthwith condemned and excluded; for we say, This cannot be any just Priviledge, but an unjust proceeding of this Parliament.

8. The delegating of their power to some men to do some things of themselves without the rest; as it seems they did unto Master Pym, when an Order passed under his sole test, for taking away the Rails from the Communion Table; for this is a course we never heard of in former time.

9. The multiplying of their Priviledges, are so infinitely grown and enlarged, more than ever they were in former Parliaments, and so swelled, that they have

have now swallowed up almost all the Priviledges of other men; so that they alone must do what they please, and where they will, in all Cities, and in all Courts, because they have the Priviledge of Parliament.

10. When, according to the great liberty of language, which we deny them not within their own wall, they take the Priviledge to speak what they list in other places, and to govern other Courts as they please, where (as they did in Dublin, and do commonly in London) they sit as Assistants with them, that are priviledged by their Charters to be freed from such Controllers.

11. When, above all that hath been, or can be spoken, they have made 11. Their close a close Committee of Safety, (as they call it) which in the apprehension of Committee, all wise and honest men, is not only a course most absurd and illegal, but also most destructive to all true Priviledges, and contrary to the equitable practice of all publick meetings, that any one should be excluded from that which concerneth him as well as any of the rest; And this Committee only, which consisteth of a very few of the most pragmatical Members of their House, must have all intelligences and privy counsels received, and reserved among themselves; and what they conclude upon, must be reported to the House, which must take all that they deliver upon trust, and with an implicit Roman faith, believe all that they say, and assent to all that they do; only because these (forsooth) are men to be confideth in, upon their bare word, (when their House hath no power to administer an Oath unto any man) in the greatest affairs, happiness or destruction of the whole Kingdom; for this is, in a manner, to make these men Kings, more than the Roman Consuls, and so as great a breach of Priviledge, and abuse of Parliament, as derogatory to his Majesty, that called them to consult together, and as injurious to all the people, as can be named, or imagined.

The greatness
of this abuse.

CHAP. XIV.

Sheweth how they have transgressed the publike Laws of the Land three ways: and of four miserable Consequences of their wicked doings.

2. For those publike, written, and better known Laws of this Land, 2. Against the they have no lesse violated and transgressed the same than the o- publike laws of ther; and that, as well in their execution and exposition, as in their composition; For,

1. When they had caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to be committed to the Tower, Judge Berkeley to the Sheriff of London, Sir George Ralcliffe to the Gate-house, for no lesse crimes than high Treason, and old Law, many other men to some other prisons for some other faults; yet all the World seeth, how long most of them have been kept in prison, some a year, some two, some almost three, and God only knoweth, when these men intend to bring them to their legal tryal; which delay of justice, is not only an intolerable abuse to the present Subjects of this Kingdom, to be so long deprived of their liberty upon a bare surmise, but also a far greater injury to all povertie, when this President shall be produced to be imitated by the succeeding Parliaments, and to justifie the delays of all inferior Judges.

2. Wheress we believe what Judge Braston saith, and Judge Briston likewise, which lived in the time of Edward the first, *Si disputatio oriatur, iusticiarii non possunt eam interpretari; sed in dubiis & obscuris,* 2. In expounding the Laws, Domini

Citatur à D^r. Domini regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas; cum ejus sit interpres
minimo Elism. in terius cuius est condere; If any Dispute doth arise, the Judges cannot inter-
pret-nati p.108. pret the same, but in all obscure and doubtful questions, the interpretation,
and the will of the King, is to be expected; when as he that makes the
Law, is to be the expounder and interpreter of the Law; Yet they have
challenged, and assumed to themselves, such a power, that their bare Vote,
without any Act of Parliament, may expound or alter a known Law;
which if it were so, they might make the Law, as Pighius saith of the
Scripture, like a nose of wax, that may be fashioned and bended as they
pleased; but we do constantly maintain, That the House of Commons
hath no power, to adjudge of any point or matter, but to inform the
Lords what they conceive; and the House of Peers hath the power of
Judicature, which they are bound to do, according to the Rules of the
known established Laws; and to that end, they have the Judges to in-
form them of those cases, and to explain those Laws, wherein themselves
are not so well experienced, (though now they sit in the House for cyphers,
even as some Clergy did many times in the Convocation;) and if any for-
mer Statute be so intricate and obscure, that the Judges cannot well agree
upon the right interpretation thereof, then (as in explaining Paynings A^d,
and the like, either in England or Ireland) the makers of the A^d, that is
the King, and the major part of both Houses, must explain the same.

^{3: In composing and setting forth new laws,} Whereas we never knew that the House had any power to make
Orders and Ordinances to bind any, (besides their own Members) to ob-
serve them as Laws; yet they compell us to obey their Orders, in a stricter
manner than usually we are injoined by Law; and this course, to make
such binding Ordinances as they do, to carry the force, though not the
name of an Act of Parliament, or a Law, is a mighty abuse of our Laws
and Liberties; for Sir Edward Cook tells us plainly, That (as the con-
stitution of our Government now standeth) neither the House of Com-
mons and King, can make any binding Law, when the Peers dissent; nor
the Lords and King, when the Commonalty dissenteth; nor yet both Hou-
ses without the Kings consent; but all three, King, Peers, and Commons,
must agree, before any coercive Law can be composed: Nay more, it
is sufficiently proved, that *Dare juri populo*, or the legislative power, being
one principall end of Regall Authority, was in Kings by the Law of
Nature, (while they governed the people by naturall equity) long be-
fore municipall Laws, or Parliaments had any beeing. For, as the Poet
saith,

*Remi cur fratre, Quirinus — Jura dabit populo.
Hoc Priami gestamen erat, cum jura vocatis
More daret populis —*

Because this was the custom of the Kings of Scythia, Assyria, Egypt, &c.
(long before Moses and Pharonew, when Municipal Laws first began) to
give Laws unto their people, according to the Rules of Naturall
equity, which, by the Law of Nature, they were all bound to ob-
serve.

And though some Kings did graciously yield, and by their voluntary
oathes, for themselves and their successors, bind themselves many times,
to stricter limits, than were absolutely requisite; as William Rufus, King
Stephen, Henry the fourth, Richard the third, and the like, granted man-
y Priviledges, perhaps to gain the favour of their Subjects, against
those which likely had a better Title to the Crown than themselves:
or, it may be, to satisfie their people, as the guerdon or compensation for
the sufferance of some fore-pasted grievances, as Henry the first, Edward
the

the second, Richard the second, and the like: yet, these *limitations*, being agreeable to equity, and consistent with Royalty, and not forcibly extracted, ought in all truth and reason to be observed by them. And hence it is that the Kings of this Realm, according to the oathes and promises which they made at their Coronation, can never give, nor repeal any Law, but with the assent of the Peers and People.

But though they have thus yielded, to make no Laws, nor to repeal any Laws without them; yet this voluntary concession of so much grace unto the people, doth no waies translate the legislative power from the King unto his assistants, but that it is formaliter and subjective still in the King, and not in them; else, would the government of this Kingdom be an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*, and not a *Monarchy*; because the Supreme power of making and repealing Laws, and Governing or judging decisively according to those Laws, are two of those three things, that give being to each one of these three sorts of Government.

Therefore, the King of England, being an absolute Monarch in his own Kingdom, as *Cassan* saith, and no man can deny it; the Legislative power *Gloria mundi*, must needs reside solely in the King, *ut in subiecto proprio*; and the consent of the Lords and Commons is no sharing of that power, but only a condition yielded to be observed by the King, in the use of that power: and so, both the *Oath* of Supremacy, and the form of all our ancient Statutes, wherein the King speaks as the Law-maker, do most evidently prove the same unto us, *Le Roy voit.*

Neither durst any Subjects in former times either assume such a power unto themselves, or deny the same unto their King: for you may find how the House of Commons, denying to pass the Bill for the Pardon of the Clergy, which Henry the 8th. granted them, when they were all charged to be in a *Premunire*, unless themselves also might be included within the pardon, received this answer from the King, that He was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy, (nor indeed could they compel him to any thing else:) but seeing they went about to restrain him of his Liberty, he would grant a pardon unto his Clergy by his great Seal without them; though afterwards of his own accord he signed their pardon also, which brought great commendation to his judgment, to deny it at first, when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace. And yet the denial of their assent unto the King, is more equitable to them, and less derogatory to him, than to make orders without him; And this manner of compulsion, to shew grace unto themselves is more tolerable, than to force him, to disgrace and displace his most faithful servants; only because others cannot confide in them, when no criminal charge is laid against them.

And therefore for the Lords and Commons to make Orders and Ordinances without the King, and in opposition to the King, is a mere usurpation of the Regal power, a nullifying of the Kings power, and a making of the Royal assent, which heretofore gave life to every Law, to be an empty piece of formality, which is indeed, an intolerable arrogancy in the contrivers of these Orders and the makers of these Ordinances, a monstrous abuse of the Subjects, and a plain making of our good King to be somewhat like him in the Comedy, *A King and no King.*

And, whereas no Subject, yea, under favour be it spoken, nor the King himself, after he hath taken his Oath at his Coronation, is free from the observation of the established Laws; yet they make themselves so far above the reach of Law, that they freed him, which the Lord chief Justice Bramston had committed to Newgate for felony in stealing the Countess of Rivers goods; they hindered all men, as we found in their journal, from proceeding against Sir Thomas Dawes; they injoyed the Judges by their

Sir Rich. Baker
in vita Hen. 8.

Orders, to forbear to proceed in their ordinary courses, in the Courts of Justice, contrary to the Oathes of those Judges; and some Parliament-men came to the Bench to forbid the Judges to grant *Habeas Corpus's*: which is as great an *iniquity*, and as apparent an *injustice*, as ever was done by any Parliament.

The most abominable wickedness of these factious Rebels.

Ps. 50. 22.
Augu. contra
Faust. 1. 22.
c. 75. 76.

The miserable consequences of their wicked doings.

1. Mischief.

2. Mischief.

And that which is a Note above *Ela*, above all that could be spokens; whereas the *Law of God* and man, the bonds and obligations of *Civility* and *Christianity*, tye us all to be *dutiful* and obedient unto our King, in *all* things, either *Actively* or *Passively*; and no *wayes* for no *cause* violently to *refist* him, under the *greatest* penalties that can be devised here, and damnation hereafter; yet these men, contrary to *all* Laws, do injoyn us and compell us, as much against our *Consciences*, as if they should compell us, with the *Pagan Tyrants*, to offer sacrifice unto *Idols*, to war against our most gracious Sovereign, whom we from our hearts do both love and honour; and they proscribe us as *malignants*, and as enemies to the *Common-Wealth*, if we contribute not Money, Horse, and Arms, to maintain this ungodly War, and so become *deadly enemies* unto our own souls. *O consider this yee that forget God, lest, for tearing us, He tear you in pieces while there is none to help you:* for, considering what the Apostle saith, *Rom. 13. 1, 2.* and what Saint *Augustine* saith, *Ordo naturalis, mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli Autoritatem atque consilium penes principem sit;* and lest men shoulde think, they ought by force of Armes to refist their King for Religion, he answereth that objection by the example of the Apostles, *Isti non resistendo interficiuntur, ut potiorem esse docerent victoriam, pro fide veritatis occidi.* We conceive this to be so execrable an *Act*, and so odious to God and man, that we are made thus miserable, and abused beyond measure, to have our *Religion*, which is most glorious, our *Laws*, that in their own nature are most excellent, and our *Liberties*, that make us as free as any Subjects in the World, under *false pretences*, and the shadows of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, to be eradicated, and fundamentally destroyed; whereby,

1. We are made a spectacle of scorn, and the object of derision to our neighbour-Nations, that formerly have envied at our happiness; and we are become the Subject of all pity and lamentation, to all them that love us.

2. As in the *Roman Civil-Wars*, in the time of *Metellus*, the Son did kill his own Father; so now, by the subtily of this faction, we are cast into such a War as is,

1. A most unnatural War, the *Son* against the *Father*, and the *Father* against the *Son*: The Earl of *Warwick* fighteth for the Parliament, and my Lord *Ricb* his Son with the King: The Earl of *Dover* is with the King, and my Lord *Rockford* his Son with the Parliament: So one brother against another, as the Earl of *Northumberland* with the Parliament, and his brother with the King; The Earl of *Bedford* with the Parliament and his brother with the King; Master *Perpoint* with the Parliament, and the Earl of *Newark* with the King; *Devoreux Farmer* with the Parliament, and his brother *Richard Farmer*, together with his brother in law my Lord *Cokain* with the King, and the like: and of *Cosens* without number, the one part with the King, and the other with the Parliament: And if they do this in subtily to preserve their Estates, I say it is a wicked policy to undo the Kingdom, which all wise men should consider.

2. A most *irreligious* War, when one *Christian*, of the same professed Religion, shall bathe his Sword, and wash his Hands in the blood of his fellow Christian, and his fellow Protestant, that shall be coheir with him of the same Kingdom.

3. A most *unnatural, irreligious, and barbarous* War, when the *Subject* shall

shall take Arms, to destroy or unthrone their own Liege, a Religious and most gracious King.

3. The Service of God in most Churches is neglected, when altho^t all the ablest, gravest, and most Orthodox Divines and Preachers are persecuted, plundered, imprisoned, and driven to flee (as in the time of the Arian or Donatist, which was worse than the Heathen persecution) from City to City, and to wander in Deserts from place to place, to save themselves from the hands of these Rebels against the King, and Persecutors of God's Church: which is a most grievous and a most cruel persecution, far more general than that of the Anabaptists in Germany, or of Queen Mary here in England. The Lord of Heaven make us constant, and give us patience to endure it.

4. The whole Kingdom is, and shall be yet more, by the continuance hereof, unspeakably impoverished, and plunged into all kind of miseries; when the Travailer cannot pass without fear, nec hospes ab hospite turus, the Carrier cannot transport his commodity, but it shall be intercepted, the Husbandman cannot till his ground, but his Horses, as my self saw it, shall be taken from the Plough, and his Corn shall be destroyed when it is ready for the Sickle, which must be the fore-runner of a Famine, that is ever the Usher to introduce the Plague and Pestilence, and all other kind of grievous diseases; and these things put together, do set wide our Gates, and open our Ports, to bring forraign foes into our Coasts, to possess that good Land, whereof we are unworthy; because with the Israelites we loathed Manah, we were weary of our peace and happiness; we would buy Arms and be Voluntiers, and every Town being too wanton, would needs train and put themselves into a posture of defence, as they termed it, to be secured from their own shadows: and though the King told them often, there was no cause of their Jealousies, and therefore forbade these disloyalties; yet just like the Jews, they were willing to be deceived by this miserable faction, that contrived that *Ad* whereby they have perfidiously over-reached both our good King, and the rest of our well-meaning brethren, either to perfect their Design, or else, to make themselves perpetual Dictators, and to betray the felicity of all our people, under the name of Parliaments; which though (as I said before) I honour and love, as much as any of the truest Patriots of either House, both in the institution and the right prosecution thereof; that is, as it was constituted, to be the great Council of the Kingdom graciously called by his Majesties-writ, confidently to present the grievances of the people, and humbly to offer their advice and counsels for their Reformation; yet I do abhor those men, that would abuse the word Parliament, only as a Stalking-Horse to destroy all Acts of Parliament; and I hate to see men calling the Fanatick actions of a few desperate seditious persons, the proceedings of Parliament, and others (making an Idol of it, as if their power were omnipotent or unlimited, and more than any Regal Power, their judgment infallible, their Orders irreprehensible, and themselves accountable for their proceedings) to be so besotted with the name of it, that this bare shadow without the substance (for it is no Parliament without the King; and the Major part of both Houses is either banished, or imprisoned, or compelled to reside with his Majesty) should so bewitch us (as Master Smyth blushed not to say, Nothing could free us from our dangers but the Divinity of a Parliament) out of our own happiness to become more miserable, then heretofore this Kingdom hath ever been by any Civil War: for, if you will consider the Treasons and Rebellions, the Injustice, Cruelty, and Inhumanity, the Subtilty, Hypocrisie, Lying, Swearing, Blasphemy, Prophaneness, and Sacrilegious in the highest pitch, and many other the like fearful sins, that have been committed since the beginning of this Parliament, by the sole means of this Faction,

Ingeniosus ad
blasphemiam.

and

The Parliaments Plots

and observe the ill Acts that have been used by them to compass things lawful, & the wicked Acts that have been daily practised to procure things unlawful (when by blood and rapine and the curses of many Fatherless and Widdows, they have gotten the Treasure of the Kingdom, and the Wealth of the Kings loyal Subjects into their hands, and wasted it so, that their wants are still as notorious as their crimes) we may admire the miracles of Gods mercy, and the bottomless depth of his goodness, that the stones in the streets have not risen against them, or the fire from Heaven had not consumed these Rebels, that thus far and thus insolently had tempted Gods patience, and provoked him to anger with such horrible abominations.

3. Mischief.

5. As *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so this Faction hath justified all the Romanists, and shewed themselves worse Christians, less Subjects, and viler Traytors than all the Papists are; for these factious Rebels justify their Rebellion, and, to the indelible shame of their Profession, they maintain that it is not only lawful, but that it is their duty to bear Arms, and to wage War against their King, when the King doth abuse his Power: whereas as the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome** utterly denieth the same, and concludes them no Children of the Church that do it: and Doctor *Kellison* giveth this reason for it, because Faith is not necessarily required to Jurisdiction or Government; neither is Authority lost by the loss of Faith; therefore it is not lawful for any Subjects to Rebel against their King, though their King should prove a Tyrant, or should Apostate from the Faith of Christ; so that now the Papists boast, they are better Subjects than these Rebellious Protestants: and therefore I fear that this Faction

(*Defendens Christum, verso mucrone cecidit.*)

* Christopherson tract. contr. rebell. Rhemisti. in Nov. Test. p. 10.
Goldastus de Monarchia S. Imp. Rom. tom. 3. Dr. Kellison in his Survey. Aquin. de Regim. Princip. c. 6. Contil. Constan. Sess. 15. Stephan. Cantuar anno 8. H. 3. Tolt. in summa l. 5. c. 6. Gr. Valentia, p. 2. q. 64. Bellar. Apol. c. 13 Lessius l. 2 c. 9. Serrarius, Azorius, &c.

Ezech. 7.25,
27.

by their unjust Design to propagate the Gospel, have most grievously wounded the Faith of Christ, and given a more deadly blow to the Protestant Religion than ever it had since the Reformation; when it is impossible that the true Religion should produce Rebellion.

And therefore seeing we are free-born Subjects, and persons interessed in the good and safety of this Kingdom, as well as any of them, we must crave liberty to express our grievances, and to crave redress; and seeing my self am called to be a Preacher of Gods Word, and a Bishop over many of the souls of my Brethren, for which I must render an account to my God, both for my silence when I should speak, and speaking any thing that should not be spoken, I resolved to fear my God, and neither out of flattery to the King and his party, nor out of hatred or malice to those factious men, but as I am perswaded in my Conscience, fully satisfied and guided by Gods Truth, to set forth this Discovery of these Mysteries, what danger soever I shall undergo; and if I shall become their Enemy for speaking Truth, I shall fare no worse than Saint Paul did; and it shall be with them, if they do not repent, as it was with the Israelites, When their destruction cometh, they shall seek peace and shall not have it, but calamity shall come upon calamity.

CHAP. XV.

Showeth a particular recapitulation of the Reasons, whereby their Design to alter the Government of the Church and State is evinced; And a pathetical dissuasion from Rebellion.

And thus I have set down not *any* thing to render these men more *evil* than they are, or to abuse my Reader with *falshood*, or *uncertainties*, but to report what I knew, and what I collected out of the present writings of *best credit*, and attested by men of known truth and integrity, whereby it is most apparent to any discerning eye, That the Faction of *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists*, and some other of the subtlest heads in the House of Commons, had from the first Convention of this Parliament, *concretely* projected this Design, and, *insensible* to the rest of their well-meaning Brethren, prosecuted the same, to alter and change the ancient Government both of the *Church* and *Kingdom*, which the Author of *Sober-Sadness Sober Sadness*, proveth by these subsequent Reasons: as (for the first)

If I have been misinform'd of any thing that shall appear false, I shall not blush to retract it by an ingenuous confession.

1. By suspending all Ecclesiastical Laws and Censures; which indulgence of all Vices, hath drawn all Offenders to comply with them.
2. By setting the people on work, to petition against the present Government, and the Service of the Church.
3. By the Bill concluded for the abolishing of our Government.
4. By the chief persons countenanced and employed by them in that businesse, who are *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, and all sorts of Sectaries; he evinceth their Design to change our Church-Government, and to convert the Patrimony of the Church, which our religious Ancestors dedicated for the advancement of God's Worship; not to establish Learning and a preaching Ministry, as they pretended, but to disengage their *Publick* faith, which otherwise would never prove a saving faith.

And I wish, there might be none about His Majesty, that, pretending great loyalty unto him, do comply with them herein, and either to raise, or to secure their own Fortunes, would persuade Saint Paul, to part with Saint Peters keyes so, he may still hold the sword in his hand; or, to speak more plainly, to purchase the peace of the Common-wealth, with the ruine of God's Church: But for this, let me be bold,

1. To crave leave to tell His Majesty, It was not His sword that hath brought him from a flying Prince out of Westminster, and as yet unsecured at Nottingham, to be a victorious King at Edgehill, and immediately to be the terror of all the Rebels in London; But it was God, whose Church and Church-Service he defended, that protected him hitherto, and gave him the Victory in Battel; And let him be assured, that He, which is *Tea and Amen*, will be his Shield and Buckler still, to defend him from the strivings of his people, and to subdue them that rise against him, while he defendeth them, whose eyes, next under God, are only fixt on him, to be, as God hath promised, their *nursing Father*.

2. To assure those that would suffer the Church to fall, or perhaps sell the same out of a *by-respect* unto themselves, That taking their *rise* from the fall of the Church, or laying the foundation of their houses in the ruine,

The Parliaments Plot's

of the Clergy, they do but build upon the sands, whence they shall fall, and their fall shall be great, when the successe thereof shal be as the success of the City of Jericho, that was built by Hiel, who laid the foundation of it in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in Segub his youngest son, and had her destiny described by Joshua; and all the Possessions that they shall get, shall prove A-beldama's, fields of blood; and we hope God will raise deliverance to his Church from some better men, when as they and their Fathers House shall all perish, and shall stink in the nostrils of all good men for their perfidiousnes in Gods cause.

But if any man should demand why we suspect any Traytors, or false Counsellours, to be in Kings Courts: I answer, because Saint Paul saith, Oportet esse bareses; and, I believe, the purest Court hath no more Priviledge to be free from Traytors, then the Church from Hereticks. And you know there was one of eight in Noahs Ark, and another of twelve in Christ his Court; and he that was so near him, as to dip his hand with him in the dish, was the fish that flew in his face, and yet with a Hayl Master, and with a Kiss: two fair testimonies of true love.

Therefore, let no King in Christendow think it strange that his Court should have Flatterers, Traytors, or evil Counsellours; let not us be blamed for saying this, and let not Pym so foolishly charge our King for evil Counsellours, for certainly, did he know them, I make no question but he would discarde them: or could I, or any other, informe his Majestie who they are, and that it were an easie matter, dicere, Hic est; we would not be afraid to pull off their veiles, and to say, as Christ did to Judas, Thou art the man; but their Meandrian windings, their Syrens voyces, and their Judas kisses, are as a fair mantle, to conceal and cover Jacobs Treason, even perhaps to betray some of the wifes in the Parliament; as well as some of them have betrayed the King. In such a case, all I can say, is this; Memento disfide, was Episcopatus his Motto: The honest plain dealing man that doth things for Religion, not for ends, is the unlikeliest man to betray his Master; and few Counsellours are not so apt to breed so many Traytors as a malitius. It was the indiscretion of Rebbaem that lost him ten parts of twelve, to prefer young Counsellours before the ancient; and if we may believe that either paupertas, or necessitas cogit ad turpius, or the fable of the ulcerated Travaller, They that are to make their fortunes are apter to sell Church and State, and to betray King and Kingdom, rather then those that have sufficiently replenished their coffers, and enlarged their possessions. But I assure my selfe the mouth of malice cannot deny, but that our King hath been as wary and as wise in the choice of his Servants, Officers, and Counsellors, so far as eyes of flesh can see, in all respects, as any Prince in Christendom; and more by man cannot be done.

And for the second, that is, their Design to change the Government of the State, and to work the subversion of the Monarchy: he evinceth it,

1. By that Declaration upon the Earl of Strafford's suffering, that this Example might not be drawn to a President for the future; because they thought that themselves, intending to do the like, and to become guilty of the same Crimes, might by virtue of this Declaration be secured from the punishment, if things should succeed otherwise then they hoped.

2. By the pulling down of so many Courts of Justice, which may perhaps Relieve the Subjects from some pressures, but incourage many more in licentiousnes, and prove the Prodroms to the ruine of our Monarchy.

3. By those 19. Propositions, whereby the King was, in very deed, demanded

[†] Seldom discretion in youth attendeth great and sudden fortunes. *In vita humana 3.*

Their design to change the Government of the State, sheweth.

1. Way.

2. Way.

3. Way.

manded to lay down his *Crown*, and to compound with them for The Letter p. the same ; because (as another saith) therein, there was presented to ^{11.} him a perfect *Platform* of a total change of Government, by which the *Counsellours*, indeed, were to have been *Kings*, and the King in name to have become scarce a *Counsellour*, and nothing of the present State to have remained, but the very *Names* and *Titles* of our *Governours*.

4. By that expression (so little understood by many men, and yet so 4. Way. much talked of in many of their papers) of a power of *re-assuming* the trust, which is *falsly* pretended to be derived unto his Majesty, by the meer human *parties* and *agreement* of the *Politicke* body of the people, which I shewed unto you to be a most *false* and a mere *invented* suggestion.

5. By their pretending to, and according to this *Doctrine* their *Usurping* 5. Way. of the power of the *Militia* both by *Sea* and *Land*.

6. By their *Actual* exercising of this power, in *disposing* of *Officers*, Ge- 6. Way. *nerals*, *Colonels*, *Captains*, and the like *Places* of *Command* in *War*, and appointing their *Speaker*, *Master* of the *Rowls*, and other *Officers* of *Peace*.

7. By the expression of one of them to Sir Edward Deering, while he was 7. Way. yet of their *Cabinet-Council*, that if they could bring down the *Lords* to the *House of Commons*, and make the *King* as one of the *Lords*, then the whole work were done; that is, to make the *Government* of this Kingdom popular.

8. I may add to these, as another *unanswerable Argument* of this De- 8. Way. sign, the *licensing* of Master Pryn's Book of *The Sovereign Authority of Par-*
liaments, and suffering the same to pass *unquestioned* to this very day; be-
cause that book *deveteth* the *King* of all his *Sovereignty*, and maketh our *Government Aristocratical*.

And this *Subversion* of our *Monarchical Government* was the *last Design*, if not the *grand Design* of this *Faction*: not that *all* the *Mem- bers*, which have voted *all* or *most* of those things that tended to this *change*, or be still remaining in either *House*, did *intend* any ill either to *Church* or *State*, (for I know many, especially my ever honoured *Lord*, the *Earl*, of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, who, I dare avouch it in *Truth* and *honesty*, did ever, and as I believe doth still bear a most *upright heart*, and as *sincere intentions*, (howsoever perhaps by a *wis-understanding* his *Lordship* and the *rest* of those well meaning men may be mis-guided, as were those *honest men* that followed *Absolon*) both to *Gods Service*, the *Kings Honour*, and the *happiness* both of *Church* and *Common-Wealth*; as *any man* in the *Kingdom*) but that a *Faction*, it may be *very few* at first, have *insensibly* seduced the *rest* to effect their own *Designs*; and this *Faction* is all that I mean by the name of *Parliament*, throughue this whole *Treatise*; because their *subtilty* hath prevailed over the plain *Integrity* of the other well-minded men, to make up the *major part* of the *House*, both of the *Lords* and *Commons*; which thing hath often happened both in *General Councils*, and great *Parliaments*, as in the *Council of Constance* and *Trent*, and many others, and that *Parliament* which was branded with the name of *Parliamentum insanum*, and the other somewhat like this, *in quo jugulum ecclesie atrocis petebatur*, and the like; for other-
wife, I do both *honour*, and *reverence* this *Parliament* rightly understand, and every *Member* of the *same*, as much as any *discreet Member* can de-
fire.

And therefore having thus *discovered* and *displayed* the *Plots* and *pra-
ctices* of these *infernal instruments*; to insinuate their *assistance* unto the *Scots*, and their allurements of them to *invade* our *Kings Dominions*;

The Parliaments Plots

to ensnare the *Irish*, and to provoke the *Papists*, to such a *Rebellion* as hath been the utter *rume* and destruction of many millions of men; to obscure the *Glory* of this noble Kingdom, to alter the *Discipline*, and corrupt the *Doctrine* of the most glorious and the purest Church, that professeth the name of Christ, and to bring us all, and all our Posterity to *extremities*, to suffer yet more than we have endured, or that can be hitherto imagined; And considering those bloody *Treasons* that have been publickly uttered, and openly practised against the Sacred Person of our Sovereign; I may justly say, that, as the sins of the *Israelites*, and their impetuose calling for a King, moved the Lord to send them a King in his anger, so our sins and our impatient crying for a Parliament, made our God to send us a Parliament in his *Wrath*, that will never turn for our *Blessing*, till we return to God from our sinnes; for when I consider on the one side, the Piety and goodness of our King, the justness of his cause, and the most ready and cordial valour, as well in the *Common Souldiers* as the *Commanders* of a full and sufficient Army; and on the other side, the multitude of disloyal and seduced Subjects, the vigilancy and subtily of their *Commanders*, with their unlimited waies to get Monies; and on both sides, the desire of too many, not for the honour of the King, nor the *Prince* of the Kingdom to end the War, but to continue the same for their own advantage; until the wealth of Lawyers, Clergy, and Gentry, be transplanted to the possession of other Masters, I am affraid it will prove an heavy Judgment. And therefore, lest our *obstinacy* in our sins should procure the continuance of Gods anger, which being removed will soon remove all our miseries; let me persuade all conscientious men, especially the *Gentry*, and all other understanding men, (howsoever the Citizens that deceive the Kingdom of their *Wealth*, delight to be deceived in their *Faith*) that would not be cheated of their Religion by these factious Mountebanks, and that would not provoke God to say, *I have no pleasure in them*, to turn from their *Rebellions* courses, to listen no longer to those furious fire brands, that out of their new Divinity, contrary to the *Doctrine* of all the *ancient Fathers*, and all the *Orthodox* and grave Preachers of this Kingdom, do incite the People unto this unnatural bloody War, and to slander the foot-steps of Gods *Anointed*; because they know him not, and to remember the Oathes of their *Allegeance* and *Supremacy*, together with their late *Protestation*, whereby they stand obliged to their uttermost power to maintain his Majesties *Royal Person*, *Crown*, and *Dignity*, against all treacherous practices, that may any waies dishonour or impair them; and then I presume their consciences will disavow the proceedings of these *Protestants*, protest against all their *Ordinances*, that are made against or without the Kings consent, advise all the *Knights* and *Burgesses* to Vote no more against their Sovereign, and to make no further use of the trust they reposed in them, to *Murder* us and our fellow Subjects, under the pretence of shedding the blood of the ungodly; or, if they still go on to abuse that trust, (to make us yet more miserable) to withdraw themselves and their trust and power of the representation from them, and to joyn their uttermost assistance unto his Majesty to Protect him, that he may be enabled to protect us, and to overwhelm these *Rebels* into the same pit which they have made for us.

And this may be, by dissolving the knot of factious members wherein we see our miseries involved, and to make elections of new members into their places, who, with the rest of the Lords and Commons, which were faithful both to the *Church*, *King*, and *Kingdom*, shall call them to a strict account, for betraying our *Trust*, interrupting our *Peace*, opposing his Majesty, and violating all our ancient liberties.

Or

An Appendix.

305

Or if a better way may be found, let us follow the same to God's glory, and to produce the peace and happinesse of this Kingdom; less, if we persist obstinately in this wilfull Rebellion, to withstand God's Ordinance, to oppose his Anointed, and to shed so much innocent blood, we shall, thus fighting against Heaven, so far provoke the wrath of the God of Heaven, as that the Glory of Israel shall be darkned, the Honour of this Nation shall be troden under-foot, and be made the scorn of all other Nations round about us; and the light of our Candlestick shall be extinguished, and we shall all become most miserable; because we would not hearken to the voice of the Lord our God. Which I hope we will do, and do most earnestly pray, that we may do it, to the Glory of God, the Honour of our King, and the Happinesse of this whole Kingdom, through Jesu Christ our Lord, to whom be Praise and Dominion, both now and for ever. Amen.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

AN APPENDIX.

The man of God speaking of transcendent wickednesse, saith, *Their Vine is of the Vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah: their Deut. 32:32 grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of Dragons, and the cruel venom of Aspes.* And I believe, never any wickednesse deserved better to be clad with this elegant expression, than that threefold iniquity.

1. The unparalleld Vote.
2. The intolerable Ordinance.
3. The damnable Covenant, which the rebellious Faction in Parliament have most impiously contrived, to make up the full measure of their impiety, since the writing of my Discoveries; For,

1. Omitting that horribile practice of those rebellious blood thirsty Souldiers, that did their best to murder their own most gracious Queen; this Faction seeing how God prevented that plot, voted this most loving and most loyal Wife, to be impeached of High Treason, for being faithful to do her uttermost endeavour (which will be her everlasting praise) to assist her most dear, and Royal Husband, (their own Liege Lord, and Sovereign King) in his greatest extremities, against a virulent mighty Faction of most malicious Traytors; The strangest Treason that ever the World heard of.

2. They made an Ordinance for the composing and convocating of such a Synod (whereof I said somewhat before) of Lay-men, ignorant men, factious men, trayterous men, and such concretion of heterogeneall parts, like Nebuchadnezzars Image, Gold, Brats, and Clay, all mixed together, and

An Appendix.

all so ordered, limited, and bridled, (as it is expressed in the 5. and 8. page of their Ordinance) by the power of both Houses, where there are such abundance of Schismaticall and Seditious Members, that I should scarce put the worst lenitive soul to professe that erratical faith, or any brute beast, to be guided by that Ecclesiastical Discipline, that such factious Traitors (as some of them are like to be proved) should compose, or cause to be composed,

3. They composed a form of a sacred Vow, or Covenant (as they term it) or, as it is indeed, the Covenant of Hell, a Covenant against God, to overthrow the Gospel of Christ, under the name of Christ; which Covenant, is the oil that swimmeth uppermost upon the waters, that is, the oil of Scorpions, or (as Moses saith) *The poison of Dragons*, so lately winged and diffused far and near, to defile and destroy millions of souls; when, forgetting their faith to God, and the oaths of their allegiance (so often, and so solemnly taken by many, or most of them) to be faithful unto their King, they shall be compelled (which is one degree worse than the vow of them that bound themselves with a curse, neither to eat nor drink till they had killed Paul;) so hypocritically, so perjuredly, so rebelliously, so horribly, and so bloodily, to make such a fearful Vow, and such an abominable Covenant, so wickedly contrived, that without great and serious repentance, spitteth forth nothing but fire and brimstone, and can produce nothing else but Hell and Damnation, to all that take it; especially, to them that will compell men to be thus transcendently wicked, as if they would send them with Corab quick to Hell. All which triplexity of evil, I shall leave to some abler, and more eloquent Pen, to be set forth more fully in the right colours, that, being sufficiently displayed, they may be throughly detected of all good men. Amen.

O Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep thy Laws.

THE

THE CONTENTS

Of the severall Chapters in the Plot of the Parliament,

- Chap. I. Sheweth the Introduction; the greatness of their rebellion; the originall thereof; the secret plots of the Brownisfcall Faction; and the two chiefest things they aimed at to effect their plot. Page 251.
- Chap. II. Sheweth the eager prosecution of our Sedition to take off the Earl of Strafford's head; How he answered for himself; The Bishops right of voting in his cause; His excellent virtues, and his death. p. 254.
- Chap. III. Sheweth how they stopped the free judgement of the Judges; procured the perpetuity of the Parliament; the consequences thereof. And the subtile device of Semiramis. p. 259.
- Chap. IV. Sheweth the abilities of the Bishops; the threefold practice of the Faction to exclude them out of the House of Peers; and all the Clergy out of all Civil Judicature. p. 262.
- Chap. V. Sheweth the evil consequences of this Act; How former times respected the Clergy; How the King hath been used ever since this Act passed; and how for three speciall Reasons it ought to be annulled. p. 265.
- Chap. VI. Sheweth the plots of the Faction, to gain unto themselves the friendship and assistance of the Scots: To what end they framed their new Protestation: How they provoked the Irish to rebell: And what other things they gained thereby. p. 270.
- Chap. VII. Sheweth how the Faction was enraged against our last Canons. What manner of men they chose in their new Synod. And of six speciall Acts of great prejudice unto the Church of Christ, which under false pretences they have already done, p. 274.
- Chap. VIII. Sheweth what Discipline, or Church-government our factious Schismaticks like best. Twelve Principal points of their Doctrines, which they hold to 12. Articles of their faith, and we

The Contents.

- we must all believe the same, or suffer, if this Faction should prevail. P. 270.
- Chap. IX. Sheweth three other speciall points of Doctrine, which the Brownists and Anabaptists of this Kingdom do teach. P. 274.
- Chap. X. sheweth the great Eng-bears that affrighted this Faction. The four speciall means they used to secure themselves. The manifold lies they raised against the King. And the two special Questions that are discussed about Papists. P. 278.
- Chap. XI. Sheweth the unjust proceedings of these factious Sectaries against the King. Eight special wrongs and injuries that they have offered him. Which are the three States? And that our Kings are not Kings by Election or Covenants with the people. P. 283.
- Chap. XII. sheweth the unjust proceedings of this Faction against their fellow Subjects, set down in four particular things. P. 289.
- Chap. XIII. Sheweth the proceedings of this Faction against the Laws of the Land. The Priviledges of Parliament transgressed eleven special wifes. P. 292.
- Chap. XIV. Sheweth how they have transgressed the publike Laws of the Land three wifes: and of four miserable Consequences of their wicked doings. P. 295.
- Chap. XV. Sheweth a particular recapitulation of the Reasons, whereby their Design to alter the Government both of Church and State, is evinced: And a pathetical dissuasion from Rebellion. P. 301.

PSALM



TO THE
K I N G S
most Excellent
M A J E S T Y.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WITH no smal paines (and the more for want of my books, and of any settled place, being multum terris jactatus & alto, frighted out of mine house, and lost betwixt two distracted Kingdoms) I have collected out of the sacred Scripture, explained by the ancient Fathers, and the best Writers of God's Church, these few Rights out of many, that God, and Nature, and Nations, and the Lawes of this Land have fully and undeniably granted unto our Sovereign Kings. *My witness is in Heaven*, that as my conscience directed me, without any *squint aspect*, so I have with all sincerity, and freely traced and expressed the truth, as I shall answer to the contrary at the *dreadful judgement*; ἀστε ἐχθρὸς γένοντος αὐτῷ τούτῳ; therefore with all fervency I humbly supplicate the divine Majesty, still to assist Your Highness, that, as in Your lowest ebb, You have put on Righteousnes^s as a *breast plate*, and with an heroick Resolution withstood the proudest waves of the *raging Seas*, and the violent Attempts of so many *imaginary Kings*; so now, in Your acquired strength, You may still ride on with Your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

honour; and for the glory of God, the preservation of Christ his Church, and the happiness of this Kingdom, not for the greatest storm that can be threatened, suffer these Rights to be snatched away, nor Your Crown to be thrown to the dust, nor the Sword, that God hath given You, to be wrested out of Your hand by these uncircumcised Philistines, these ungracious Rebels, and the Vessels of God's wrath, *κατηνόμενα εἰς απάλλαγμα*, unless they do most speedily repent; for if the unrighteous will be unrighteous still, and our wickedness provoke God to bring our Land to Desolation, Your Majesty, standing in the truth, and for the right, for the honour of God, and the Church of his Son, is absolved from all blame, and all the blood that shall be spilt, and the oppressions, insolencies, and abominations that are perpetrated, shall be required at the hands, and revenged upon the heads of these detested Rebels. You are, and ought in the truth of cases of conscience, to be informed by Your Divines; and I am confident that herein they will all subscribe, that God will undoubtedly assist You, and arise in his good time, to maintain his own cause; and by this war, that is so undutifully, so unjustly made against Your Majesty, so Giant-like fought against Heaven, to overthrow the true Church, You shall be glorious like King David, that was a man of War, whose dear son raised a dangerous rebellion against him, and in whose

* As in the beginning, by reducing the Ark from the Philistines, throughout the middle, by settling the service of the Tabernacle, & in the ending, by his resolution to build, & leaving such a treasure for the erecting of the Temple.

The most faithful to Your Majesty,

GRYFFITH OSBURY.



THE
R I G H T S
O F
K I N G S,
Both in
CHURCH & STATE:

And,

The Wickednesses of this Pretended PAR-
LIAMENT Manifested and Proved.

C H A P. I.

Sherweth, who are the fittest to set down the Rights which God granted unto Kings; what causeth men to rebell; the parts considerable in S. Peter's words, 1 Pet. ii. 17. in fine. How Kings honoured the Clergie; the fair, but most false pretences of the refractory Faction, what they chiefly aime at, and their malice to Episcopacie and Royaltie.

IT was not unwisely said by Ocham that great Scholeman to a great Emperour (which M. Luther said also to the Duke of Saxonie,) *Tu protege me gladio, & ego defendam te calamo;* do you defend me with your Sword, and I will maintain your Right with my Pen; for God hath committed the Sword into the hand of the King, and His hand which beareth not the Sword in vain, knoweth how to use the Sword better than the preacher, and the King may better make good His Rights by the Sword then by the Pen, which having once blotted His papers with mistakes, and concessions more then due, though they should be never so small (if granted further than the truth would permit, as I fear some have done in some particulars) yet they cannot

Guliel. Ocham.
Ludov. 4.

Rom. 13. v.4

The Rights of Kings, and

The Divine
beſt to ſet
down the
Rights of
Kings.

Every Chri-
ſtian king e-
ſtabliſhed by a
threefold
Law.
Pſal. 119.

To what end
the ſtores of
the kings of
Iſrael and Ju-
dah were writ-
ten.

Rom. 15. 4.

The ordinati-
on of our go-
vernment as
beneficial as
our creation,

Unwritten
things molt
uncertain.

Rom. 3. 29.

cannot ſo eaſily be ſcraped away by the sharpeſt ſword; and God ordered the divine tongue and learned Scribe to be the pens of a ready Writer, and thereby to diſplay the *duties*, and to juſtifie the Rights of Kings; and if they fail in either part, the King needeth neither to perorme what undue Offices they im- poſe upon him, nor to let paſſ those juſt honours they omit to yield unto him; but he may juſtly claime his due Rights, and either retain them, or regain them by his Sword, which the Scribe either wilfully omitted, or ignorantly neglected to ascribe unto him, or elle maliciously endeavoured, (as the moſt impudent, and rebellious Sectaries of our time have moſt virulentely done) to abſtract them from him.

And ſeeing the *Crown* is ſet upon the head of every Christian King, and the *Scepter* of Government is put into his hand,

1. Of *Nature*, that is common to all,
by a threefold Law 2. Of the *Nation*, that he ruleth over.

3. Of *God*, that is over all.

As,

1. *Nature* teaching every King to governe his People according to the com- mon rules of honesty and justice.

2. The *politique* conſtitution of every ſeveral State, and particular King- dom, shewing how they would have their government to be admiſtred.

3. The *Law of God*, which is an *undefiled Law*, and doth infallibly ſet down what *duties* are to be performed, and what *Rights* are to be yielded to every King: for whatſoever things are written of the Kings of Iſrael, and Ju- dah in the holy Scriptures, are not *only* written for thofe Kings, and the Go- vernment of that one Nation, but as the Apostle faith, *They are written for our learning, that all Kings and Princes might know thereby how to govern, and all Subjects might in like manner, by this impartial, and moſt perfect rule, under- ſtand how to behave themſelves in all obedience and loyaltie towards their Kings and Governours*; for he that made man, knew, he had been better *un- made*, than left without a *Government*; therefore, as he ordained thofe *Laws*, whereby we ſhould live, and ſet down thofe *truths* that we ſhould beleive; ſo he ſettled, and ordained thac *Government*, whereby all men in all Nations ſhould be guided and governed, as knowing full well, that we neither *would*, or *could* do any of thofe things *right*, unless he himſelfe did ſet down the *ſame* for us; therefore, though the *frowardnes* of our *Nature* will neither yield to *live* according to that *Law*, nor *believe* according to that *rule*, nor be *go- verned* according to that divine *Ordinance*, which God hath preſcribed for us in his *Word*; yet it is moſt *certain*, that he left us not without a *perfect rule*, and direction for each one of thofe our *faith*, our *life*, and our *government* without which *government*, we could neither enjoy the *benefits* of our *life*, nor ſcarce reap the *fruits* of our *faith*: and because it were as good to leave us without *Rules*, and without *Laws*, as to live by *unwritten Laws*, which in the vastneſſ of this world would be ſoon *altered*, corrupted, and obliterated; therefore God hath *written* down all thofe things in the holy *Scriptures*, which though they were delivered to the People of the *Jews*, for the government both of their *Church* and *Kingdom*: yet were they left with them to be *com- municated* for the use and benefit of all other Nations; (*God being not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also*:) because the *Scripture*, in all *morall* and *perpetual* *precepts* (that are not meerly *judicitalia Iudaica*, or *secunda clas- ſis*, which the Royal Government was not, because this was ordained from the beginning of the world to be obſerved among all Nations, and to be continued to the end of the world; nor the types and shadows that were to vanish when the true ſubſtance approached) was left as a *perfect patern*, and *platorme* for all Kings and People, *Pafſours* and *Flocks*, *Churches* and *Kingdoms* throughout the whole world, to be directed how to *live*, to *govern*, and to be *governed* thereby. Such was the *love* and *care* of God for the *Government* of them that love and care as little to be governed by his government.

And

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

3

And therefore the dim and dusky light of *blear-e'y'd Nature*, and the Every God dark distractred inventions of the subtillest politicks must stoop, and yield place in verment the all things, wherein they swerve from that strict rule of justice, and the right order of government, which is expressed necessarily to be observed in the holy Scripture, either of the King's part towards his People, or of the Peoples duty towards their King.

And though each one of these faculties, or the understanding of each one of these three Laws requireth more than the whole man, our life being too short to make us perfect in any one; yet seeing that of all three, the *Law of God* is *abyssus magna*, like the bottomless sea, and the supreme Lady, to whom all other Laws and Sciences are but as *Penelopes*, handmaids to attend her service; the *Divine* may far better, and much sooner understand what is natural right, and what ought to be a just national Law, and thereby what is the Right of Kings, and what the duty of Subjects, than any, either *Philosopher* or *Lawyer*, can finde the same by any other art; especially to understand the same so fully by the *Law of God*, as the *Divine* that exerciseth himselfe therein day and night, may do it; unless you think (as our *Enthusiasts* dream) that every illiterate Tradesman, or at least a Lawyers Latine, (I speak of the generality, when I know many of them of much worth in all learning) may easily wade, with the reading of our English Bibles, into the depth of all Divinity: and that the greatest Doctor that spent all his days in studies, can hardly understand the mysteries of these Camelion-like Laws, which may change sense, as often as the Case shall be changed; either by the subtlety of the Pledger, or the ignorance, or corruption of the Judges. But we know their deepest Laws, discreetest Statutes, and subtillest Cases cannot exceed the reach of sound reason; and therefore no Reason can be shewed, but that a rational man meately understanding Languages, may sooner understand them, and with less danger mistake them, than that Law, which (as the *Psalmt* faith) is exceeding broad, and exceedeth all humane sense, and the most exquisite natural understanding, when (as the Apostle faith) *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned*: and being not discerned, or misunderstood, they make all such mistakers liable to no small punishment, if God should be extreme to mark what is done amiss: and this not understanding of God's Law, is the error of other Laws, and the cause of much mischief; for if men understood not the *Law of God*, or would believe us that do understand it, I assure my self, many of the Rebels (such as rebell not out of pride, disobedience, or discontent) are so conscientious, that they would not so rebell as they do, being seduced through their ignorance, by the subtelerie of the most crafty children of disobedience.

And therefore letting the usuall impatience of the furious fire-brands of sedition, and the malicious incendiaries of Rebellion, together with those treacherous Judasses, that insensibly lurke in the King's Court, and are more dangerous both to the Church and State, than those open Rebels that are in the Parliament House, to lay on me what reproach they please; as some of them being galled, and now gone, have already done, *Ego in bona conscientia teneo, quisquis volens detrabit fama mea, nolens addit mercedi mea*. I shall beleive it in a good conscience, that whosoever shall willingly detract from my repute, and unjustly load me with undue disgrace, shall unwillingly add to my reward, neither shall I ever think, *Pius ponderis esse in alieno convicio, quam in testimonio* Ambrose. *meo*, that there is more account to be had in the foule slander of another mans malice, then in the Spots testimony of mine own conscience: but considering (as Saint Hierome saith) that, *Apud Christianos non qui patitur sed qui facit contumeliam, miser est*; among Christians, not he that suffereth, but he that offereth injuries and reproaches, is wretched; though (as Oforius saith) *Multa insidia principibus à suis domestica intendantur, multe fraudes in aula Regia quaestus & compendii gratia suscipiuntur, multa, partim adulatio & perfidia,* Osor. in Epist. Regina Eliz. pag. 7.

The *Divine* is better able to understand Law, then the Lawyer to understand Divinity.
Psal. 1. 2.

Psal 119. 96.
1 Cor. 2. 14.

What causeth many men to rebell.
The Scriptures say more for the right of kings, then any book in the world.
Downing in his discourse of the Ecclesiastical State, p. 91.
August.

The Rights of Kings, and

partim offensionis periculis à formidine dissimulantur, ita ut raro inveniantur qui Regibus liberè loqui audiant; many snares are laid for Princes by their own domesque servants, many deceitfull tricks, and cunning plots, are undertaken

How kings are deluded by their own Courtiers, and the truth concealed from them.

The Authours Resolution with God's Assistance, and

1 Sam. 17.18. And I will be your shield, O Israel, and you shall stand firm before your enemies. And I will put a spirit of boldness in you, so that all your enemies may be put to flight before you. And I will command my angels to defend you in all your ways, and to bring you back to me in safety.

The Adversaries of regal Right.

with one of them to smite the Philistine, the three-headed Gerion, the Anabaptist, Brownist, and Puritan Rebel, in the forehead, that he fall to the earth, his head shall be cut off with his own sword, and the whole army of the uncircumcised Philistines, that is, all the rest of the wilfully seduced Rebels, that refuse to be un-deceived, and to accept of his Majesties grace and pardon, shall flee away, and be destroyed. And,

The first stone that comes into my hand (which I believe will hit the Bird in the eye, and be abundantly sufficient to do the deed) is a stone taken out of the Rock, that appears highest in the Brook, that is Saint Peter, which our Saviour in the judgement of some Fathers, which I quoted in my true Church, calleth a Rock, and in the judgement of most of the Fathers, and the sober Protestants, is the Prince of Apostles: for he saith, Honour the King; and this one short sentence truly understood, (though I confess many other may seem more full) is absolutely sufficient to overthrow all the Anti-Royalists, and to silence all the Basilean-Mastices, all the opposers of their own Kings, throughout all the world, especially, if we consider,

- { 1. Who saith this, S. Peter.
- 2. What is said, Honour the King.
- 3. To whom he saith thus, to every Soul.

1. The Author of these words. First, The words are the words of Saint Peter, the first in order, the chiefest for authority, and the greatest for resolution of all the Apostles of Christ; and he spake them as he was inspired by the holy Ghost; therefore we may believe them, and we should obey them, or we should fear the judgements of God;

2 Pet. 1. 21. for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven.

Hebr 12.27. Secondly, The Substance of this precept containeth as many parts as there be words,

- { 1. Who is to be honoured, the King.
- 2. What is that Honour, that is due unto him.

Which two Points, rightly understood, and duly observed, as they are enjoined, would make a peaceable common wealth, and a most flourishing Kingdom, without any civil Broiles, or intestine Rebellion, which is the greatest Plague, and heaviest Curse, that God hath ever laid upon any Nation.

Lucan 1. 1.

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.

I have therefore resolved (to prevent this evil, and to diswade us from this miserable mischief) to say something of these two Points, as may best heal the bleeding Wounds of these unhappy, and distracted times.

First, It is the most Gratioues Promise of our good God to all them, that will faithfully

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 5

faithfully serve him, I will honour them, that honour me : and Saint Augustine ^{1 Sam. 2. 30.} faith, that *Sicut verax est in punitione malorum, ita & in retributione bonorum.* as he is most certain in his threatenings for the punishment of the wicked, so he is most faithful in his Promises for rewarding of the Godly ; and that not only for the future, but also in these present times, because *Godliness hath the* ^{1 Tim. 4. 8.} *Promise both of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

Therefore pious Princes, that are God's Vicegerents here on earth, and his Deputies to discharge his Promise, have accordingly honoured them, that have by their upright life, and indefatigable pains honoured God in his Church, with double honour.

1. With similar Dignities, honourable Places, and considerable Eminencies in the Common-wealth, as conceiving it not unworthy, to make the greater lights of the Church to be not of least esteem in the Civil State ; but judging it most convenient, that they, whom God had intrusted with the Soules of men, should with all confidence be intrusted with their personal Actions, and with the Employments of the greatest trust.

2. With competent means, in some sort answerable to support their Dignities, without which means, as the Poet saith, *Virtus nisi cum re, vilior alga,* so honourable Titles, without any substance, is more contemptible then plain Beggary ; therefore, out of their piety to God, and bounty to the Church, they have conferred many faire Lordships, and other large Endowments upon the best deserving Members of Christ's Ministers.

But, as the good Husbandman had no sooner sown his pure Wheat, but immediately *Inimicus homo,* the evil and envious man, *superseminavit zizania,* & *ixipds curu* sowed his poysorous Tares amongst them ; so God had no sooner thus honoured his Servants, but presently the Devil, which is * *the God of this World,* began to throw dirt in their faces, and to deprive them of both these honours : ^{Matth. 13. 24.} <sup>* Θεός τοῦ αἰ-
ώνος,</sup> ^{2 Cor. 4. 4.}

1. He stirred up ignorant men, of small learning but of great spirits, of no fidelity but of much hypocrisy, that, as Pope Leo wrote unto Theodosius, *Leo Papa Epist. 23.* *Priuat as causas pietatis agunt obtutu,* and under a faire pretext did play the part of *Aesop's Fox,* who being ashamed that his taise was cut off, began to inveigh against the unseemly burthensome tailles of all the other Foxes, and to perwade them to cut theirs off, that so by the common calamity he might be the better excused for his obscenity ; for so they cryed down all Learning, as profane, they railed at the Scholemen, they scorned the Fathers, and esteemed nothing, but that nothing which they had themselves : and although they professed to the Vulgar, that they aimed at no end but the purity of the Gospel, they desired nothing but the amendment of life, and reformation of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and hated nothing but the pride and covetousness of the Bishops, and the other dignified Prelates, which stopped their mouthes, and imprisoned the liberty of their Conscience ; yet the truth is, that because their worth was not answerable to their ambition, to enable them to climbe up to some height of honour, their envy was so great, that they would fain pull down all those, that had ascended, and exceeded them.

And therefore, with open mouthes, that would not be silenced, they exclaimed against Episcopacy ; and as the Apostle saith, spake evil of Dignities, employing all their strength, like wicked birds, to defile their own nests, to disrobe us of all honour, and to leave us naked ; yea, and as much as in them lay, to make us odious and to stinke (as the *Israelites* said to *Moses*) in the eyes of the people. Then

2. As Plutarch tells us, that a certain Sicilian *Gnatho,* and *Philoxenus* the son of *Erixis,* that were slaves unto their guests, and make a God of their bellies, to cause all the other guests, to loath their meat, that they alone might devour all the dainties, did use *Narium mucum in catinis emungere;* so do these men spit all their poysion against the Revenues of the Bishops, and that little

The Rights of Kings, and

Doctor Burges

little maintenance that is left unto the Ministers, and are as greedy to devour the same themselves, as the dogs, that gape after every bit they see us put into our mouths; for, so I heard a whelp of that litter, making a bitter invective in the House of Commons against Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, and the greatness of their Revenue; and concluding, that all they shoud be degraded, their means should be sequestred, and distributed all without any diminution of what they now possessed, but with the restitution of all Impropiations unto himself, and the rest of his factious fellow Preachers; which speech, as it pleased but few in the latter clause, so no doubt it had fauters enough in the former part; when we see this little remnant of our fore-fathers bounty, this testimony of our Princes piety, is the only morsel that sticks in their eye, the undigested morsel in their stomachs, and the only bait that they gape after; for, did our King yeild this garment of Christ to be parted among their Souldiers, and this revenue of the Church to be disposed of by the Parliament, I doubt not but all quarrels about the Church would soon end, and all other strife about Religion would be soon composed.

What many men would willingly undergo to procure peace.

Ave Maria [¶]
anno 1515.
Rom. 9. 6.

The abolishing of Episcopacy would not satisfie the Factious.

Juven. Sat. 2.

Seneca de Clem.
lib. I.

Plato de legibus
lib. 12.

Blacvod. Apo-
log. pro regibus
pag. 13.

The haters of
the Bishops
ever enemies
unto kings.

But, would this endall our civil Wars, would the unbishoping of our Prelates bring rest unto our Prince, and the taking away of their estates settle the State of the Common-wealth, and bring peace and tranquillity unto this Kingdom? If so, we could be well contented for our own parts, to be sacrificed for the safetey of the people; for though we dare not say with Saint Paul, that we could wish our selves *avulsula*, or separated from Christ for our Country-men; yet I can say with a sincere heart, that I believe many of us could be well contented our fortunes should be confiscated, and our lives ended, so that could procure the peace of the Church, which is infinitely troubled, redeeme His Majesties honour, which is so deeply wounded, and preserve this our native Country from that destruction, which this unparalleled Rebellion doth so infallibly threaten: but the truth is, that the abolishing of Episcopacy, root and branch, the reducing of the best to the lowest rank, and the bringing of the Clergy to the basest condition of servility, to be such as should not be worthy to eat with the dogs of their flock, as Job speaketh, will not do the deed; because, as the Satyrist faith, *nemo repente fit turpissimus*, but as virtues, so vices have their encrease by use and progression, & *primum quodque flagitium gradus est ad proximum*, and every heinous offence is as iron chain, to draw on another. For, as Seneca faith, *nunquam usque adeo temperata cupiditates sunt, ut in eo quod contigit desinant, sed gradus a magnis ad majora fit, & spes improbissima complectuntur insperata asecuti*; our desires are never so far temperated, that they end in that which is obtained, but the gaining of one thing is a step to seek another: And therefore, *cum publicum jus omne possum fit in sacra*, as Plato faith, how can it be, that they which have profaned all sacred things, and have degraded their Ministers, should not also proceed to depose their Magistrates? if you be diffident to believe the same, let the Annals of France, Germany, England and Scotland be revised, and you shall find that Charles the fifth was then troubled with war, when the Bishops were turmoyled, and tumbled out of their Seas: & Scots uno eodemque momento numinis & principis jugum excusserunt, nec justum magistratum agnoverunt ullum, ex quo primum tempore sacris & sacerdotibus bellum indixerunt: and the Scots at one and the self-same moment did shake off the yoke of their obedience both unto their God, and to their King; neither did they acknowledg any for their just Magistrate after they had once warred against Religion and religious men, which were their Priests and Bishops, faith Blacvodens and in France (faith he) the same men were enemies unto the King that were adversaries unto the Priests; *quia politican dominationem nunquam ferent, qui principatum Ecclesiae sustulerunt, nec mirum si Regibus obloquuntur, qui sacerdotes flammam & ferro persequuntur*; because (as I have shewed at large in my Grand Rebellion) they will never endure the Political Magistrate to have any rule, when they have shaken off the Ecclesiastical government; neither is it any

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The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 2

any wonder that they should slander, rage against, and reject their King, when they persecute their Bishops with fire and sword.

And I think the sad aspect of this distracted Kingdom at this time, makes this point so clear, that I need not add any more proof to beget faith in any sober man, for doth not all the World see, that as soon as the seditious and treasonous faction in this unhappy Parliament, had cast most of the Bishops, the greatest and the greatest of all, with Joseph into the dungeon, (a thing that no story can shew the like president in any age) and had voted them all, contrary to all right, out of their indubitable right to sit in the House of Peers, (an act indeed so full of incivility, as hath no small affinity with that of the *Gorgonians*, who for love of their swine, drove not out, but desired Christ to depart out of their coasts:) they presently began to pluck the sword out of the Kings hand, and endeavoured to make their Sovereign in many things more servile, than any of his own Subjects, so that he should be gloriosissime servilis, as Saint Augustine saith, that Homer was *navissime vanus*, and to effect this, you see, how they have torn in peices all his Rights, they have trampled his Prerogatives under foot, they have as much as they could, laid his honour in the dust; and they have with violent warr, and virulent malice, sought to vanquish and subdue their own most gracious Sovereign, which cannot chuse but make any Christian heart to bleed; to see such unchristian, and such horrid unheard of things attempted to be done by any, that would take upon him the name of a Christian.

Therefore to manifest my duty to God, and my fidelity to my King, I have undertaken this hard, and to the Rebels unpleasant labour, to set down the Rights of Kings: wherein I shall not be afraid of the Rebels power, neither would I have any man to fear them; for however, *Victores, vixique cadunt*, here may be a vicissitude of good success many times on both sides, to prolong the war for our sins, and they may prosper in some places, yet that is but *nebulula quadam*, a transient cloud, or summer storm, that will soon pass away; for we may assure our selves they shall not previle, because God hath said it, *By me Kings do raigne, and He will give strength unto his King, and exalt the horn of his Anointed; He will scatter the people that delight in war, and make the hearts of the cursed Canaanites to melt, and their joints to tremble; but, He will satisfy the King with long life, and shew him his salvation.*

How soon the
Faction fell
upon the King,
after they had
cast off their
Bishops.
prosperity.
Matth. 8. 34.

The Rebels
for the punish-
ment of our
sins may pro-
sper for a time,
but at last they
shall be most
surely destroy-
ed.
Prov. 8. 15.
Psal. 68. 30.
Joshua 9. 16.
Psal. 91. 16.

C H A P. II.

Sheweth, what Kings are to be honoured; the institution of Kings to be immediately from God; the first Kings, the three chiefest rights to Kingdoms; the best of the three rights; how Kings came to be elected; and how, contrary to the opinion of Master Selden, Aristocratic and Democracie issued out of Monarchie.

To proceed then, you see the person that by Saint Peters precept is to be honoured, to be the King, and what King was that? but (as you may see in the beginning of this epistle) the King of *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia*; and what manner of Kings were they, I pray you? I presume you will confess they were no Christians, but it may be as bad as Nero, who was then their Emperour, and most cruelly tyrannizing over the Saints of God, gave a very bad example to all other his substitute Kings and Princes What Kings to do the like; and yet these holy Christians are commanded to honour them, And therefore,

1. *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and tyrannical Kings are to be *truly honoured* by God's precept.

2. *Religions*, just, and Christian Kings are to have a *double honour*, because there is a *double charge* imposed upon them : as

 1. To execute *justice* and *judgement* among their people ; to preserve *equity* and *peace*, both from *intern* broyles, and *foreign* Foes ; which *careful government* bringeth *plenty* and *prosperity* in all *external affaires* unto the whole Kingdom : and this they do as *Kings*, which is the *common duty* of all the *Kings* of the earth.
 2. To maintaine *true Religion*, to promote the *faith* of Christ, and to be the *guardians* and *foster-fathers* unto the Church and Church-men, which tie their people unto God to make them *spiritually* and *everlastingly happy* ; and this *duty* is laid upon them, as they are *Christian Kings* : and therefore in regard of this *accession* of charge, they ought to have an *accession* of honour, more then all other Kings whatsoever.
 3. Then I say, that the *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and *tyrannical Kings*, such as were *Nero*, *Dioclesian*, and *Julian*, among the Christians, or *Ahab* and *Manasses* among the Jews, or *Antiochus*, *Dionysius*, and the rest of the *Sicilian Tyrants* among the *Gentiles*, are to be *honoured*, served, and obeyed of all their Subjects, and that in three especial respects.

1. All Kings to be honoured in three respects.

 1. Of their institution, which is the immediate ordinance of God.
 2. Of God's precept, which enjoineth us to honour them.
 3. Of all good mens practice : 1. *Jenes.*
2. *Gentiles.*

3. *Christians*.

1. *Justin* tells us, that *Principio rerum gentium, nationumque imperium penes reges erat*, from the beginning of things, that is, the beginning of the world, the rule and government of the people of all Nations was in the hands of Kings ; *Quos ad honoris fastigium non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatione provicebat*. And *Herodotus* setteth down, how *Deioces* the first King of the *Medes* had his beginning. And *Homer* also nameth the Kings that were in, and before the wars of *Troy*. But the choice of *Deioces*, and some others about that time and after, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, may give some colour unto our rebellious Sectaries, to make the royal Dignity *κτινος αρχων*, a humane ordinance ; therefore I must go before *Herodotus*, and look further then blind *Homer* could see : and from the first King that ever was, I will truly lay down the first institution and succession of Kings, and how times have wrought by corruption, the alteration of their right, and diminution of their power, which both God and nature had first granted unto them.

And I hope no *Basileu-mastix*, no hater of Kings, nor opposer of the royal government can deny, but, that God himself was the first King that ever the world saw, that was the King of ages before all worlds, and the King of Kings ever since there were any created Kings. The next King that I read of was *Adam*, whom *Cedrenus* stiles the *Catholique Monarch* ; *Ἐτος οὐκέποδος τούτους ἦν αρχών, διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ θεός* : a mighty King of a large Territory, of great Dominion, and of unquestionable right unto his Kingdom, which was the whole World, the Earth, the Seas, and all that were therein. For, the great King of all Kings said unto him, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing, that moveth upon the earth*. Which is a very large Commission, when *dominare*, is more then *regere* ; and therefore his royalty is so plain, that none but *wilful ignorants* will deny it to be *divinum institutum*, a divine institution, and affirm it, as they do, to be *humanum inventum*, a humane ordination, when you know there were no men to chuse him, and you see God himself doth appoint him, and after the flood the Empire

God the first King.

Banades *Ad* *diuinis.*

1 Tim. 1. 17.
Apoc. 19. 16.

Gen. 1. 28.
Adam the first King of all men.

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 9

pire of *Noah* was divided betwixt his three sons; *Japheth* reigned in *Europe*, *Iohann. Beda, de Sem in Asia, and Cham in Africa.*

Yet I must confess, the first Kingdom that is spoken of by that name, is the ^{P. 4.} *Kingdom of Nimrod*, who notwithstanding is not himself termed King, but in Gen. 10. 9. the Scripture phrase *a mighty hunter*, because he was not only a *great King*, but also a *mighty Tyrant*, or oppressor of his people in all his Kingdom; or as I rather conceive it, because he was the first *usurper* that incroached upon his neighbours rights to enla-ge his own dominions: and the first king that I find by that name in the Scripture was *Amraphel*, king of *Shinar*, with whom we find eight other Kings named in the same chapter.

But we are not to contest about words, or to strive about the windle; when the Scripture doth first give this name unto them: the plain truth is that, which we are to enquire after; and so it is manifest, there were Kings ever since *Adam* and so named ever since *Noah's flood*; for *Melchizedech*, which in the judgment of Master *Selden*, *Broughton*, and others, was *Sem* the eldest son of *Noah*, (though mine own minde is set down otherwise) was King of *Salem*; and *Justin* tells us, that long before *Ninus*, which was the son of *Nimrod*, there were many other Kings, as *Voxores* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* King of *Scythia*, *Quintus* and the like; and as reason sheweth us, that eve. y one, *qui regit alios Rex est, iugos misere* so every master of a family that ruleth his own houshold is a petty King, as *we ad dabo* commonly say to this very day, *every man is a King in his own house*; and as *Euripides* de their families were the greater, so were they the greater Kings: so *Abraham* *Cyclop.* hand three hundred and eighteen servants, that were able men for the War in his own house: and therefore the inhabitants of the Land tell him, *Princeps Dei es inter nos, thou art a Prince of God*, that is, a great ruler amongst us: and yet the greatest of these rulers were rather *reguli* then *reges*, Kings of some Cities, or small Territories, and of no large dominion, as those thirty and one Kings which *Joshua* vanquished, doth make it plain.

But Master *Selden* confesseth that *civil societies*, beginning in particular families, the heads thereof ruled as kings: and as the World encreased, or these *kings* incroached upon their neighbours, so their Kingdoms were enlarged.

Kings therefore they were, and they were kings from the beginning. But how they came to be kings, or what right they had to regal power, from whence their authority is derived.

- { 1. Whether God ordained it: or, } herein lyeth all the
2. Themselves assumed it: question.
3. The people conferred it upon them:

To which I must briefly answer, that the right of all kings which have any right unto their kingdoms, is principally either,

- { 1. By birth: or, } whereof
2. By the sword: or
3. By choice.

{ The last is and may be rights to king-
just and good. doms either of
The second is so with- three ways.
out question: but,
The first is most just,
and so best of all. For,

1. The best right, whereby the *Patriarchs* and all the rest of the posterity of *Adam* enjoyed their royalty, was that which God hath appointed; that is, the right, without right of *primogeniture*, whereby the elder was by the law of nature, to reign contradiction, and rule over the younger; as God saith unto *Cain*, though he was never so wicked an hypocrite, *unto thee shall be the desire of thy brother, and thou shalt rule over him*, though he was never so godly and sincere a servar of God: which made *Jacob* so earnestly desirous to purchase the birth-right, or the right of *primogeniture* from his brother. And

2. When the rightful kings became with *Nimrod* to be unjust Tyrants, ^{1. The best} ^{2. The right} then God that is not tyed to his *Viceroy* any longer then he pleaseth, but by conquest is hath right and power Paramount to translate the rule, and transfer the domi- ^{just and a} ^{Gen. 4. 7.} ^{Gen. 35. 31.} ^{good right.}

The Rights of Kings, and

Psal. 89. 44. So the *fratitiae* enjoyed the Kingdome of *Canaan*, and David the territories of them that he subdued, &c. Eldras, 1. 2. Elyay. 45. 1. 2. Dan. 2. &c. 4. mention of his People to whom he will, hath oftentimes thrown down the mighty from their seat, and given away their crownes and kingdomes unto others, that were more humble and meek, or some other way fitter to effect his divine purpose, as he did the kingdom of *Saul* unto *David*, and *Belshazzar's* unto *Cyrus*; and this he doth most commonly by the power of the sword, when the Conquerour shall make his strength to become the *Law* of justice, and his ability to hold it, to become his right of enjoying it; for so he gave the Kingdoms of the earth to *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Augustus*, and the like Kings and Empereours, that had no other right to their Dominions, but what they purchased with the edge of their swords; which notwithstanding must needs be a very good right, as the same cometh from God, which is the *God of war*, and giveth the Psal. 144. 10. *victory unto Kings*; when as the Poet saith,

— *Victrix causa Deo placuit.*

And he deposeth his Vicegerents, and translateth the government of their Kingdomes, as he feeth cause, and to whom he pleasech.

3. The right of elective kings, and how they came to be elected.

3. When either the Kings neglected their duty, and omitted the care of their People so far, as that the People knew not that they had *any* Kings, or who had any right to be their Kings, or upon the *incursion* of invading foes, the Nations being exceedingly multiplied, and having no Prince to protect them, did change the *orderly* course of right, belonging unto the first-born (which their rude and *salvage* course of life had obliterated from their minds) unto the *election* and choice of whom they thought the better, and the abler men to expel their enemies, and to maintain *justice* among themselves; so the *Medes* being oppressed with the insolencies and rapines of enemies and the greater man, said, it cannot be that in this corruption and lewdness of manners we shall long enjoy our Countrey; and therefore *διός θεούδη μέντος αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς εποίησεν καὶ τὸν πολιτεύοντα* (Herodot. lib. 1. § 120) *Let us appoint over us a King, that our Land may be governed by good Lawes.* *Kai αὐτὸς ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ εἶδεν ἡρόεντα διοικούσαντα.* And we turning our selves to our own affairs, need not be oppressed by the rage and violence of the lawles: and finding by their former experience of him, that *Deioces* was the *justest* man amongst them, they chose him for his equity to be their King; which is the first elective King that I do read of; and Cicero in Offic. pag. 322. *Ciceron saith, Mibi quidem non apud Medos salam, sed etiam apud maiores nostros, iustitia fruende causa videntur olim bene morati reges constituti: even as Justin said before.* And when the People do thus make choice of their King, it is most true which *Roffensis*, and our most learned Divines do say, that *Licit communicatio potestatis quandoque sit per consensum hominum, potestas tamen ipsa immediate est à Deo, cuius est potestas;* though the power be sometimes conferred by the consent of mens yet it is immediately given from God, whose power it is. *Et communitas nihil nisi confort regibus* (saith Spalat.) *nisi ad summum personam determinet; & potius personam applicat divina potestatis, quam divinam potestatem personam:* & ita Winton. Reff. ad Matth. Tort. fol. 384. saith *Christi Domini, non Christi populi sunt.*

Why kings were rejected by the people.

Roffensis de potestate Papæ, fol. 283.

Spalat. tom. 2. 529.

But as their justice and goodness moved the People to exalt them to this height of Dignity; so either their own *tyranny*, when change of place did change their manners, or their Peoples *inconstancy*, that are never long pleased with their governors, caused them to be *deposed* again, and many times to be *murthered* by those hands, that exalted them.

How the Aristocracy and Democracy issued out of Monarchy.

Then the People perceiving the manifold evils that flow from the want of government, do erect other governments unto themselves, and rather then they will endure the miserable effects of an *Anarchy*, they resign their *humble* liberty, and their total power sometimes into the hands of *few* of the best of the flock, which we call *Aristocracy* or *optimacy*, and sometimes into the hands of *many*, which we call *Democracy*, or a popular state. In all which *Elections* of

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

11

of Magistrates, and resignations of the Peoples power *vulnerably* to the hands of their governours, call them what you will, Senate, Consuls, Duke, Prince or King, though I dare not any way *reject* any of them as a forme utterly *disallowed* and condemned of God; yet comparing them together, I dare boldly say, the farther men go from God's first institution, the more corruption we shall finde in them; and therefore it must needs follow that *Democracy* is the next degree to *Anarchy*, and *Aristocracy* far worse then *Monarchy*; for though it may seem very unreasonable, that one man should have all the power;

Each form of government lawfull.

Democracy the worst kinde of Government.

— — — — — *toto liber in orbe* — — — — —

Solus Cæsar erit

And many *plausible* reasons may be alleadged for the rule of the *Nobles*, or of the People; yet the *experience*, that the *Roman State* had in those miserable *Civill Wars*, that so frequently, and so extremely afflicted them, after they had put down their *Kings*, (as when *Caius Marius*, the *meanest* of the *Commonality*, and *Lucius Sylla* the *euillest* of all the *Nobility*, destroyed their *liberty*, and rooted out all *property*, by their *Civill faction*, and the assistance of an *illegal Militia*, and a multitude of *unruly voluntiers*) and the fatal *miscarriages* of many *businesses*, and the *bad successes* of their *Armies*, when both the *Consuls* went forth *Generals*, together with the want of *unity*, *secrecy*, and *expedition*, (which cannot be so well preserved amongst many) do sufficiently shew, how defective these *Governments* are, and how far beneath the excellency of *Monarchy*, as it is most fully proved in the *unlawfullness* of *Subjects taking up armes* *against their Sovereigne*; and more especially by the *wisest* of men, that tells us plainly, that for the *transgressions* of a *Land*, many are the *Princes* thereof, but by a *man of understanding and knowledge* the *State* thereof shall be prolonged; and in another place he crieth, *Woe to that land whose king is but a childe, either in knowledge, or in years*; for that during his *infancy*, and the want of *ability*, the *government* will be managed by many others, which can produce nothing else but *woes* to that *Common-wealth*; and therefore Saint *Augustine* saith, that if they who do bear Rule in *Democracy*, do corrupt *justice*, a good powerfull man may lawfully change that *Democraticall* *government* into an *Aristocraticall*, or *Monarchical*; but you shall never finde it in any Christian Author, that any man, be he never so *good*, never so powerfull, may *lawfully*, upon any occasion, or pretence, change the *Monarchy* into an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*; because it is *lawfull* for us to reduce things from the *worst* and *remotest* state to the *better*, and the nearer to the original forme: but, not from the *better* to a *worse*, and *remoter* from its original institution, which is then *soundest*, when it is *nearest* to its first ordination.

*tier parties
plebemque
ceramina exerci-
cere modis tur-
bulenti tribuni,
modis consules
pravaldisi; &
in iure ac furo-
remamenta co-
vilium bello-
rum; maxime
plebe infima
C. Marius, &
nobilium seorsim
victiam armis
liberatatem in
dominationem
dererunt,*

*Tac. 1. 2. hist.
P. 16. auge
28.
Prov. 28. 2.
Ecclesiast. 10.
16.*

*Aug. de l. ar-
bit. l. 1. c. 6.*

C H A P. III.

Showeth, the Monarchicall Government to be the best forme; the first Government that ever was; agreeable to Nature, wherein God founded it; consonant to God's own Government; the most universally received throughout the world; the immediate and proper Ordinance of God; when the other Governments began; how allowed by God; the quality of elective Kingdoms, not primarily the institution of God; and the nature of the People.

Therefore it is apparent, that of all sorts of Government, the *Monarchy* is *absolutely* the best, (and of all Monarchs, the best right is that which is *hereditary*) because it is,

*The Monar-
chical go-
vernment
best.*

The Rights of Kings, and

§ 1. The first in Nature.

§ 2. The prime and principal Ordinance of God. For,

1. Reason.

Selden in his

Titles of Ho-

nour, lib. I.

1. Though Master *Selden* saith, that *naturally* all men in economick rule, being *equally* free, and *equally* posseſt of superiority in those ancient propagations of mankinde, even out of Nature it ſelſe, and that inbred sociablenes which every man hath, as his *charater* of civility, a popular ſtate firſt raifed it ſelſe, which by its *own* judgement afterward was converted into a Monarchy; and in the fourth page of his Book, rejecteth the opinion of great Philosophers, that affirm with Saint *Austin*, the firſt of the three Governments to be a Monarchy, and affirmeth *positively*, that the Monarchy hath its *original* out of a Democracy, as Aristocracy likewiſe had, yet I ſay, that this contradicth his firſt *Books*, where he afferteth, that the husband, father, and master of the houſe ruled as a King: and therefore the Monarchy muſt needs be before either Aristocracy, or Democracy: and where citing *Pausanias*, that *In Boæticorum initio*, faith, *Baœtia næfæxū m̄ Ealdō x̄ dñpoxgatæ m̄as n̄* *Obignas. All Greece was anciently under Kings, and no Democracies*; he is driven to confel, pag. 5. that a family, being in Nature before a publick ſociety, or Common-Wealth was an *exemplary* Monarchy, and in that regard Monarchy is to be acknowledged *ancienter* than any other ſtate; and ſo, not onely the *Orthodoxal* people, but the *Pagans* alſo had this notion thereof by the iuſtice of Nature; for the *Cappadocians* being vanquished by the *Romans*, did iuſtantly request them to give them a *King*, protesting, that they were not otherwile able to maintain themſelves; and ſo moſt other Nations eſteemed that true, which *Herodian* faith, that as *Jupiter* hath comand over all the gods, ſo, in imitation of him, it is his pleasure, that the Empire of men ſhould be *Monarchical*.

Monarchical government
moſt agreeable
to Nature.

Monarchy founded in
Nature.

Conforuant to
the Divine go-
vernment.

The Govern-
ment of the
moſt famous
Nations Mo-
narchical.

— *Summo*
dulcissimum
flare loco, sociis
que come di-
ſcordia regnit,
Status The-
baid. 1.

A family is a
ſmall king-
dom, and a
kingdom a
great family.

And indeed, it is concluded by the *common* conſent of the beſt Philosophers, that the Laws of *Nature* lead us to a *Monarchy*, as when among all Creatures both animate, and inanimate, we do always finde one that hath the preheminence above all the reſt of his kinde, as among the *Beaſts*, the *Lion*, among the *Fowls* the *Eagle*, among *Grains*, the *Wheat*, among *Drink*: the *Wine*, among *Spices* the *Bauſme*, among the *Planets* the *Sun*; and all the beſt *Divines* conclude, the *Monarchical* government to be the moſt lively image, and representation of the *divine* reguent and government of God, who, as ſole *Mo- narch* ruleth and guideth all things; and therefore we finde all the Nations of greatest renown lived under the *Royal Government*, as the *Syrians*, *E- thiopians*, *Indian*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Egyptians*, *Bactrians*, *Armenians*, *Mae- cedonians*, *Jews*, and *Romans* firſt and laſt; and at this day the moſt famous people live under this forme, as the *English*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Danes*, *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, *Turks*, *Abiſſines*, *Moores*, *Agiametques*, *Zagathimians*, *Calbians*, yea, and the *Saluage* people lately diſcovered in the *West Indies*, as being guided thereto by the rules of *Nature*. do all of them in a manner live under the Government of *Kings*; and I beleive the *Apoſtle* doth ſpecially mean the *Regal Government*, though he speakeſt pluraſt of power's, as understanding the fame of many *Kings*, because he speakeſt but of one *sabre*, one ſword, which being wretched out of the hand of the *King*, and put amongst many, would make them all, like mad men, fall out and fight, which of them ſhould bear it, when one *Sword* can never be well guided by many hands; and therefore I think it is a madnesſ indeed for any people to be weary of that government which God firſt ordained, which is moſt *agreeable* unto *Nature*, moſt *conforuant* to God's government, moſt *acceptable* to God himſelf, and moſt *pro- fitable* unto men, and to affec a late new invented government, full of all dangers and inconveniences.

Therefore it is apparent that *Monarchie* is the *firſt* Ordinance of all governments; a family being nothing else but a *ſmall* Kingdome, wherein the *paterfa- milias* had *Regal* power, & *potestatem vita & necr*, even over his own children,

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

13

as I have elsewhere shewed in the example of *Abraham*, and of other Heathens, that *justly* executed their own sons, and a Kingdom being nothing else but a great family, where the King hath *paternal* power, and more then fathers now have, because of the great abuse that divers fathers committed, while they had their *plenary* authority: therefore it was thought fit to abridge them of that *pristine* power, and to place it all in the hands of the more *publique* father.

And to make this yet *more* plain unto the World, I would fain know of these *Democratical* men,

1. When *their Democracy, and Aristocracy* had their being, and came

2. How *first* in use.

I have shewed the age of Monarchy to be from *Adam*.

— *primaque ab origine mundi,*

Ad mea perpetuum decanxi tempora Regem.

And I cannot remember that any *Democracy* or *Aristocracy* was in all the *Afry*- when *Aristocratic* Monarchy, which notwithstanding lasted above a thousand years, for the *cracies* and *Aristocracies* of *Greece*, alas, they are but of yesterday, of no age, long after *Democracies* *Homer's* time, which yet lived but about the time of *Jephite* Judge of *Israel*, began. and besides, I will not believe,

— *Quicquid Gracia mendax
Audet in historiis.* —

And for the Democracy of *Rome*, *Titus Livius* sheweth when it was first hatch'd, after the expulsion of *Tarquinius Superbus*, if therefore you will believe *Tertullian*, that *Id verius quod prius*, you must needs give the *precedency* of all governments unto Monarchy.

But that which is *more* considerable is to understand, how these birds flit out of the *nest* of Monarchy? Our Saviour saith, *Every plant which my Father planted not, shall be rooted up*: that he planted *Monarchy*, I have made it plain; but when this *Vine* began to grow wilde, and instead of *grapes* to bring forth bitter clusters, that is, oppression instead of *justice*; the people grew weary of God's Ordinance, and loath to be contained within the bounds of *obedience*, when they found strength and opportunity, they withstood their *lawful* but *degenerated* Kings, and then they *disposed* them from their estates and deprived them of their lives; so that as the *Poet* saith,

*Ad generum Cereris sine eade & sanguine punci
Descendent reges, & sic à morte tyramni.*

Matth. 15. 13.

What caused
the change
of Monarchy,

Juvenal
Satyr. 10.

And thinking to finde a *better* way, then that which they found so *sharny*, and a *better* government then that which *formerly* they found so bad, they elected those men, whom they thought would make them happy, sometimes *more*, and sometimes *fewer*, as their disposition was, to be their *Governours*: so after the expulsion of *Tarquinius* the *Romans* chose two *Consuls*, and these giving not a *plenary* content unto the People, they added the *Tribunes* to bridle the disorders of the *Consuls*, and when all this would not satisfy their unsatisfable expectation, they must have their *Decemviro*, and in great dangers their *Dictator*, then comes the *Triumvirat*, of *Amy*, *Lepidus*, and *Augustus*, who at last takes upon him the name of an *Emperour*, but the *full* power of a King, and governs all as the *sole* Monarch: thus they ran in a maze, and turned round like a wheel: and I should but weary my Reader to trace the *Greek Histories*, to set down the state of *Athens* under the thirty *Tyrants*, or of the *Lacedaemonians* under those *Ephori*, that bore a fair shew to restrain their Kings,

The uncon-
stancy of the
people in the
choice of their
Governours.

The Govern-
ment never
settled till it
came, as all
things in na-
ture, *in p si-*
my & idem,
to Monarchy.

*Lacedemonio-
rum aristocracia
ex duabus Re-
gibus, quinque
Ephoris, octo
& viginti se-
natoribus com-
posita.*

*1 Sam. 2. 14.
15.
Chap. 8. 11.*

Kings, but were indeed a scourge unto the people ; so that in truth the remedy proved far worse then the disease, *excessit medicina modum*, and the change of Government never brought any other good, but an exchange of miseries, the greater for the lesser, unto the people, as for that one rape of *Lucretia* by *Tarquinus*, to undergo a thousand greater insolencies under the new erected Government of the Consuls and Tribunes ; and the *Israelites* for preventing the snatching of the flesh out of their pots, by the sons of *Eli*, and growing weary of the sons of *Samuel*, to have a *Sant*, that shall tear their own flesh in pieces, and *take their sons and their daughters for his vassals*.

*2. Reason that
Monarchy is
the best form
of Govern-
ment.*

2. As the hereditary Monarch is the first kinde of Government, so it is the principal and best government ; because it is the immediate Ordinance of God, that he set down for the Government of his People ; for this was ordained by God himself, and so continued among his people, even in an hereditary way, unless the same God designed another person by those Prophets, that he inspired for that purpose ; as it was in the case of *David*, *Solomon*, and *Jehu* ; and it is certain, that the wisest of men cannot devise a better Form of Government then God ordained : therefore the choice of one, or more, made by the People to be their King or Governor, cannot be (if not without sin) yet I am sure, without folly ; but seeing, as our Saviour saith, *a Sparrow cannot light upon the ground without the providence of our heavenly Father* : so I must confess,

Matth. 10. 29.

— *hec non sine nomine divum*
Evenient.

*Deut. 24. 1.
Matth. 19. 8.*

This election of Kings and change of the first Ordinance happened not without God's providence, either for the Tyranny of the evil Kings, or the punishment of the rebellious people : and therefore as *Moses* for the hardness of those mens hearts that hated their Wives, to prevent a greater mischief, either continual fighting, or secret murdering one another, suffered them to give their Wives a bill of divorce, (but as our Saviour saith) *Non erat sic ab initio*, it was not any primary Ordinance of God, but a permissive toleration of the lesser evil ;

*How God al-
lowed the A-
ristocratical
and Democra-
tical Govern-
ment, and
why,*

so when the people out of their froward disposition to God's first Institution of the *Regal* right, and presuming to like better of their own choice, do alter this hereditary Right and divine Ordinance into the election of one or more Governors, either *annual*, as among the ancient *Romans*, or *vital*, as it is in the present state of the *Venetians*; God, out of his infinite lenity to our humane frailty, rather then his people should be without Government, and so many heinous sins should go unpunished, doth permit, and it may be allow and approve the same, though sometimes not without great anger and indignation for our contempt and distaste of his heavenly institution ; as when the *Israelites*, weary of the Judges that succeeded *Moses*, who was a king in *Israerun*, and that God raised still to rule as Kings amongst them, to make War against their enemies, and to judge them according to the Law in the time of peace, which are the two chiefest Offices of all kings, desired to have a king, *to judg them like all the Nations* ; not a king simply (for so they had indeed though not in name) but a king like all the Nations, that is, a king of a more absolute power then the Judges had, as *Samuel* sheweth, and they seem contented therewith : God sent them a King in his wrath, because they had rejected him, that he should not reign over them ; that is, they had refused to submit themselves to his Ordinance, and to obey the Kings that he appointed over them, but they must needs be their own Carvers and have a King of their own election, or such a king invested with a more absolute power) as they desired, though notwithstanding they did most hypocritically seem to desire none but whom God appointed over them ; and therefore perceiving their own error, and seeing their own offence by the anger that God shewed, they confessed their fault, and did always thereafter accept of their kings by succession, but onely when their Prophets by the sacred Ointment had ordain'd another by God's special designation.

Deut. 33. 5,

1 Sam. 8. 5.

vers. 7.

*The lamenta-
ble success of
the first ele-
ction of kings.*

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

85

But I cannot finde it in all the Scripture, or in any other Writinge authenticall, where God appointed or commanded any people to be the ~~conservato~~^{guardians} of their kings, but rather to accept of him, and submit themselves to him, ~~whom he borth~~^{had placed over them}. For I would very fain know, as Roffensis speaketh, *An potest ad Adami in filius ac report, indeque omnes ubique homines, ex consensu filiorum ac neptorum depender, an a solo Deo ac natura profuerit?* And if this Authority of the Father be from God without the consent of his Children, then certainly the authority of Kings is both natural and diuin*y* immediately from God and not from any consent or allowance of men; and diuideth Nature. *Natura invenit Regem sicut populus suffragio constaret, qui se percutit. Non enim qui designaretur a Deo, vel a Propheta. Dei iustus ut sit, videlicet non quoniam Deum indicasset.* Neither do I remember any one that was chosen King by the Children of Israel, but only *Ahimelech* the bastard son of *Sela*, and (as some say) *Jacobim* that made *Israe* to sin; and the scripture tell you how *unjustly* they entered, how *wickedly* they reigned, and how *unjustly* this first, that was without question the *Creature* of the people, ended both his life and his reign, to teach us how unsuccessfull it is to have other *masters* of Kings then he that is the *King of Kings*, and such. *Hoc non debet habere aliis* other, nor hold them *guileless* that intrude into his Throne, to besito *Strangeness* and create kings at their pleasures, when as he protesteth, it belongeth unto high, not to the People, to say, *Tu es Deus, et tu placebis vice regum tuorum* to govern his own People, *ut eis dignificabis, et eis misericordias dicas* to comfort them, and *ut eis ducas ad concordiam* to conserue them.

And therefore though I do not wonder so much of that opinion, *Ut reges populi suffragio constarent, That King should be selected by the People,* and that it was the manner of the *Barbarians* to accept of their kings by succession, *Quales fors tutoris, non viximus opinione probando, nichil aspi*re gave them, and not those which were approved by the people for their virtues, because he was ignorant of the divine Oracles, yet me thinkes it is very strange that then continually versed in God's Word, and knowing the nature of the people, which as one faith, *Semper ageris, semper insani, semper favore & ipsius propria*gitor, and specially reading the story of times, shoulde be transported with such *dreames* and *sopperies*, that the people shoulde have any hand in the election of their kings: for if you briefly run over most of the kings of this World, you shall scarce finde one of a thousand to be made by the suffrage of the people: for *Nimrod* got his kingdom by his strength, *Ninus* enlarged the same by his sword, and left the same unto his heirs, from the *Assyrians* the Monarchy was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*, and I pray you how? by the consent of the people, or by the edge of the sword? From the *Persians* it was conferred to *Alexander*, but the same way, and it continued among his successors by the same right: and *Romulus*, *Ad sua qui dominos deduxit flagra Quirites.*

Did not obtain his power by the suffrage of his people; and if you look over the States of *Greece*, we shall finde one *Timonidas* which obtained the Scepter of the *Corinthians*, and *Pittacus* the Government of the *Mytilenians* by the suffrage of the people; but for the *Athenians*, *Lacconianis*, *Sicilians*, *Thebanes*, *Epirots*, and *Macedons*, among whom the Regal Dignity flourished a far longer time then the popular rule, *Non opione populi sed nascendi conditione regnatum est*, their kings reigned not by the election of the people, but by the condition of their birth: and what shall we say of the *Parthians*, *Indians*, *Africans*, *Tartars*, *Arabians*, *Ethiopians*, *Numidians*, *Muscovites*, *Celtans*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *English* and of many other kingdoms that were obtained either by gift, as *Abdolomimus* received his kingdom of *Alexander*, *Juba* the kingdom of *Namidia* from *Augustus*, and the *French* king got the kingdoms of the *Naples* and *Sicily*; or by will, as the *Romans* had the kingdoms of *Egypt*, *Bithinia*, *Pergamus*, and *Asia*, or by *Arms*.

4. viii. folio
iv. 1603. 1603

Roffen. de po-
tiss. Pag. 282

Pineda de rebus
Soli l. 2. c. 2

Das verhindert
soziale
or bessere
now stands
Strengtheth
the人民
should below
the greatest
favour or dig-
nity on earth.
Ezay 41. 8.

Art. 3. fol. 1. 3.

The nature of
the people,
Blazod. p. 61.
and as *T. Liv.*
faith, *Ausser-*
vit humiliat,
an dominatur
superbe.

Of all the
kings of the
world, very
few made by
the suffrage of
the People.

Idem, pag. 63.

Quintus Curi-

tin.

The Rights of Kings, and

*Claud. de 4.
conf. Honorii.* Arms, as many of the aforesaid kingdoms were first gotten, and were always transmitted afterwards to posterity by the hereditary right of blood. And the Poet could say;

*terra dominos pelagiique futuras
Immenso decus rerum de principe nasci.*

It behoved the Kinges of the earth to be born of Kings.

Besides we must all confess, that the King is the Father of people, the Husband of the Common wealth, and the Master of all his subjects: and can you shew me, that God ever appointed that the Children should make choice of their fathers? then surely all would be the sons of Princes; but though fathers may adopt their sons, as the King may make a Turke or any other stranger a free Denizon, yet Children may not choose whom they please for their Fathers, but they are bound to honour those fathers that God hath appointed, or suffered to beget them; though the same should be never so poor, never so wicked; so the wives, though while they are free, they may have the power to refuse whom they dislike, yet they have no such prerogative to choose what husbands they please; or if they had, I am sure no woman would be less than a Lady: and the like may be said of all servants.

Therefore the election of Kings by the People seemes to me no prime Ordinance of God, but as our sectaries say, *All Civilisatio anniv*, A humane Ordination indeed, and the corruption of our Nature, a mere *Utopia*, and an imitation of what the Poet saith,

Opata Ephippia bos niger, opata avare caballus.

Just as if the women would fain have that Law of liberty to choose what husbands they please, and the servants to make choice of what Masters they like best: so the People, never contented with whom God sendeth, never satisfied with his Ordinance, would fain pull their necks out of God's yoke, and become their own choicers, both of their Kings and of their Priests, and indeed of all things else, when as nothing doth please them but what they do, and none can content them, but whom themselves will choose; and their choice cannot long satisfy their mindes, but as the Jews received Christ into Jerusalem with the joyfull acclamation of *Hosanna*, and yet the next day had the malicious cry of *Crucifige*, so the least distaste makes them greedy of a new change; such is the nature of the People.

The People
are in all
things greedy
to have their
own wills.

But though I said before, the election of our chiefe Governours may for many respects be approved of God among some States, yet I hope by this that I have set down, it is most apparent unto all men, contrary to the tenet of our *Anabaptistical* Sectaries, that the hereditary succession of Kirgs to govern God's People, is their indubitable right, and the immediate, prime, principal Ordinance of God: therefore it concerns every man, as much as his soul is worth, to examine seriously, whether to fight against their own King, be not to resist the Ordinance of God, for which, God threatneth no les punishment then damnation, from which *Machiavel* cannot preserve us, nor any policy of State procure a dispensation.

C H A P I V.

Showeth, what we should not do, and what we should do for the King; the Rebels transgressing in all those: how the Israelites honoured their persecuting King in Egypt, how they behaved themselves under Artaxerxes, Ahasuerus, and under all their own Kings of Israel; and how our Kings are of the like institution with the Kings of Israel; proved in the chiefe respects at large; and therefore to have the like honour and obedience.

2. **A**s every lawfull King is to be truly honoured in regard of God's Ordinance, so likewise in respect of God's precept, which commandeth us to honour the King; and this duty is so often inculcated, and so fully laid upon us in the holy Scripture, that I scarce know any duty towards man so much pressed, and so plainly expressed, as this is;

1. Negatively, what we should not do, to deprive him of his Honour.

2. Affirmatively, what we should do, to manifest, and magnifie this Honour towards him: for,

1. Our very thoughts, words, and works are imprisoned, and chained up in the links of God's strictest prohibition; that they should no wayes peep forth, to produce the least dishonour unto our King: for,

1. The Spirit of God, by the mouth of the *wisest* of men commands us to think no ill of the King, let the King be what he will, the precept is without restriction; you must think no ill, that is, you must not intend, or purpose in your thoughts to do the least ill office or disparagement to the King that ruleth over you, be the same King virtuous or vicious, milde, or cruell, good or bad: this is the *sense* of the Holy Ghost. For, as the childe with *Cham* shall become accursed, if he doth but dishonour, and despise his wicked father (or his father in his wickedness) whom in all duty he ought to reverence, so the Subject shall be liable to Gods vengeance, if his heart shall intend the least ill to his most tyranical King.

2. The same Spirit saith, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods*; that is, the *Judges* of the Land, *nor curse*, that is, in Saint Pauls phrase, *speak evill of the Ruler of the people*: and what can be more evill, then to bely his Religion, to traduce his Government, and to make so faithfull a Christian King, as faithless as a *Cretan*, which is commonly broached by the Rebels, and Preached by their seditious Teachers.

3. The great Jehovah gives this peremptory charge to all Subjects, saying, *Touch not mine Anointed*; which is the least indignity that may be: and therefore Davids heart smote him when he did but cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment. What then can be said for them that draw their swords, and shoot their *arrows*, to take away the life of Gods Anointed, which is the greatest mischiefe they can do? I believe no distinction can blinde the judgment of Almighty God, but his revengefull hand will finde them out, that so maliciously transgres his precepts, and think by their subtillty to escape his punishments.

2. The Scriptures do positively, and plainly command us to shew all honour unto our King. For,

1. Solomon saith, *I counsell thee to keep the Kings commandment*; or, as the phrase imports, *to observe the mouth of the King*; that is, not onely his written law, but also his verbal commands, and that in regard of the word of God, that is, in respect of thy Religion, or the solemn vow which thou madest at thine initiation, and incorporation into Gods Church, to obey all the *precepts*

2. All kings are to be honoured in respect of God's precept, consider'd two wayes.

1. What we should not do.

1. To think no ill of the King; Curse not the King, no not in thy thought, Eccles. 10. 30.

2. To say no ill of the King. Exod. 22. 18.

ΑΓΑΠΩ ΣΩ οὐκ οὐκ εἰς ισπεῖς γαροῦ.

3. To do no hurt to the King. Psal. 103. 15. 1 Sam. 24. 43.

2. What we should do to honour the King. Eccles. 8. 2.

1. To observe the kings commands.

The Rights of Kings, and

*Et si religio sol-
litur, nulla no-
bis cum calo ra-
tio est. Lactant,
Inst. I. 3. c. 10.*

of God, whereof this is one, *to honour and obey the King*; or else that *oath of allegiance* and fidelity, which thou hast sworn unto thy King in the presence, and with the approbation of thy God, which certainly will plague all perjurors, and take revenge on them that *take his name in vain*; which is the *infallible*, and therefore most miserable condition of all the *perjured Rebels* of this Kingdom. For if moral honesty teacheth us to keep our *promises*, yea, though it were to *our own hindrance*, then much more should Christianity teach us to observe our *deliberate and solemn oaths*, whose violation can bear none other fruit, than the heavy censure of God's fearful indignation.

But when the prevalent faction took a *solemn Oath* and *Protestation* to defend all the *Privileges* of Parliament, and the *Rights* of the Subjects, and then presently forgetting their oath, and forsaking their faith, by throwing the Bishops out of the House of Peers (which all men knew to be a singular Priviledge, and the House of Lords acknowledged to be the *indubitable right* of the Bishops) and their doctrine being to *dispence* with all oaths for the furtherance of the cause, it is no wonder they falsifie all oaths that they have made unto the King.

How the pre-
valent Faction
of the Parlia-
ment forsooke
themselves.

2. To obey the
kings com-
mandements.

Joh. I. 18.

* *Quis in talibus non obedient
ter, mortaliter
peccati, nisi
fore illud quod
principitur con-
tra praeceptum
Dei, vel in sa-
luti dispendi-
am: Angel.
summa verb.
obedientia.*

3. To give the
king no just
cause of anger.

Prov. 2. 2.
The Rebels
have given
him cause
enough to be
provoked.

4. To speak
reverently to
the king, and
of the king.

Eccles. 8. 4.

Jerem. 37. 8.

5. To pray for
the king.

Ezra 6. 10.

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

2. The people said unto *Joshua*, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy command-
ment, and will not hearken to the words of thy mouth, in all that thou commandest,
he shall be put to death*: surely this was an *absolute government*, and though martial, yet most excellent to keep the people within the bounds of their obedience; for they knew that where *rebellion is permitted*, there can be no good performance of any duty; and it may be a good lesson for all the higher powers, not to be too clement (which is the encouragement of Rebels) to most *obstinate, trayterous, and rebellious Subjects*, who daring not to stir under *rigid Tyrants*, do kick with their heelies against the most *pious Princes*: and therefore my soul wisheth (not out of any desire of blood, but from my love to peace) that this rule were well observed, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy commandment,
he shall be put to death.**

3. The *wisest* of all Kings, but the *King of Kings*, saith, *The fear of a King is as
the roaring of a Lion, who so provoketh him to anger, finneth against his own soul.* And I believe that the taking up of *Armes* by the Subjects against their own King, that never wronged them, and the seeking to take away his life, and the life of his most *faithful servants*, is cause enough to *provoke* any King to anger, if he be not *annde*, too *Stoically* given to abandon all *passions*: and that anger should be like the roaring of a Lion to them that would pull out the Lions eyes, and take away the Lions life.

4. The *King of Heaven* saith of these earthly Kings, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what dost thou?* And *Elihu* demands, *It is fit to say to a King, thou art wicked, or to Princes, you are ungodly?* Truely if *Elihu* were now here, he might hear many *unfitter* things said to our King by his own people, and which is more strange, by some Preachers; for some of them have said, but most *maliciously*, and more falsely, that he is a Papist, he is the Traytor, unworthy to reign, unfit to live; good God! do these men think, God saith truth, *Where the word of a King is, there is power*, that is, to *blast* the conspiracies, and to *confound* the spirits of all Rebels, who shall one day finde it; because the wrath of God at last will be awaked against their *treachery*, and to revenge their *perjury* by enabling the King to accomplish the same upon all that resist him, as he promised to doe in the like case,

5. The *Israelites* being in captivity under the King of *Babylon*, were commanded to *pray* for the life of that Heathen King, and for the life of his sons. And Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to make *supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for Kings*, and for all that are in authority: and how do our men *pray* for our King? in many Pulpits not at all, and in some places for his overthrow, for the shortning of his life, and the finishing of his dayes (*nullum sit in omni pondus*): and they give thanks indeed, not for his *good*, but for their own *supposed* good succels against him; thus they *pravaricante* and *pervert*

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 19

pervert the words of the Apostle to their own destruction, when as the Pro- *Psal. 109. 6.*
phet saith, *Their prayers shall be turned into sin.*

6. Christ commandeth us to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars; that is, ^{6. To render} all his dues
(as I shall more fully shew hereafter) your inward duties of honour, love, unto him.
reverence, and the like: and your outward debts, tolls, tribute, custome, &c.
and the Rebels render none unto him, but take all from him, and return His
Arms to his destruction.

I might produce many other places and precepts of Holy Scripture to inforse
this duty to honour the king, but what will suffice him, *qui Roma parum est;* Luke 16. 31.
if they beleive not *Moses*, neither will they believe, if one should arise from the
dead; and if these things cannot move them, then certainly all the world cannot
remove them from their Wickednes. Yet

3. *Quia exempla movent, plus quam precepta docent;* you shall finde this
doctrine practised by the perpetual demeanour of all Nations. For

1. If you looke upon the Children of *Israel* in the Land of *Egypt*, it cannot
be denied but *Pharaoh* was a wicked king, and exercised great cruelty, and ex-
ceeding tyranny against Gods people; yet *Moses* did not excite the *Israelites* to
take arms against him, though they were more in number, being six hundred
thousand men, and abler for strength to make their party good then *Pharaoh* was,
as the king himself confesseth; but they contained themselves within the bounds
of their Obedience, and waited Gods leisure for their deliverance; because
they knew their patient suffering would more manifest their own piety, and ag-
gravate king *Pharaoh*'s obstinacy, and especially magnify Gods glory, then their
undutiful rebelling could any ways illustrate the least of these.

2. *David's* demeanour towards *Saul* is most memorable; for though (as one
faith) king *Saul* discovered in part the described manner of such a king, as *Sa-
muel* had foreshewed; yet *David* and all his followers performed and observed
the prescribed conditions, that are approved by God in true Subjects: never
resisting, never rebelling against his king, though his king most unjustly persecu-
ted him. *Samuel* also, when he had pronounced *Saul's* rejection, yet did he ^{1 Sam. 15.}
never incite the people to Rebellion, but wept and prayed for him, and dis-
charged all other duties, which formerly he had shewed to be due unto him; and
Elias, that had as good repute with the people, and could as easily have stirred
up sedition, as any of the seditions Preachers of this time; yet did he never per-
suade the Subjects to withstand the illegal commands of a most wicked king,
that as the Scripture testifieth, *had sold himself to work wickedness*, and became
the more exceedingly sinful by the provocation of *Jezebel* his most wicked wife,
and harlot; but he honoured his Sovereignty, and feared his Majesty, when
he fled away from his cruelty.

And because these are but particular presidents, I will name you two obser-
able-examples of the whole Nation.

1. When *Cyrus* made a Decree, and his Decree (according to the Laws of
the *Medes* and *Perians*) should be unalterable; that the Temple of *Jerusalem*
should be re-edified, and the adversaries of the *Jews* obtained a letter from *A-
raxes* to prohibit them, the people of God submitting themselves to the per-
sonal command of the king, contrary to that unalterable Law of *Cyrus*, pleaded
neither the goodness of the work, nor the justness of the cause, but yielded to the
kings will, and ceased from their work, until they obtained a new Licence in
the second year of king *Darius*: and if it be objected that they built the Tem-
ple in despite of those that hindered them, with their sword in one hand, and a
trowel in the other: it is rightly answered, that having the kings leave to build
it, they might justly resist their enemies, that did therein, not only shew
their malice unto them, but also resisted the will of the King.

2. When *Ahasuerus*, to satisfie the unjust desire of his proud favorite, had
wickedly decreed, and most tyrannically destined all the Nation of the *Jews* *babuerus*.
to a sudden death; yet this dutiful people did not undutifully rebel, and plead Hester. 3. 10:
D d d 2 the

Two examples
of the whole
Nation under
Heathen kings
1. Under A-
xes. Ezra 1.1.

2. Under A-
hasuerus.
Esther 3. 10:

The Rights of Kings, and

Hester. 8. 11. the King was seduced by evil counsel, and misguided by proud Haman, therefore nature teaching them, *vim vi pellere*, to stand upon their own defence, they would not submit their necks to his unjust Decree; but, being versed in God's Lawes, and unacquainted with these new devices, they return to God, and betake themselves to their prayers, until God had put it into the King's heart to grant them leave to defend themselves, and to sheath their swords in the bowels of their adversaries; which is a most memorable example of most dutiful unrefusing Subjects; an example of such piety, as would make our Land happy, if our zealous generation were but acquainted with the like Religion.

The author of
the Treatise of
Monarchy,
p. 32.

Henric. Stephan. in libello
de hac re, con-
tendit in omnes
respub. debere
leges Hebraeo-
rum, tanquam
ab ipso Deo pro-
fector, & per
consequens om-
nium optimus
reduci.

1 Sam. 8. 4, 20.

Sozom. histor.
l. 6. c. 6.
Niceph. hist.
l. 11. c. 1.

The wife may
not forsake
her husband,
though he
break his vow,
and neglect
his duty.

But here I know what our Anabaptist, Brownist, and Puritan will say, that I build Castles in the air, and lay down my frame without foundation; because all Kings are not such as the Kings of Israel and Judah were, as the Kings that God gave unto the Jews, and prescribed Special Laws both for the Kings to govern, and the people to obey them; but all other Nations have their own different and several Laws and Constitutions, according to which Laws their Kings are tyed to rule, and the Subjects bound to obey, and no otherwise.

I answer, that indeed it is granted there are several Constitutions of Royalities in several Nations, and there may be Regna Lasonica, conditional and provisional Kingdoms, wherein perhaps upon a real breach of some express conditions, some Magistrates like the Ephori, may pronounce a forfeiture, as well in the successive, as in the elective Kingdoms; because (as one saith) succession is not a new title to more right, but a legal continuance of what was first gotten: which I can no ways yield unto, if you mean it of any Sovereign King, (because the name of a King doth not always denote the sovereign power, as the Kings of Lacedemon though so called, yet had no regal authority; and the Dictator for the time being, and the Emperours afterwards had an absolute power, though not the name of Kings) for I say, that such a government is not properly a regal government, ordained by God, but either an Aristocratical or Democratical government instituted by the people, though approved by God for the welfare of the Common-wealth; but as the Israelites desired a King to judge them like all the Nations, that is, such a King as Aristotle describeth, such as the Nations had intrusted with an absolute and full regal power, as Sisinius sheweth; so the Kings of the Nations, if they be not like the Spartan Kings, were and are like the Kings of Israel, both in respect of their ordination from God, by whom all Kings, as wel of other Nations as of Israel do reign, and of their full power and inviolable authority over the people; which have no more dispensation to resist their Kings, then the Jews had to resist theirs. And therefore Valentinian, though an elected Emperour; yet, when he was requested by his Electours to admit of an associate, answered, *it was in your power to chuse me to be an Emperour, but now, after you have chosen me, what you require is in my power, not in you: Vobis tanquam subditis competit parere, mibi vero qua facienda sunt, cogitare*, it becomes you to obey, as Subjects, and I am to consider what is fittest to be done.

And when the wife takes an husband, there is a compact, agreement, and a solemn vow past in the presence of God, that he shall love, cherish, and maintain her; yet if he break this vow, and neglects both to love and to cherish her, she cannot renounce him, she must not forsake him, she may not follow after another; and there is a greater marriage betwixt the King and his people: therefore though as a wife they might have power to chuse him, and in their choice to tie him to some conditions, yet though he breaks them, they have no more power to abdicate their King, then the wife hath to renounce her husband, nor so much, because she may complain and call her husband before a competent Judge, and produce witnesses against him; whereas there can be no Judge betwixt the King and his people, but only God: and no witness can be found on earth, because it is against all Lawes, and against all Reason, that they which sive a gage; nst their king, should be both the witness against him, and the judges to condemn

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

21

condemn him : or were it so, that all other Kings have not the like constitution which the Scripture setteth down for the Kings of *Israel*; yet I say, that excepting some circumstantial Ceremonies, in all real points, the Laws of our Land are (so far as men could make them) in all things agreeable to the Scriptures in the constituting of our Kings, according to the livelyest pattern of the Kings of *Israel*; as it is well observed by the Author of the *Appeal to thy conscience*, in their four special respects.

- 1. In his Right to the Crown.
- 2. In his Power and Authority.
- 3. In his Charge and Duty.
- 4. In the rendering of his Account.

An Appeal to
thy conscience
pag. 30.

Our Kings of
the like Institu-
tion to the
kings of *Israel*.

1. As the Kings of *Israel* were hereditary by succession, and not elective, unless there were an extraordinary and divine designation, as in *David*, *Sala-
mon*, *John*: so do the Kings of *England* obtain their Kingdoms by birth, or
hereditary succession, as it appeareth,

1. By the *Oath of Allegiance*, used in every Leete, that you shall be true
and faithful to our Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, and to his Heires.

2. Because we owe our legeance to the King in his *natural capacity*, that is,
as he is *Charles* the Son and Heir apparent of King *James*; when as homage
cannot be done to any King in his *politique capacity*, the body of the King being
invisible in that fence.

3. Because in that case it is expressly affirmed, that the King holds the King-
dom of England by birth-right, inherent by descent from the blood-royal: there-
fore to shew how inseperable this right is from the next in blood. *Hen. the 4.*
though he was of the blood-royal, being first cozen unto the King, and had the
Crown resigned unto him by *Rich. the 2.* and confirmed unto him by *Act of
Parliament*; yet upon his death-bed, confessed he had no right therunto, as
Speed writeth.

4. Because it was determined by all the *Judges*, at the Arraignment of *War-*
for and *Clerke*, that immediately by descent his Majesty was completely and ab-
solutely King, without the Ceremony of Coronation, which was but a Royal Orna-
ment and outward Solemnization of the descent. And it is illustrated by *Hen. 6.*
that was not crowned till the ninth year of his Reign; and yet divers were ac-
tainted of High *Treason* before that time, which could not have been done, had
he not been King. And we know, that upon the death of any of our Kings, his
Successor is immediately proclaimed King; to shew that he hath his Kingdom by
descent, and not by the people at his Coronation; whose consent is then asked,
not because they have any power to deny their consent, or refuse him for their
King; but, that the King having their assent, may with greater security and con-
fidence rely upon their loyalty.

2. As the Kings of *Israel* had full power and authority to make war and
conclude peace, to call the greatest Assemblies, as *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Ieho-
saphat*, and the rest of the Kings did; to place and displace the greatest Officers
of State, as *Solomon* placed *Abiathar* in *Sadoc's* room, and *Iehosaphat* appoin-
ted *Amariah* and *Zebadiah* rulers of the greatest Affaires; and had all the
Militia of the Kingdom in their hands: so the Kings of *England* have the
like; for,

1. He onely can lawfully proclaim war, as I shewed before; and he onely can
conclude peace.

2. There is no Assembly that can lawfully meet but by his Authority; and as
the Parliament was first devised and instituted by the King, as all our Historians
write in the life of *Henry the first*, so they cannot meet but by the King's Writ.

3. All Laws, Customs, and Franchises are granted and confirmed unto the
people by the King. *Rot. Clans. 1. R. 2. n. 44.*

4. All the Officers of the Realm, whether *Spiritual* or *Temporal*, are chosen *smith de repub.*
and established by him; as the *biggest* immediately by himself, and the *inferior* *Angl. 1. 2. c. 4.*
by an authority derived from him.

1. Respect.
Kings of Eng-
land are kings
by birth,
Proved.

1. Reason.
Coke, 1. 7. *Cal-
vin's case.*

3. Reason.

Speed, 1. 9. c. 16.

4. Reason.
i. jacobi.

Speed, 1. 9. c. 16.

The right heir
to the King-
dom is King
before he is
crowned.
Why the peo-
ples consent is
asked.

2. Respect.

Chron. 19. 11.
The absolute
authority of
the kings of
England.
Coke 7. 399.
fol. 25. 6.
Polyd. Virgil.
lib. 11.
Speed.
Stop. &c.

5. He *c. 5.*

The Rights of Kings, and

The absurdities
of them
that deny the
Militia to the
King.

Smith de Re-
pub. l. 2.
Cambden Bri-
tan. p. 338.

In the Preface
to a Stat. 24.
Hen. 8. cap. 12.

3 Respect.

The duty of
the kings of
England.

4 Respect.
Psal. 51. 4.

The kings of
England ac-
countable for
their actions

only to God

I Realon

Smith de repub

l. 1. c. 9.

2 Reason.

Reason.

3

Reason.

4

Reason.

3. He hath the sole power of ordering and disposing all the Castles, Forts, and strong Holds, and all the Ports, Havens, and all other parts of the Militia of this kingdom, or otherwise it would follow, that the king had power to proclaim war, but not to be able to maintain it; and that he is bound to defend his subjects, but is denied the meanes to protect them; which is such an absurdity, as cannot be answered by all the House of Commons.

6. The kings of Israel were unto their people their honour, their Sovereignty, their life, and the very breath of their nostrils, as themselves acknowledge; and so the kings of England are the life, the head, and the authority of all things that be done in the Realm of England; supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habentes, nec in Imperii clientela sunt, nec investiturum ab alio accipientes, nec praeter Deum superiorum agnoscentes; and their Subjects are bound by Oath to maintain the kings Sovereignty, in all causes, and over all persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; and that not onely as they are singularly considered, but over all collectively represented in the body politick; for by sundry, divers, old authentick Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of England is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the Imperial Crown of the same; unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, have been bounden and owen to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience.

3. As the duty of every one of the kings of Israel was to be custos utriusque tabule, to keep the Law of God, and to have a special care of his Religion; and then to do justice and judgment, according to the Law of nature, and to observe all the judicial Laws of that kingdom: so are the kings of England obliged to discharge the same duties.

1. To have the chiefest care to defend the faith of Christ, and to preserve the honour of Gods Church, as I shewed before.

2. To maintain common right, according to the rules and dictates of Nature. And,

3. To see the particular Laws and Statutes of his own kingdom well observed amongst his people.

To all which the king is bound, not onely virtute officii, in respect of his office, but also vinculo iuramenti, in respect of his Oath, which enjoyneth him to guide his actions, not according to the desires of an unbridled will, but according to the uses of these established Laws; neither do our Divines give any further liberty to any king, but if he failes in these he doth offend in his duty.

4. As the kings of Israel were accountable for their actions unto none, but onely unto God, and therefore king David after he had committed both murder and adultery, saith unto God, Tibi soli peccavi; as if he had said, none can call me to any account for what I have done but thou alone; and we never read that either the people did call, or the Prophets persuaded them to call any of their most idolatrous, tyrannical, or wicked kings to any account for their idolatry, tyranny, or wickedness; even so the kings of England are accountable to none but to God.

1. Because they have their Crown immediately from God, who first gave it to the Conquerour through his sword, and since to the succeeding kings, by the ordinary means of hereditary succession.

2. Because the Oath which he takes at his Coronation binds him onely before God, who alone can both judge him, and punish him if he forgets it.

3. Because there is neither condition, promise, or limitation, either in that Oath or in any other Covenant or compact that the king makes with the people, either at his Coronation, or at any other time, that he shoule be acceptable, or that they shoule question and censure him for any thing that he shoule do.

4. Because the Testimony of many famous Lawyers justify the same truth; for

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 23

for Bracton saith, if the king refuse to do what is just, *satis erit ei ad passum, quod Dominum expellet ultorem, The Lord will be his avenger, which will be punishment enough for him;* but of the kings grants and actions, *neç privata persona, nec iusticiarii debent disparecer.* And Walsingham maketh mention of a Letter Bracton fol. 34. written from the Parliament to the Bishop of Rome, wherein they say, that a. b. apud Lincertum & directum Dominum a prima institutione regni Anglie ad Regem pertinuit, ^{col. anno 1301.} the certain and direct Dominion of this Kingdom from the very first institution thereof, hath belonged unto the King, who by reason of the arbitrary or free prenuence of the royal dignity and custome observed in all ages, ought not to answer before any Judge, either Ecclesiastical or Secular. Ergo neither before the Pope, nor Parliament, nor Presbyter.

Ex libera præminentia.

5. Because the constant custome and practice of this kingdom was ever such, ^{5. Reason} that no Parliament at any time sought to censure their king, and either to depose him, or to punish him for any of all his actions; save onely those that were called in the troublousome and irregular times of our unfortunate Princes, and were swayed by those that were the heads of the most powerful Faction, to conclude most horrid and unjustifiable Acts, to the very shame of their judicial authorities as those *factions Parliaments* in the times of Hen. 3. king John, Rich. 2. and ^{No legitimate} kings of Eng. Hen. 4. and others, whose acts in the judgment of all good authors, are not to ^{land for their} be drawn into examples, when as they deposed their king for those pretended faults, whereof not the worst of them but is fairly answered, and all thirty three of them proved to be no way sufficient to depose him, by that excellent Civilian Heningus Armisens.

*Heningus c. 4.
p. 93.*

And therefore seeing the *Institution* of our kings is not onely by Gods Law, but also by our own Laws, Customs, and practice thus agreeable to the Scripture kings, they ought to be as sacred and as inviolable to us, as the kings of Israel were to the Jews; and as reverently honoured and obeyed by us, as both the Apostles, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, advise us to honour and obey the king.

C H A P. V.

Showeth, how the Heathens honoured their Kings; how Christ exhibited all due honour unto Heathen and wicked Kings; how he carried himself before Pilate; and how all the good Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards their Heathen persecuting Emperours.

2. WE finde that not onely the Jews, that were the people of God, a royal Priesthood, that had the *Oracles of God*, and therefore no wonder that they were so conformable in their obedience to the will of God, but the Gentiles also that knew not God knew this by the light of nature, that they were bound to yield all honour unto their kings. For Quintus Curtius tells us, that the Persians had such a divine estimation and love unto their king, that Alexander could not perswade them either for fear or reward, to tell him where their king was gone, or to reveale any of his intentions, or to do any other thing that might any ways prejudice the life, or the affairs of their king. And Justin tell us, that the Sicilians did bear so great a respect unto the last Will and Testament of ^{A. l. 4. p. 106.} their deceased king, that they disdain not to obey a slave, whom he had appointed Regent, during the minority of his son. And Herodotus faith, that when Xerxes fled from Greece in a vessel that was so ful of men of war, that it was impossible for him to be saved, without casting some part of them into the Sea; he former times said, O ye men of Persia, let some among you testifie that he hath care of his King,

divinum in rebus inofficio faciebant. Osor.

de Iusti. regis, Iustin. l. 4.

Herodot. l. 8.

What great re-

spec men in

their kings.

The Rights of Kings, and

King, whose safety is in your disposition; then the Nobility which accompanied him having adored him, did cast themselves into the Sea, till the vessel was unburthened, and the King preserved. And I fear these Pagans will rise in judgement to condemn our Nobility, that seek the destruction of their King. And the Macedonians had such a reverent opinion of their King, that being foyled in war, before they returned again to the battle, they fetched their cradles wherein their young King lay, and set him in the midst of the Camp, as supposing that their former misfortune proceeded, because they neglected to take with them the good augur of their King's presence.

Justin. l. 7.

*Aubanus de Africâ. l. 1. p. 39.
Reges divinos
Iove genitos,
Iope nurios;
Homerus &
Hesiodus appellatur.*

*major regis quam auxiliorum filiorumque, aut aliorum principum salutis in se caret; that not only the Priests, but also the Egyptians have a greater care of the safety of their King, than of their wives or children, or any other Princes of the Land. And the same Author describing the manner, how the Tartars create their King, saith, the Princes, Dukes, Barons, and all the people meet, then they place him that is to be their King on a Throne of gold, and prostrating themselves upon the ground, they cry with an unanimous and loud voice, Rogamus, velamus & precipimus, ut domineris nobis, we intreat you and beseech you to reign over us; and he answereth, ‘If you would have this of me, it is necessary that you should be obedient to do whatsoever I shall command you; when I call you, to come; whethersoever I shall send you, to go; whomsoever I shall command you to kill, to do it immediately without fear; and to commit the whole Kingdom into my hands: then they do all answer, We are willing to do all this. And then he saith again, ‘Therefore from henceforth, oris mei sermo, gladius meus erit, the word of my mouth shall be the sword of my power; then all the people do applaud him. And a little after he saith, in eius manus sicut potest omnia sunt, all things are in his hands and power: no man dare say, this is mine, or that is his: no one man may dwell in any part of the Land, but in that which is assigned unto him by the King. Nemini licet imperatoris verba mutare, nemini late ab illo sententie qualicunque modo contrarie, and no man dares alter the Kings words, nor gainsay his sentence whatsoever it is. And we read that the Turk is as absolute in his Dominions, and as readily obeyed in his commands as the Tartar; and yet these Subjects learn this duty of honour and obedience unto their Kings only by the light of nature; and if grace and the Gospel hath made us free from this slavish subjection, should we not be thankful unto our God, and be contented with that liberty which he hath given us; but because we have so much, we will have more: * and seeing God hath delivered us from the rage of tyrannous Kings, we will free ourselves from all government, and disobey the commands of the most clement Princes. We may remember the fable of the Frogs, where they prayed unto Jupiter to haue a King, and what was the success thereof, — omnia dat quia justa negat: and he that undivisibly deniyeth his due obedience, may unwillingly be forced to undue subjection; as the Israelites, not contented with just Samuel, shall be put under an unjust Saul. So God may justly deal with us for our injustice towards our King, to deny that honour unto him which God commanded to be given, and the very Heathens have not detained from their Kings. But*

* And as the Poet saith, Like Subjects arm'd, the more their Princes gave, They this advantage took, the more to crave. Luean. lib. 1. *autem opimis*

3. Christians.

Matth. 23. 22.

1. Christ himself exhibited all due honour unto wicked kings.

I. I felt with Saint Paul we should be blamed (though unjustly) for bringing the uncircumcised Greeks into the Temple, for alleagding the disorderly practice of blind Heathens to be a pattern for these zealous Christians: (which thing notwithstanding our Saviour did, when he preferred Sodom and Gomorrha before Capernaum; yea, Tyre and Sidon before Corozin and Bethsaida:) we cannot want the example of good Christians, and a multitude of most holy Martyrs, to shame the practice of these profane hypocrites. For

2. Christ himself, the author and the finisher of our faith, never left any plainer mark of his religion, then to propagate the same by patience; as on the

the other side, there cannot be a more *suspicious sign of a false Religion*, then to enlarge it and protect it by *violence*: and therefore when the Inhabitants of a certain *Samaritan village* refused to admit Christ and his Disciples into their Town, and so renounced him and his Religion; *James* and *John*, two principal members of his Court, rememb'ring what *Elias* did in the like case, asked if they should not command fire to consume them, as *Elias* did? that is, if they should not use their best endeavours, and be confident of Gods assistance, to *destroy* those profane *rejecters* of Christ, and *refusers* of his religion? Our Saviour, though ever *meeke*, yet now moved at this their *unchristian thought*, rebuked them with that sharpness, as he did *Saint Peter*, when he committed the like *rour*, and said, *You know not what manner of Spirit you are of: as if he had said, you understand not the difference betwixt the profession of Elias, and my religion; for he was such a Zeotor, that *jure zelotarum*, and the extraordinary instinct of Gods spirit that was in him, might at that time (when the Jews were governed by a *Oraculus*, as *Josephus* faith, and God presiding as it were their King a mongt them, and interposing rules by his *Oracles*, and other particular directions, that should oblige and warrant them, as well as their standing Law) do this or the like act, though not authorized by any ordinary Law; and those actions thus performed, are as just and as legal as any other that proceed from the authority of the *supreme Magistrate*; but that dispensation of the Prophets is now ended, and the profession of my Disciples must be far otherwise; for I do not authorize my servants to pretend to the spirit of Elias, or to do as *Phineas* and others, extraordinary men among the Jews, have done, but they must learn of me to be *meeke and lowly in heart*, and rather to suffer wrong of others, then to offer the least injury unto their meanest neighbour, much less to resist their *supreme Magistrate*.*

And when Christ was apprehended, not by any *legal power* of the *supreme Magistrate*, but by the *rude servants* of the *High Priests*; and *Saint Peter*, as carried himself *zealous* for his Master as our *Zealots* are for their Religion, drew his *sword* and before *Pilate* smote off *Malchus* ear, a most *justifiable* and commendable act, a man would and the *High Priests* think, to defend *Christ*, and in him all *Christianity*; our Saviour bids him *put up his sword*, and he adds a reason most considerable to all Christians; for *all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword*: that is, all they that without *lawful authority* take the *sword*, to defend me and my religion with the *sword*, they deserve to *suffer* by the *sword*; and it is very well observed by the Author of *refisting the lawful Magistrate upon colour of religion*, that the two *parallel places* quoted in the margin of our *Bibles*, are very pertinent to this purpose; for that *Law* concerning the *effusion of bloud*, being not any prohibition to the *legal cutting off of Malefactors*, is notwithstanding urged against *S. Peter*, to shew that his shedding of bloud in defence of religion was altogether *illegal*, and prohibited by that *Law*: and the other place (where immediately after these words, *He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword*; the *Holy Ghost* adjoyneth, *here is the patience and the faith of the Saints*:) doth most clearly shew, that all *forcible resistance* is inconsistent with the *religion* of the *Saints*; because their *faith* must be ever accompanied with their *patience*; and it is contrary to their *profession* to save themselves by any *violent opposition* of them that have the *lawful authority*.

But that example which is *unparalleled*, is the suffering of Christ under *Pontius Pilate*; for the whole course of their proceeding against Christ was *illegal*, when as no *Law* can be found to *justify* the delivering up of an innocent person to the will of his *accusers*, as Pilate did our Saviour Christ; and our Saviour had ability and strength enough to have defended himself, for he might have commanded *more than twelve Legions of Angels to assist him*, yet our Saviour acknowledging the *legal power* of Pilate to proceed against him, *that it was given him* from above, makes no resistance either to maintain his *doctrine* or to preserve his *life*, but in all things submits himself to their *illegal proceedings*, and gives

The Rights of Kings, and

unto the Magistrates all the honour that was due unto their places : and you know the rule, *Omnis Christi actio, debet esse nostra instruclio*, we ought to follow his example.

How the Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards their Heathen persecutors.

Beda, p. 15.

Sic dicitur
Art. 39. &
40. confess.
eccl. Gal. re-
for.

And therefore not onely Christ, but also all good Christians have imitated him in this point ; so the Apostles prayed for their persecuting Tyrants, exhorted all their followers to honour even the Pagan Kings, and most sharply reproved all that spoke evill of Authority, much more would they say against them, that commit evill, and proceed in all wickedness against Authority. And *Tertullian* speaking of the behaviour of the Primitive Christians towards the *Heathen* Emperours, and their cruel persecutors, saith that because they knew them to be appointed by God, they did love and reverence them, and wish them safe with all the *Romane Empire* ; yea, they honoured the Emperour, and worshipped him as a man second from God, *& solo Deo minorem, et inferiorem* only unto God ; and in his *Apologetico* he saith, *Domi est, secundum cuius solius potestate sunt reges, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, super omnes homines, ante omnes Deos* ; God alone is he by whose power Kings are preserved, which are second from him, first after him, above all men, and before all gods ; that is, all other Magistrates that the Scripture calleth Gods. So *Justin Martyr*, *Minutus Felix*, *Nazianzen*, (which also wrote against the vices of *Julian*) *S. Augustine*, and others of the prime Fathers of the Church have set down, how the Primitive Christians, and godly Martyrs, that suffered all kind of most barbarous cruelty at the hands of their *Heathen* Magistrates, did notwithstanding pray for them, and honour them, and neither derogated from their authority, nor any wayes resisted their insolencie. And *Johannes Beda*, Advocate in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, saith, that the *Protestants* of *France* in the midst of torments have blessed their King, by whom they were so severely intreated ; and in the midst of fires and massacres, have published their confession in these words : *For this cause he (that is, God) put the sword into the Magistrate's hand, that he may repress the sins committed, not only against the second Table of Gods Commandments, but also against the first : We must therefore for his sake not only endure that Superiors rule over us, but also honour and esteem of them with all reverence, holding them for his Lieutenants and Officers, to whom he hath given in commission to execute a lawfull and a holy function : We therefore hold that we must obey their Lawes and Statutes, pay Tributes, imposts, and other duties, and bear the yoke of subjection with a good and free will, although they were Infidels.*

Ob.

Ob. But against this patience of the Saints, and the wisdom of these good Christians, it is objected by *Godwin*, and others of his Sect, that either they wanted strength to resist, or wanted knowledge of their strength, or of their privilege and power, which God granted them to defend themselves and their religion, or were over-much transported with an ambitious desire of Martyrdom, or by some other misguiding spirit were utterly misled to an unnecessary patience ; and therefore we having strength enough, as we conceive, to subdue the King and all his strength, and being wiser in our generation than all the generation of those fathers, as being guided by a more unerring spirit, we have no reason to pray for patience, but rather to render vengeance, both to the King, and to all his adherents.

Sol.

Where they
are fully an-
swered.

Sol. This *unchristian* censure, and this false imputation laid upon these holy Fathers, by these stubborn Rebels, and proud Enthusiasts, are so mildly, and so learnedly answered by the Author, of *resisting the lawfull Magistrate upon colour of Religion*, that more need not be laid to stop the mouths of all ignorant gain-fayers.

Therefore seeing that by the institution of Kings, by the precept of God, and by the practice of all wise men, and good Christians, *Heathen Kings*, and wicked Tyrants are to be loved, honoured, and obeyed, it is a most haifull thing to God and man, to see men professing themselves Christians (but are indeed like those

those in the Revel. (which say, they are Jewes, and are not) in stead of honest-
ring, transcendently to hate, and most violently to persecute their own most
Christian, and most gracious King; a sin so infinitely sinfull, that I do not wonder
to see the greatness of Gods anger to powre all the plagues that we suffer, upon
this Nation; but I do rather admire, and adore his wonted clemency and pa-
tience, that he hath not all this while either sent forth his fire and lightning
from heaven, as he did upon Sodome and Gomorrah, to consume them, or cause
the earth to swallow them, as it did Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for this their
rebellion against their King; or that he hath not shrowded down far greater
plagues, and more miserable calamities then hitherto we have suffered; because
we have suffered these Antichristian Rebels to proceed so far, and have with
the Merozites neglected all this while to add our strength to assist the Lords
Anointed, to reduce his seduced Subjects to their obedience, and to impose
condigne punishments upon the seducers, and the ringleaders of this unnatural,
and most horrible Rebellion.

Gen. 19. 24.
Num. 16. 31.

Judges 5. 23.

C H A P. . VI.

Sherweth, the two chiefest duties of all Christian Kings; to whom the charge and preservation of Religion is committed; three severall opinions; the strange speeches of the Disciplinarians against Kings are shewed; and Viretus bis scandalous reasons are answered; the double service of all Christian Kings; and how the Heathen Kings and Emperours had the charge of Religion.

2. **A**ll Kings are to be honoured in the fore-said respects, so all Christian Kings are to have a double honour, in respect of the double charge and duty that is laid upon them: As,

1. To preserve true religion, and to defend the faith of Christ, against all Atheists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, and all other adversaries of the Gospel, within their Territories and Dominions.

2. To preserve their Subjects from all forraigne adversaries, and to prevent civill dissentions, to govern them according to the rules of justice and equity, which all other Kings are bound to do; but neither did, nor can do it so fully, and so faithfully as the Christian Kings; because no Law, either Solons, Lycurgus, Pompilius, or any other Greek or Latine; nor any Politique, Plato, Aristotle, Machievle, or whom you will, old or new, can so perfectly set down, and so fairly declare, *quid justum, & quid honestum*, as the Law of Christ hath done; and therefore, seeing *omnis bonus presupponit onus*, the honour is but the reward of labour, and that this labour, or duty of Kings to maintain true Religion, well performed, and faithfully discharged, brings most glory unto God, and the greatest honour to all Kings; when it is more to be, with Constantine, a nursing father to Gods Church, then it is to be with Alexander the sole Monarch of the known world; I will first treat of their charge and care, and the power that God hath given them to defend the faith, and to preserve true Religion. And

1. Religion (faith a learned Divine) without authority, is no Religion; for, as Saint Augustine saith, no true Religion can be received by any means, without some weighty force of authority: therefore if that Religion, whereby thou hopest to be saved, hath no authority to ground it self upon: or if that authority, whereby thy Religion is settled, be mis-placed in him that hath no au-

1. Christian
Kings are to
have double
honour, in rea-
son of their
double duty.

1. Duty.
2. Duty.

1. Care of
Kings to pre-
serve true Re-
ligion.

Aug. de utili-
tate credendi
cap. 9.

The Rights of Kings, and

thority at all, what hope of salvation remaining in that Religion canst thou conceive? but it is concluded on all sides, that the right authority of preserving true religion must reside in him, and proceed from him, by whose supreme power and government it is to be enacted and forced upon us: and therefore now the question is, and it is very much questioned, to whom the supreme government of our Religion ought rightly to be attributed, whereof I finde three several resolutions.

To whom the charge of preserving religion is committed.

3 Opinions.

- 1. *Papistical*, which leaneth too much on the right hand.
- 2. *Anabaptistical*, which bendeth twice as much on the left hand.
- 3. *Orthodoxal* of the Protestants, that ascribe the same to him, on whom God himself hath conferred it.

1. Opinion.

*Unde sapienti-
ciant dictum
Hostii ad Con-
stantium : Tibi
Deus imperium
commisit, nobis
qua sunt ecclae-
siasticas, concre-
dit. Sed hic
intelligitur de
executione offi-
cii, non de gu-
bernatione ec-
clesiae. Sic uero
manifestum est,
cum dicitur, ne-
que sas est nobis
in terris im-
perium tenere,
neque tibi sy-
nicarum &
sacerorum po-
statum habere.
(i.e.) in predi-
catione Evan-
geliis, & admi-
nistracione Sa-
cramentorum
& similibus.*

1. That the Church of *Rome* maketh the *Pope* solely to have the *supreme* government of our *Christian Religion*, is most apparent out of all their writings; and you may see what a large book our Country-man *Stapleton* wrote against Master *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester* to justifie the same. And *Sanders* to disprove the right of Kings, saith, *Fatetur personas Episcoporum, qui in toto orbe fuerunt, Romano Imperatori subjiciuntur, quoniam Rex praeficit hominibus Christianis, verum non quia sunt Christiani, sed quia sunt homines, episcopis etiam ex ea parte rex praeficit*. So Master *Harding* saith, that the office of a King in it self is all one every where, not onely among the *Christian Princes*, but also among the *Heathens*; so that a *Christian King* hath no more to do in deciding Church matters, or meddling with any point of *Religion* then a *Heathen*. And so *Fekenham*, and all the brood of *Jesuites*, do with all violence and virulency labour to disprove the Prince's authority and supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes, and the points of our *Religion*, and to transfer the same wholly unto the *Pope* and his *Cardinals*. Neither do I wonder so much, that the *Pope* having so universally gained, and so long continued this power, and retained this government from the right owners, should employ all his *Hierarchy* to maintain that usurped authority, which he held with so much advantage to his *Episcopal See*, (though with no small prejudice to the *Church of Christ*, when, the Emperours being busied with other affairs, and leaving this care of religion and government of the *Church* to the *Pope*, the *Pope* to the *Bishops*, the *Bishops* to their *Suffragans*, and the *Suffragans* to the *Monkes*, whose authority being little, their knowledg less, and their honesty least of all, all things were ruled with greater corruption and less truth then they ought to be) so long as possibly he should be able to possele it.

But at last, when the light of the *Gospel* shined, and *Christian Princes* had the leisure to look, and the hearts to take hold upon their right, the learned men (opposing themselves against the *Pope's* usurped jurisdiction) have soundly proved the Sovereign authority of *Christian Kings* in the government of the *Church*; that, not onely in other Kingdoms, but also here in *England*, this power was annexed by divers Laws unto the interest of the Crown, and the lawful right of the King: and I am perswaded (faith that Reverend ArchBishop *Bancroft* had it not been that new adversaries did arise, and opposed themselves in this matter, the *Papists* before this time had been utterly subdued; for the Devil seeing himself so like to lose the field, stirred up in the bosom of Reformation a flock of violent and seditious men, that pretending a great deal of hate to *Popery*, have notwithstanding joined themselves, like *Sampson's Foxes*, with the worst of *Papists*, in the worst and most pernicious Doctrines that ever *Papist* taught, to rob *Kings* of their sacred and divine right, and to deprive the *Church* of *Christ* of the truth of all those points, that do most specially concern her government and governours: and though in the fury of their wilde zeal they do no less maliciously then falsely cast upon the soundest Protestants, the aspersion of *Popery* and *Malignancy*; yet I hope to make it plain unto my reader, that themselves

Survey of Di-
scip. c. 22.
p. 251.

How the De-
vil raised instru-
ments to hinder the re-
formation.

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 29

selves are the Papists indeed, or worse than Papists both to the Church and State: For,

2. As the whole Colledge of Cardinals, and all the Scholes of the *Jesuies*, do most *stifly* defend this usurped authority of the *Pope*, which, as I said, may be with the less admiration, because of the *Princes* concession, and their own *long* possession of it; so on the other side there are sprung up of late a certain generation of *Vipers*, the brood of *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, that do most *violently* strive not to detain what they have unjustly obtained, but a degree far worse, to pull the *sword* out of their Prince his hand, and to place *authority* on them which have neither right to own it, nor *discretion* to use it; and that is,

either 1. A Comistry of *Presbyters*: or 2. A Parliament of *Laymen*.

1. These new *Adversaries* of this Truth, that would most *impudently* take away from *Christian Princes* the *supreme* and immediate authority, under Christ, in all *Ecclesiastical Callings* and *Causes*, will needs place the same in *themselves*, and a *Confistorian company* of their own *Faction*: a whole *Volume* would not contain their absurdities, falsities, and blasphemies that they have uttered about this point.

I will only give you a taste of what some of the chief of them have belched forth against the *Divine Truth* of God's Word and the sacred Majestie of Kings. *Malter Calvin* a man otherwife of much worth, and *Calvin in Amos cap. 7.*

worthy to be honoured, yet in this point transported with his own passion, calleth those, *Blasphemers*, that did call King *Henry* the eight the *supreme Head* of this Church of *England*: and *Stapleton* saith, that he handled the King himself with such *villany* and with so *spiteful words*, as he never handled the *Pope* more spitefully; and all for this Title of *Supremacy* in Church causes: and in his fifty fourth Epistle to *Myconius*, he termed them *prophanes* spirits and *mad men*, that persuaded the Magistrates of *Geneva*, not to deprive themselves of that authority which God hath given them: *Viretus* is more *virulent*; for he resemblmeth them not to *mad men*, (as *Calvin* did) but to white *Devils*, because they stand in defence of the Kings authority; and he saith, they are false Christians, though they cover themselves with the *cloak* of the *Gospel*, affirming that the putting of all *authority* and power into the *Civil Magistrates* hands, and making them masters of the Church, is nothing else but the *changing* of the *popedome*, from the *Spiritual Pope* into a *Temporal Pope*, who (as it is to be feared) will prove *worse* and more *tyrannous* then the *Spiritual Pope*, which he laboureth to confirme by these three reasons:

1. Because the *Spiritual Pope* had not the *Sword* in his own hand, to punish men with death, but was fain to crave the *aid* of the *Secular power*, which the *Temporal Pope* needs not do.

2. Because the old *Spiritual Popes* had *some* regard in their dealings of *Councils*, *Synods*, and *ancient Canons*; but the new *Secular Popes* will do what they list without respect of any *Ecclesiastical Order*, be it right or wrong.

3. Because the *Romish Popes* were most commonly very *learned*, but it happeneth oftentimes, that the *Regal Popes* have neither *learning* nor *knowledg* in divine matters; and yet these shall be they that shall *command* Ministers and Preachers what they list; and to make this assertion good, he affirmeth that he saw in some places some *Christian Princes*, under the title of *Reformation*, to have in ten or twenty years, *usurped* more *tyranny* over the Churches in their *Dominions*, then ever the *Pope* and his adherents did in six hundred years.

All which reasons are but *meere fopperies*, blown up by the black Devil, to blast the *beauty* of this truth; for we speak not of the *abuse* of any *Prince*, to *justify* the same against any one, but of his right, that cannot be the cause of any wrong; and it cannot be denied but an *illiterate* Prince may prove a *singular* advancer of all *learning*, as *Bishop Wickham* was no great Scholler, yet was he a most excellent instrument to produce abundance of famous *Clerks* in this Church; and the King ruleth his Church by those *Laws*, which through his royal authority

² Opinion.
Of the *Anabaptists* and *Paritans*.

Where the *Paritans* place the authority to maintain reli-

¹ In the Pref-
erty.

Stapl. cons.
Horn. L. I. p. 22.

How *Viretus* would prove the temporal Pope (as he calleth the King) worse then the spiritual Pope.

¹ Reason.

² Reason.

³ Reason.

Viretus his scandalous reasons answered.

The Rights of Kings, and.

T. C. I. 2.
P. 411.

Rity are made with the advice of his greatest Divines, as hereafter I shall shew unto you : yet these *spurious* and specious pretexts may serve, like *clouds*, to hide the light from the eyes of the simple. So *Cartwright* also, that was our English firebrand, and his Disciples teach, as *Harding* had done before, that *Kings and Princes do hold their Kingdoms and Dominions under Christ, as he is the Son of God only, before all worlds, coequal with the Father, and not as he is Mediator and Governor of the Church* : and therefore the Christian Kings have no more to do with the *Church* government, than the *Heathen Princes* : to *Travers* saith, that the *Heathen Princes* being converted to the faith, receive no more nor any further encrease of their power, whereby they may deale in *Church* causes, then they had before ; so the whole pack of the *Disciplinarians* are all of the same minde, and do hold that all Kings, as well *Heathen* as *Christian* receiving but one Commission and equal Authority immediately from God, have no more to do with *Church* causes, the one sort then the other. And I am ashamed to set down the railing and the scurrilous speeches of *Anthony Gilby* against *Hen. 8.* and of *Knox, Whittingham*, and others, against the truth of the King's lawful right and authority in all Ecclesiastical causes. For, were it so, as *Cartwright, Travers*, and the rest of that crew do avouch, that *Kings* by being *Christians* receive no more authority over Christ his *Church*, then they had before * ; yet this will appear most evident to all understanding men, that all Kings, as well the *Heathens* as the *Christians*, are in the first place to see that their people do religiously observe the worship of that God which they adore : and therefore much more should *Christian* Princes have a care to preserve the religion of *Jesus Christ*.

Gilby in his admonition p. 69
Knox in his exhortation to the Nobility of Scotland, fol. 77.

* Which is most false,

The Gentleee Kings preservers of religiōn.

Synes. ep. 126. Vide Arnis. part. 2. pag. 14. Ad magnas reipubl. utilitas res invenitur religio in civitatibus. Cicero de divin. l. 2.

For it cannot be denied, but that all Kings ought to preserve their Kingdoms, and all Kingdoms are preserved by the same means, by which they were first established ; and they are established by obedience and good manners : neither shall you finde any thing that can beget obedience and good manners, but *Lawes* and *Religion* ; and Religion doth naturally beget obedience unto the Lawes ; therefore most of those Kings that gave Lawes were originally Priests ; and as *Synesius* saith, Ἀρχότοις γένονται οἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς πολιτείας, a Priest and a Prince was all one with them : when the Kings, to preserve their Lawes inviolable, and to keep their people in obedience that they might be happy, became Priests, and exercised the duties of Religion, offering sacrifices unto their Gods, and discharging the other offices of the Priestly Function (as our factious Priests could willingly take upon them the offices of the King;) or if some of them were not Priests (as all were not Law-makers) yet all of them preserved Religion as the only preservation of their Lawes, and the happiness of their Kingdomes, which they saw, could not continue without Religion. But

2. In the Parliament.

2. The wisdom of our grave Prelates, and the learning of our religious Clergie having stopped the course of this violent stream, and hindred the translation of this right of Kings, unto their new-born Presbytery and late erected Synods : There sprang up another generation out of the dregs of the former, that because they would be sure to be bad enough, out of their envy unto Kings, and malice unto the Church (that the one doth not advance their unworthiness, and the other doth not bear with undurifullness) will needs transfer this right of ruling God's Church unto a Parliament of Lay-men ; the King shall be desuded of what God hath given him : and the people shall be endued with what God and all good men have ever denied them. I deny not but the Parliament men, as they are most noble and worthy Gentlemen, so many of them may be very learned, and not a few of them most religious ; and I honour the Parliament rightly discharging their duties, as much as their modesty can desire, or their merit deserve ; neither do I gainsay, but as they are pious men, and the greatest Council of our King, so they may propose things, and request such and such *Lawes* to be enacted, such abuses to be redressed, and such a reformation to be effected, as they think befitting for Gods Church ; but for Aaron's seed and

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

31

and the Tribe of *Levi*, to be directed and commanded out of the *Parliament* chair, how to perform the service of the Tabernacle, and for *Lay* men to determine the *Articles* of faith, to make *Canons* for Church-men, to condemn heresies and define verities, and to have the chief power for the government of Gods Church, as our *Faction* now challengeth, and their Preachers ascribe unto them, is such a violation of the right of Kings, such a derogation to the *Clergy*, and so prejudicial to the *Church* of Christ, as I never found the like usurpation of this right, to the eradication of the true Religion, in any age; for seeing that, as the Proverb goeth, *Quod medicorum est, promiscuit medici, & trahant fabilia fabri*; what *Papist* or *Atheist* will be ever converted to profets that religion, which shall be truly, what now they alleadge *falsly* unto us, a *Parliamentary* religion, or a religion made by *Lay-men*, with the advice of a few that they choose *è face Cleri*? I must seriously profest what I have often bewayled, to see *Nadab* and *Abihs* offering strange fires upon God's Altar, to see the sacred offices of the *Priests* so presumptuously usurped by the Laity, and to see the *children* of the *Church*, nay, the *servants* of the *Church* to prescribe Lawes unto their Masters; and I did ever fear it to be an argument, not onely of a corrupted, but also of a decaying State when *Moses* chaire should be set in the *Parliament House*, and the *Doctors* of the *Church* should never sit thereon: therefore I wish that the *Ark* may be brought back from the *Philistines*, and restored to the *Priests*, to be placed in *Shilo* where it should be; and that the care of the *Ark*, which king *David* undertook, may not be taken out of his hands by his people; but that he may have the honour of that service, which God hath imposed upon him. For

3. As nothing is dearer to understanding, righteous, and religious Kings, then the encrease and maintenance of true religion, and the enlargement of the *Church* of Christ throughout all their Dominions, so they have at all times imployed their studies to this end; because it is an infallible maxime, even among the *Politicians*, that the prosperity of any Kingdome flourishest for no longer time, then the care of Religion and the prosperity of the *Church* is maintained by them among their people: as we see *Troy* was soon lost, when they lost their *Palladium*, so it is the truest sign of a declining and a decaying State, to see the *Clergy* despised, and *religion* disgraced: and therefore the provision for the safety of the *Church*, the publick injoying of the word of God, the form of Service, the manner of Government, and the honour and maintenance of the *Clergy*, are all, the duties of a most Christian King, which the King of Heaven hath imposed upon him for the happiness and prosperity of his Kingdom; and whosoever derive the authority of this charge, either in a blinde obedience to the See of *Rome*, as the *Jesuites* do, or out of their too much zeal and affection, to a new Confistory as the late *Presbyterians* did, or to a *Lay Parliament*, as our upstart *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* do, are most unjust usurpers of the Kings Right, which is not onely ascribed unto him and warranted by the Word of God, but is also confirmed to the Princes of this Land by several *Acts* of *Parliament*, to have the supremacy in all causes and over all persons, as well in the Ecclesiastical as in the Civil government; which being so, they are exempted thereby from all enforcement of any domesical or forraign power, and freed from the penalties of allthose Lawes, both Ecclesiastical and civil, whereunto all their Subjects, *Clergy* and Laity, and all inferior persons, and the superior Nobility within their Kingdomes, are obliged by our Lawes and Statutes; (as hereafter I shall more fully declare.)

Therefore it behoveth all Kings (and especially our King at this time) seriously to consider, what prejudice they shall create unto themselves and their just authority, if they should yeild themselves inferior to their Subjects, (aggregative, or representative, or how you will) or liable to the penal Lawes, (for so they may be soon dethroned by the unstable affection and weak judgment of discontented people) or subject to the jurisdiction of *Lay Elders*, and the excommunication of a tyrannous Confistory, who denouncing him, *tangam Ethonicum*

Hugo de Sancto
Yt. l b 2. de
sacr. fid. par. 2.
cap. 3.
Laicis christia-
nis fidelibus ter-
rena posidere
cooperari, cle-
ricis vero tan-
tim spiritualia
committuntur
que a tem illa
Spiritualia sunt,
subjicit, c. 5.
dicens; omnis
ecclesiastica ad-
ministratio
in tribus con-
ficit, in sacra-
mentis, in ordi-
nibus, in pra-
cepit. Ergo,
Laici nihil ju-
ris habent in le-
gibus ex pro-
cepit condendit
ecclesiastis.

3. Opinion
Of the Ortho-
dox.

Quia religio est
ex potioribus
reipublice par-
tibus: ut sit
Aristot. Polit.
l. 7. c. 8. et
ipsa sola custodit
hominum inter
se societates: ut
ut sit Lachans. de
ira Dei, cap. 12.
Peritara Troja
perdidit pri-
mum Deos.
Therefore the
Tyrians chay-
ned their gods,
lest if they fled
they should be
destroyed.

O. Carrius de
rebus Alexand.
Joh. Beda,
P. 22, 23.

Matth. 18. 17.

The Rights of Kings, and

Deut. 17. 15. *nichum*, may soon add, *a stranger shall not reign over thee*, and so depose him from all government. For seeing all attempts are most violent, that have their beginning and strength from *zeal unto Religion*, be the same true or false, and from the false most of all, and those are ever the most *dangerous* whose ringleaders are most *base* (as the servile War under *Spartacus* was most pernicious unto the *Romans*) there can be nothing of greater use, or more profitable either for the *safety* of the King, the peace of the Church, and the quiet state of the Kingdome, then for the Prince, the King, to retain the *Militia*, and to keep that *power and authority* which the Laws of God and of our Land have granted to, and intailed upon him, in his own hands *unculled and unshaken*: for when the multitude shall be *unbridled*, and the *rights of the Kings* are brandished in their hands, we shall assuredly taste, and I fear in too great a measure (as experience now sheweth) of those *miserable evils*, which *uncontrolled ignorance, furious zeal, false hypocrisy, and the mercifles cruelty* of the giddy-headed people, and discontented Peeres shall bring upon us and our Prince.

But to make it manifest unto the World, what power and authority God hath granted unto Kings, for the government of the *Church*, and the *preservation* of his true *Religion*; we finde them the *worst men*, at all times and in all places, that *miske* their Government, and *reject* their *authority*; and we see those Churches most happy, and those Kingdoms most *flourishing*, which God hath blessed with *religious Kings*, as the State of the Church of *Judea* makes it plain, when *David, Ezechias, Josias*, and the other virtuous Kings restored the Religion, and purified that Service, which the *idolatry* of others their predecessors had corrupted, and we know that as *Moses*,^{*} so kings are called the *servants of God* in a more *special* manner then all others are: that is, not onely because they *serve* the Lord in the Government of the *Common wealth*, but especially because he vouchsafeth to use their service for the advancement of his Church, and the honour of his Son Christ here on earth: or to distribute their duties more *particularly*, we know the Lord expecteth, and so requireth a double service from every Christian king.

The Kings
that maintain
true religion
make their
Kingdoms
happy.

*Exod. 14. 31.
Num. 12. 7, 8.
Deut. 34. 5.
Josh. 1. 1, 2.

The double
service of all
Christian
kings.

1. As they are
Christians.

Psal. 2. 10.

Rom. 2. 11.
Psal. 149. 8.

2. As they
are Christian
king: and
that is twofold

1. To protect
the Church.
Aug. cons. lii.
peil. l. 2.
Optat. Milivit.
lib. 3.

1. The one common with all others, to serve him as they are *his creatures and Christians*; and therefore to serve him as all other Christians are bound to do.
2. The other *proper* and peculiar to them alone, to serve him as they are *Kings and Princes*.

In the first respect, they are no more priviledged to offend then other men; but they are tyed to the *same* obedience of Gods laws, and are obliged to performe as many virtuous actions, and to abstain from all vices, as well as any other of their Subjects: and if they fail in either point, they shall be called to the *same account*, and shall be judged with the *same severity* as the meanest of their people; and therefore, *Be wise O ye Kings, be learned ye that are Judges of the earth; Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence;* for with God there is no respect of persons, but if they do offend he will bind *Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of iron:* and we dare not flatter you, to give you the least liberty to neglect the strict service of the great God.

In the second respect, the service of all *Christian* kings and princes hath (as I told you before) these two parts:

1. To protect the true religion, and to govern the *Church of Christ*.
2. To preserve peace, and to govern the *Common wealth*.

For

1. It is true indeed, that the *Donatists* of old, the *grandfathers* of our *new Se-
ctaries*, were wont to say, *Quid Imperatorum Ecclesia? What have we
to do with the Emperour, or what hath the Emperour to do with the Church?* but
Optat. Milivit. to this *Optatus* answereth, that, *Ille solito furore accessus in hac verba prorupit.*

Donatus

Donatus out of his accustomed *madnesſ* burst forth into these mad termes ; for *Prima omnia in rebus functionum est,* it is a duty that lyeth upon all Princes, (because all, both Christians and Pagans ought to be religious, as I shewed to you before) not onely to be devout, but also to be the means to make all their Subjects (so far as they can) to become devoted to Gods service , as the *practice* of those *Heathens*, that had no other guide of their actions then the *light of nature*, doth make it plain , for *Aristotele* faith, that, *Quae ad Deorum cultum pertinent, commissa sunt regibus, & magistris, iisque things that pertain unto the worship of the Gods are committed to the care of Kings; and civil Magistrates :* and whatsoever their religion was, (as indeed it was but meere superstition) yet because Superstition and Religion, *hos habent communem, do this in common :*

Ut faciant animos humiles formidine diram.

Therefore to make men better, the more humble and more dutiful, the *transgression* thereof was deemed worthy to receive *punishment* among the Pagans ; and that punishment was appointed by them, that had the *principal authority* to govern the Common-wealth ; as the *Athenian* Magistrates condemned *Socrates*, (though he was a man wiser then themselves, yet as they conceived very faulty) for his *irreligion* and derision of their adored gods : And *Tiberius* would set up Christ among the *Romane* gods (though the act added no honour unto Christ) without the authority and against the will of the Senate ; to shew that the care of religion belonged unto the *Emperour*, or chief Magistrate ; and therefore as the Lord commanded the kings of *Israel* to write a copy of his *Law* in a booke, and to take heed to all the words of that *Law* for to do them ; that is, not onely as a private person, (for so every man was not to write it), but as King, to reduce others to the obedience thereof ; so the examples of the best kings both of *Israel* and *Juda*, and of the best Christian Emperours do make this plain unto us : for *Joshua* caused all *Israel* to put away the *strange* gods that were among them, and to incline their hearts unto the Lord God of *Israel* ; *Manasses*, after his return from *Babylon*, tooke away the *strange* Gods, and the *Idols* out of the house of the Lord , and cast them all out of the City, and repaired the *Altar* of the Lord , and commanded *Juda* to serve the Lord God of *Israel*. And what shall I say of *David*, whose whole study was to further the service of God ; and of *Hezepaphat*, *Aſa*, *Zofias*, *Ezebias*, and others, that were rare patternes for other kings for the well government of Gods Church ? and in the time of the Gospel, *Quod non tollit precepta legis, sed perficit*, which takes not away the rules of nature, nor the precepts of the *Law*, but rather establisheth the one, and perfecteth the other ; because Christ came into the world, *non ut tolleret jura facili, sed ut decretet peccata mundi*, not to take away the rights of the Nations, but to satisfie for the sins of the World , the best Christian Emperours discharged the same duty, reformed the Church, abolished *Idolatry*, punished *Heresy*, and maintained *Piety* : especially *Constantine* and *Theodosius*, that were most pious Princes, and of much virtues, and became, as the Prophet foretold us, *nursing fathers unto Gods Church* ; for though they are most religious and best in their religion, that are religious for conscience sake , yet there is a fear from the hand of the Magistrate, that is able to restrain those men from many outward evils, whom neither conscience nor religion could make honest : therefore God committed the *principal* care of his Church to the Prince, and principal Magistrate.

And this is confirmed, and throughly maintained by sundry notable men, as *Brentius* against *Asoto*, *Bishop Horne* against *Fekenham*, *Jewell* against *Harding* ; and many other learned men, that have written against such other *Papists* ; and *Puritans*, *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, that have taken upon them to impugne it ; *Osorius* *Osorius de religione* *eius est bearre rempubl. religione & pietate* : all the office of a King is to be conferred, or employed for the regard of the most holy Religion, and his whole duty is

The Rights of Kings, and

to bless, or make happy the Common-wealth with Religion and piety : *Quod enim est aliud reipublica principi munus assignatum, quam ut rem publica floreat et atque beatam faciat ? quod quidem nullo modo sine egregia pietatis & religionis sanctitate perficitur.* For, though we confess with Ignatius, that no man is equal to the Bishop in causes Ecclesiastical, no not the King himselfe; that is, in such things as belong to his office, as Whitaker faith; because he only ought to see to holy things, that is, the instruction of the people, the administration of the Sacraments, the use of the keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the like, matters of great weight, and exceeding the Kings authority ; yet Kings are above Bishops in wealth, honour, power, government, and majesty : and though they may not do any of the Episcopall duties, yet they may, and ought lawfully to admonish them of their duties, and restrain them from evill, and command them diligently to execute their office ; and if they neglect the same, they ought to reprove and punish them, as we read the good Kings of the Jewish Church, and the godly Emperours * of the Christian Church have ever done ; and the Bishops themselves in sundry Councils, have acknowledged the same power and Authority to be due, and of right belonging unto them : as at Menz, Anno 814, and Anno 847. apud Binium, tom. 3. p. 462. & 631. At Emerita in Portugall, Anno 705. Bin. tom. 2. p. 1183. and therefore it is an ill consequent, to say, Princes have no Authority to preach, Ergo they have no authority to punish those that will not preach, or that do preach false Doctrine.

The Kings authority over Bishops.

1 Chron. 28.

13.

2 Chron. 29.

1 Reg. 2. 26.

* As Martian apud Binium, l. 2. p. 178. Iustinian. novel. 10. tit. 6.

Theodos. iux.

Euseb. l. 1. c. 12.

Basil. in Council. Conflans 8. aff. 1. Binium tom. 8. p. 880.

Reason confir-

meth, that

Kings should

take care of

religion.

Psal. 35. 27.

This truth is likewise apparent, not only by the testimony of Scripture and Fathers, but also by the evidence of plain reason ; because the prosperity of that Land which any King doth govern, without a principal care of Religion, decayeth and degenerateth into Wars, Dearths, Plagues and Pestilence, and abundance of other miseries, that are the lamentable effects and consequences of the neglect of Religion, and contempt of the Ministers of Gods Church ; which I believe is no small cause of these great troubles which we now suffer ; because our God, that taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants, cannot endure that either his service should be neglected, or his servants abused.

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth, the three things necessary for all Kings that would preserve true Religion : how the King may attain to the knowledge of things that pertain to Religion ; by his Bishops and Chaplains, and the calling of Synods ; the unlawfulness of the new Synod ; the Kings power and authority to govern the Church ; and how both the old and new Disciplinarians and Sectaries rob the King of this power.

Therefore seeing this should be the greatest care, that brings the greatest honour to a Christian Prince, to promote the true Religion ; it is requisite that we should consider those things that are most necessary to a Christian King, for the Religious performance of this duty : And they are

Three things necessary for a king to preserve the Church and the Religion.

{ 1. A will to performe it.
2. An understanding to go about it.
3. A power to effect it.

1. Our knowledge and our power without a willing minde, doth want motion.

} And these three must be inseperable in the Prince that maintaineth true Religion. For,

2. Our

2. Our will and power without knowledge shall never be able to move right.

And,

3. Our will and knowledge withoutt ability can never prevale to produce any effect. Therefore Kings and Princes ought to labour to be furnished with these three special graces.

The first is a good will to preserve the purity of Gods service, not onely in his House, but also throughout all his Kingdom: and this, as all other graces are, must be acquired by our faithfull prayers, and that in a more speciall manner for Kings and Princes then for any other; and it is wrought in them by outward instruction, and the often predication of God's Word, and the inward inspiration of Gods Spirit.

1. A willing minde to do it.

The second is knowledge, which is not much less necessary then the former, because not to run right, is no better then not to run at all, and men were as good to do nothing, as to do amiss; and therefore true knowledge is most requisite for that King that will maintain true religion: and this should be not only in generall, and by others, but as much as possible he can, in particulars, and of himselfe; that himselfe might be assured what were fit to be reformed, and what warranted to be maintained in Gods service; for so Moses commandeth the chiefe Princes to be exercised in Gods Law day and night: because this would be a special means to beatifie, or make happy, both the Church and Commonwealth: As the neglect thereof brought ignorance unto the Church, and ruine to the Romane Empire; for, as in Augustus time learning flourished, and in Constantines time piety was much embraced; because these Emperours were such themselves: so when the Kings, whose examples most men are apt to follow, either busied with secular affairs, or neglecting to understand the truth of things, and the state of the Church, do leave this care unto others; then others imitating their neglect, do rule all things with great corruption, and as little truth; whereby errors and blindnes will overspread the Church; and pride, covetousnes, and ambition will replenish the Common-Wealth; and these vices, like the tares that grow up in Gods field to suffocate the pure Wheat*, will at last choake up all virtue and piety both in Church and State.

2. Understanding to know what is to be reformed, and what to be retained.

The kings neglect of religion and the Church, is the destruction of the Commonwealth.

Therefore to prevent this mischiefe, the King, on whom God hath laid the care of these things, ought himselfe (what he can) to learn and finde out the true state of things: and because it is far unbefiting the honour and inconsistent with the charge of great Princes, (whose other affaires will not permit them) to be always poring at their books, as if they were such critiques, as intended to exceed all others in the theoricke learning, like Archimedes, that was in his study drawing forth his Mathematical figures, when the City was sackt, and his enemies pulling down the house about his eares; therefore it is wisdome in them to imitate the discreet examples of other wise Kings, and religious Emperours, in following the means that God hath left, and using the power and authority that he hath given them, to attain unto more knowledge, and to be better instructed in any religious matter, then themselves could possibly attaine unto by their own greatest study: and that is,

How kings may attaine unto the knowledge of religion, and understand the state of the Church, and how to govern the same.

1. As Alexander had his Aristotle ready to inform him in any Philosophicall doubt, and Augustus his prime Orators, Poets, and Historians to instruct him in all affaires; so God hath granted this power unto his Kings, to call those Bishops, and command such Chaplaines to reside about them, as shall be able to informe them in any truth of Divinity, and so direct them in the best forme of Government of Gods Church; and these Chaplains should be well approved, both for their learning and their honesty; for to be learned without honesty, as many are, is to be witty to do evill, which is most pernicious, and doth often times make a private gaine by a publique losse, or an advantage to themselves by the detriment of the Church: and to be honest without knowledge, or to have knowledge without experience, especially in such places of eminency, and for the affaires

1. To callable Clergy-men about them.

How they should be qualified.

of importance, may be as dangerous; when their want of skill may counsel to do matters of much hurt: but when both are met together in one person, that man is a fit Subject to do good service both to God and the King: and the King may be assured, there cannot be a better furtherance to assist him for the well ordering of God's Church, than the grave advice and directions of such instruments, as it appeareth by that memorable example of King *Iosas*, (left to be remembred by all Kings) who, whilst the wise and religious Priest *Jeboiada* assisted and directed him, had all things successfull and happy to his whole Kingdome; but after *Jeboiada*'s death, the King destitute of such a Chaplain to attend, and such a Priest to conseil him, all things came speedily to great ruine.

2 Reg. 12. 2.

1 Reg. 32. 16.

Mar. 6. 30.

Therefore I dare boldly avouch it, they are enemies unto Kings, and the underminers of God's Church, and such instruments as I am not able to express their wickedness, that would exclude such *Jeboiada*'s from the Kings counsel; for was not *Saul* a wicked King, and *Ahab* little better? yet *Saul* would have *Samuel* to direct him, though he followed not his direction; and *Ahab* would ask counsel of *Micaiah*, though he rejected the same to his own destruction: and

King *David*, though never so wise and so great a Prophet, and *Josias*, and *Ezechias*, and all the rest of the good Kings, had always the Priests and the men of God to be their Counsellors, and followed their directions, especially in Church causes, as the oracles of God: so wicked *Herod* disdained not to hear *John* the Baptist, and to be reformed by him in many things; and happy had he been, had he done it in all things. And if you read *Eusebius* (which is called *Pamphilus*, for the great love he bare to that his noble Patron) and *Socrates*, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Historians, or the Histories of our own Land, you shall finde that the best Kings and greatest Emperours had the best Divines, and the most reverend Bishops to be their chiefe Counsellors, and to be employed by them in their weightiest affairs. How then hath the Devil now prevailed to exclude them from all Counsels, and as much as in him lyeth, from the sight of Princes, when he makes it a suspicion of much evil, if they do but talk together? How hath he bewitched the Nobility to yield to be deprived of their Chaplains? Is it not to keep them (that have not time to study, and to finde out truth themselves) still in the ignorance of things; and to none other end, then to overthrow the true religion, and to bring Kings and Princes to confusion?

2 To call Synods to discuss and conclude the harder things.

2. When the King seeth cause, God hath given him power and authority to call Synods and Councils, and to assemble the best men, the most moderate and most learned, to determine of those things together, which a fewer number could not so well, or at least not so authoritatively conclude upon: for so Constantine the Great called the great Council of *Nice* to suppress the Heresie of *Arius*. *Theodosius* called the Council of *Ephesus* in the case of *Nestorius*: *Valentinian* and *Martian* called the Council of *Calcedon* against *Eutyches*: *Justinian* called the Council of *Constantinople* against *Severus*, that renewed the Heresie of *Eutyches*: Constantine the Fifth called the sixth Synod against the *Monothelites*; and so did many others in the like cases: God having fully granted this right and authority unto them, for their better information in any point of religion, and the goverment of the Church.

And therefore they that deny this power unto Kings, or assume this authority unto themselves, whether Popes or Parliament, out of the Kings hand, they may as well take his eyes out of his head; because this is one of the best helps that God hath left unto Kings, to assist and direct them in the chiefe part of their royal government: how presumptuous then, and injurious unto our King, and prejudicial to the Church of Christ, was the faction of this Parliament, without the Kings leave, and contrary to his command, to undertake the nomination of such a pack of Schismatical Divines for such a Synod, as might finally determine such points of faith and discipline, as themselves best liked of, let all the

The unparal-leld presumption of the Faction to call a Synod without the king.

the Christian world, that as yet never saw the like president, be the Judge; and tell us what shall be the religion of that Church, where the Devil shall have the power to prompt worldlings to nominate his prime Chaplains, *Socinians*, *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and the refuse of all the refractory Clergy, (that seem learned in nothing but in the contradiction of learning, and justifying Rebellion against their King and the Church) to compose the *Articles* of our faith, and to frame a new government of our Church? I am even ashamed that so glorious a Kingdom should ever breed so base a Faction, that durst ever presume to be so audacious; and I am sorry that I should be so unhappy to live to see such an unparalleled boldness in any Clergy, that the like cannot be found in any Ecclesiastical History, from the first birth of Christ's Church to this very day, unles our Sectaries can produce it from some of the Utopian Kingdoms, that are so far Southward *In terra incognita*, beyond the *Torrid Zone*, that we (whose zeal is not so fiery, but are of the colder spirits) could not yet perfectly learn the true method of their Anarchical government: or if our Lawyers can shew us the like president that ever Parliament called a Synod contrary to the King's Proclamation, I shall rest beholding to them, produce it if they can. *Credat judicis apella; non ego.*

The third thing requisite to a King for the preservation of true religion, and 3. An authority and power to guide the Church, and to uphold the true religion.

the government of God's Church, is power and authority to defend it; for though the Prince should be never so religious, never so desirous to defend the faith, and never so well able in his understanding, and so well furnished with knowledge to set down what Service and Ceremonies should be used; yet if he hath not power and ability, which do arise from his right and just authority to do it, and to put the same in execution, all the rest are but fruitless embryoes, like those potentials, that are never reduced into actions; or like the grafts upon the house top, that withereth before it be plucked up. *Pf. 119. 6.*

But to let you see, that Kings and Princes should have this power and authority in all Ecclesiastical causes, and over all Ecclesiastical persons, we finde that all Ages and all Lawes have warranted them to do the same; for Solomon displaced *Abiathar* and placed *Sadoc* in his room; *Jerome's* case was heard by the King of *Israel*. *Theodosius*, and *Valentinian* made a Decree, that all those should be deposed, which were infected with the impiety of *Nestorius*; and *Justinian* deposed *Sylvarius* and *Vigilius*: and many other Kings and Emperours did the like; and not onely the Law of God, whereof the King is the prime keeper, and the keeper of both Tables, but also the Statutes of our Land do give unto our King the nomination of Bishops, and some other elective dignities in the Church, the custody of the Bishops Temporalities during the vacation, the Patronage Paramount, or right to present by the last lapse; and many other furtherances and preservatives of religion are, in terminis terminantibus, deputed by our Lawes unto the King; and for his care and charge thereof, they have settled upon him our first Fruits, Tents, Subsidies, and all other contributions of the Ecclesiastical persons, which the Pope received while he usurped the government of this Church; these things being due to him that had the supreme power for the government.

And therefore seeing the examples of all good Kings in the Old Testament, and of the Christian Kings and Emperours in the New Testament, and all Lawes both of God and man, (excepting those Lawes of the Pontificals, that are made against the Law of God,) and all Divines, excepting the Jesuites and their sworn Brethren the Presbyterians, do most justly ascribe this right and power unto Kings; I may truly say with *Cassianus*, that there is no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon; nor any excuse for those Subjects that assist not their Sovereign to enable him to discharge this great charge that is laid upon him.

What then shall we say to them that pull this power, and tear this prerogative out of the King's hand, and place it in the hands of mad men, as the Prophet

*1. Reg. 2. 27.
& 35.*

*Jerem. 26.
How all kings
and Emperors
exercised this
power over
the Church.*

*Cassian. de Inst.
carn. l. i. c. 6.*

The Rights of Kings, and

Psal. 65. 7. How the *Disciplinarians* rob the king of this right. *Knox* to the Commonalty, fol. 49. 50, 53. plet epithets the madness of the people? For that furious *Knox* belched forth this *unsavory* Doctrine, That the *Commonalty* may lawfully require of their King to have true *Preachers*; and if he be negligent, they themselves may justly provide them, maintain them, defend them, against all that oppose them, and detain the profits of the Church Livings from the other sort of Ministers; a point fully practised by the *English Scotizers* of these dayes: and as if this Doctrine were not seditious enough, and abundantly sufficient to move Rebellion, *Goodman* publisheth that horrible tenet unto the world, that it is lawful to kill wicked Kings: which most dangerous and more damnable Doctrine, *Dean Whittingham* affirmeth to be the tenet of the best and most learned of them that were our *Disciplinarians*.

What true religion teacheth us. But when as true Religion doth command us to obey our Kings, whatsoever their Religion is, *ant agendo ant patiendo*, either in suffering with patience, whatsoever they do impose, or in doing with obedience whatsoever they do command. Religion can be no warrant for those actions, which must remain as the everlasting blemishes of that Religion, which either commanded or approved of their doing, I am sure all wise wen wil detest these *Doctrines of Devils*: and seeing it is an infallible rule, that good deserveth then to be accounted evil, when it ceaseth to be well done, it is apparent that it is no more lawful for private and inferiour persons to usurp the Princes power, and violently to remove *Idolatry*, or to cause any Reformation; then it is for the Church of *Rome* by *invasion* or *treason* to establish the Doctrine of that See in this or any other forraign kingdome, because both are performed by the like usurped authority.

The old Disciplinarians. Yet these were the *opinions* and practises of former times, when *Buchanan*, *Knox*, *Cartwright*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Perry*, *Fenner*, *Martin*, *Travers*, *Tbrogmorton*, *Philips*, *Nichols*, and the rest of those introducers of *Ont landish* [and] *Genevian Discipline*, first broached these *uncoath* and unsufferable tenets in our Land, in the Realm of *England* and *Scotland*; and truely if their opinions had not dispersed themselves, like poison, throughout all the veines of this Kingdom, and infected many of our *Nobility*, and as many of the greatest Cities of this Kingdome, (as it appeareth by this late *unparalleled rebellion*) these and the rest of the *trayterous* authours of those *unsavory books*, which they published, and those damnable tenets whch they most ignorantly held, and maliciously taught unto the people, should have slept in silence; their hallowed and sanctified Treason should have remained untouched, and their *memorial* should have perisht with them.

Our rebellious Sectaries far worse then all the former Disciplinarians. But seeing, as Saint *Chrysostome* saith of the *Hereticks* of his time, that although in age they were *younger*, yet in malice they were equal to the antient *Hereticks*; and as the brood of *Serpents*, though they are of less *stature*, yet in their poyson no less dangerous then their dammes; so no more have our new *Sectaries*, our *upstart Anabaptists*, any les wickedness then their *first begetters*; nay, we finde it true, that as the *Poet* saith,

*Etae parentum peior avis
Tulit nos nequiores.* —

*S i den lib.
epist.*

These young cubbs prove worse then the old foxes; for if you compare the *Wheltes* with the *Wolves*, our *Latter Schismatics* with their *former Masters*, I doubt not but you shall finde les learning, and more villany, les honesty, and more subtily, hypocrisy and treachery in *Doctor Burges*, *Master Marshal*, *Caste*, *Goodwin*, *Burrowes*, *Calamy*, *Perne*, *Hill*, *Cheynel*, and the rest of our giddy-headed *Incendiaries*, then can be found in all the *seditions Pamphlets* of the former Disciplinarians, or of them that were hanged (as *Perry*) for their *treasons*: for these men do not onely (as *Sidonius* saith of the like) *aperte invidere, abjecte fingere, & serviliter superbire*, openly envy the state of the *Bishops*, basely forge lyes against them, and servilely swel with the pride of their own conceited sanctity and apparent ignorance; but they have also most impudently (even in their pulpits) flan-

dered

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament. 39

dered the footsteps of Gods Anointed, and so brought the abomination of their transgression to stand in the holy place ; they haue with *Achan* troubled *Israel*, and tormented the whole Land ; yea, these three Kingdomes, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ; and for inciting, provoking, and encouraging simple, ignorant, poore, discontented and seditious *Sectaries*, to be Rebels and *Traytors* against their own their intolermost gracious King ; they have not onely with *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, but they have justified all the *Samaritans*, all the *Sodomites*, all the *Schismaticks*, *Hereticks*, *Rebels*, and *Traytors*, *Papists*, and *A-thirstis*, and all that went before them, *Judas* himself in many circumstances not they of all excepted ; and that which makes their doings the more evil, and the more exceedingly wicked, is, that they make *Religion* to be the warrant for their evil doings : the pack-horse to carry, and the cloke to cover all their treacheries : and thereby they drew the greater multitudes of poore Zelots to be their followers.

And therefore seeing it is not onely the honour, but also the duty, as of all other Kings, so likewise of our King, to be as the *Princes* of our Land are justly stiled, the *Defenders of the Faith* ; and that not only in regard of enemies abroad, but also in respect of those far worse enemies, which desire alteration at home, it behoves the King to looke to these *home-bred* enemies of the Church ; and seeing the king, though never so willing for his piety and religion, never so able for his knowledge and understanding, yet without strength and power to effect what he desires, cannot defend the faith, and maintain the true Religion, from the violence of *Sectaries* and *Traytors* within his kingdome ; it behoves us all to do these two things.

2. To justify the kings *Ezra*, his authority and right to the supreme Government and defender of the Chuch, and of Gods true religion and service, both in respect of Doctrine and Discipline ; and that none else, *Pope* or *Parliament*, hath any power at all herein, but what they have derivately from him : which I hope we have sufficiently proved.

2. To submit our selves unto our king, and to add our strength, force, and power to enable his power to discharge this duty against all the *Innovators* of our Religion, and the enemies of our peace, for the honour of God, and the happiness of this Church and Common-wealth : for that power which is called the Kings power, and is granted and given to him of God, is not onely that *Heroick virtue of fortitude*, which God planteth in the hearts of most noble Princes, (as he hath most graciously done it in abundant measure in our most gracious king) but it is the collected and united power and strength of all his Subjects, which the Lord hath commanded us to joyn and submit it for the assistance of the kings power, against all those that shall oppose it, and if we refuse or neglect the same, then questionless whatsoever mischief, idolatry, barbarity, or superstition shall take root in the Church, and whatsoever oppression and wickedness shall impair the Common-wealth, Heaven will free His Majesty, and the wrath of God, in no small measure, must undoubtedly light upon us and our posterity ; even as *Debora* faith of them, that refused to assist *Barac* against his enemies, *Curse ye Meroz, curse bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not forth to helpe the Lord against the mighty.* *Jud. 5. 23.*

What Gods
faithful ser-
vants, and the
kings loyal
Subjects must
do in these
times.

i. To justify
the kings right

2. To assist
Him against
the Rebels.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Sheweth it is the right of Kings to make Ecclesiastical Lawes and Canons, proved by many authorities and examples; that the good Kings and Emperours made such Lawes by the advice of their Bishops and Clergy, and not of their Lay Counsellours; how our late Canons came to be annulled; that it is the Kings right to admit his Bishops and Prelates to be of his Council, and to delegate secular authority, or civil jurisdiction unto them; proved by the examples of the Heathens, Jeros, and Christians.

Out of all this that hath been spoken, it is more then manifest, that the king ought to have the supreme power over Gods Church, and the Government thereof, and the greatest care to preserve true Religion throughout all his Dominions: this is his duty, and this is his honour, that God hath committed not a people, but his people, and the members of his Son under his charge. For the performance of which charge, it is requisite for us to know that God hath granted unto him, among other rights, these two special prerogatives.

Two special rights and prerogatives of the King for the government of the Church.

1. To make Laws and Ca-

Aug. l. 2.c. 26.

*Idem ep. 48. c.
ep. 50. ad Boni-
fac.*

So they are called the kings Ecclesiastical Lawes.

Plal. 72. 11.

Aug. cont. lii.

Paul. l. 2.c. 92.

Idem in l. de

12. abus. grad.

grad. 2.

- } 1. That he may and ought to make Lawes, Orders, Canons, and Decrees, for the well governing of Gods Church.
2. That he may, when he seeth cause, lawfully and justly grant tolerations and dispensations of his own Laws and Decrees, as he pleaseth.

1. Not onely *Solomon* and *Iehosaphat* gave commandment, and prescribed unto the chief Priests and Levites, what form and order they should observe in their Ecclesiastical causes, and methodes of serving God; but also *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, *Justinian*, and all the Christian Emperours that were careful of Gods service, did the like; and therefore, when the *Donatists* alledged, that secular Princes had nothing to do to meddle in matters of Religion, and in causes Ecclesiastical, Saint *Augustine* in his second Epistle against *Gaudentius*, saith, I have already proved that it appertaineth to the Kings charge, that the *Ninivites* should pacifie Gods wrath; and therefore the Kings that are of Christ's Church, do judge most truely, that it belongeth to their charge, to see that men Rebel not, without punishment against the same; because God doth inspire it into the mindes of Kings that they should procure the Commandments of the Lord to be performed in al their Kingdomes; for they are commanded to serve the Lord in fear; and how do they serve the Lord, as Kings, but in making Laws for Christ? as man he serveth him by living faithfully, but as King he serveth him in making Laws that shal command just things, and forbide the contrary, which they could not do, if they were not kings: And by the example of the king of *Ninive*, *Darius*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and others, which were but figures and prophesies that foreshewed the power, dny and service that Christian kings should owe and performe in like sort to the furtherance of Christs Religion in the time of the New Testament, when al kings shall fall down and Worship Christ, and all Nations shall do him service, he proveth, that the Christian kings and Princes should make Laws and Decrees for the furtherance of Gods service, even as *Nebuchadnezzar* had done in his time. And upon the words of the Apostle, that the king beareth not the sword in vain, he proveth against *Petilian*, that the power and authority of the Princes, which the Apostle treateth of

of in that place, is given unto them, to make sharpe penall Lawes to further true religion, and to suppress all Hereticks and Schismes.

And so accordingly we finde the good Emperours and Kings have ever done; for Constantine caused the idolatrous religions to be suppressed, and the true knowledge of Christ to be preached and planted amongst his people, and made many wholesome Lawes, and godly Constitutions, to restrain the sacrificing unto Idols, and all other devilish and superstitious south-sayings, and to cause the true service of God to be rightly administered in every place, saith Eusebius. And in another place he saith, that the same Constantine gave injunctions to the chiefe Ministers of the Churches, that they shoulde make speciaill supplication to God for him; and he enjoyned all his Subjects that they shoulde keep holy certain dayes dedicated to Christ, and the Sabbath, or Saturday (which was then wont to be kept holy, and as yet not abrogated by any Law among the Christians;) he gave a Law to the Ruler of every Nation, that they shoulde celebrate the Sunday, or the Lords day in like sort; and so for the dayes that were dedicated to the memory of the Martyrs, and other festival times; and all such things were done according to the ordinance of the Emperour.

Nicephorus writing of the excellent virtues of Andronicus, son to Immanuel Paleologus, and comparing him to Constantine the Great, saith, thou hast restored the Catholique Church, being troubled with new opinions, to the old State, thou hast banished all unlawfull and impure doctrine, thou hast established the truth, and hast made Lawes and Constitutions for the same.

Sozomen speaking of Constantines sons, faith, the Princes also concurred to the increase of these things, μετὰ τὸν εὐαγγελικὸν πορθμὸν, shewing their good affections to the Churches, no less then their father did, and honouring the Clergy their servants with singular promotions and immunities, both confirming their fathers Lawes, and making also new Lawes of their own, against such as went about to sacrifice, and to worship Idols, or by any other means fell to the Greekish, or Heathenish superstitions.

Theodoret tells us, that Valentinian at the Synod in Illirico, did not onely confirme the true faith by his Royall assent, but made also many godly and sharpe Lawes, as well for the maintenance of the truth of Christ his doctrine, as also touching many other causes Ecclesiastical, and, as ratifying those things that were done by the Bishops, τοῖς ἀποστολοῖς ἐξημπλότε, he sent abroad to them that doubted thereof.

Honorius, at the request of Boniface the first, made a Law, whereby it might appear what was to be done, when two Popes were chosen at once by the indiscretion of the Electors.

Martianus also made a Statute, to cut off, and put away all manner of contention about the true faith and Religion, in the Councell of Calcedon.

The Emperour Justinian made a Law, that the Churches of Heretiques should be consecrated to the Catholique Religion, saith Martinus Pænitentiarius. And who knowes not of the many Laws, and Decrees, that Justinian made in Ecclesiastical causes for the furtherance of the true Religion? for in the beginning of the Constitutions collected in the Code of Justinian, the first 13 titles are all filled with Lawes for to rule the Church; where it forbiddeth the Bishops to reiterate baptism, to paint, or grave on earth the Image of our Saviour. And in the Novels the Emperour ordaineth Lawes, of the creation and consecration of Bishops; that Synod should be annually held; that the holy mysteries should not be celebrated in private houses; that the Bishops should speak alone when they celebrate the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Eucharist; and that the holy Bible should be translated into the vulgar tongue, and the like.

And not onely these and the rest of the godly Emperours that succeeded them, but also Ariamirus, Wambanus, Richardus, and divers other Kings of Spaine

The good Emperours have made Laws for the government of the Church.
Euseb. in vita Constant. l. 2. c. 3.

Idem de vita Constant. l. 1. c. 3. & 4. c. 18.

Niceph. in praefation. Eccles. biss.

Sozomenus l. 3. c. 17.

Theodor. l. c. 5. 6, & 7.

Distinct. 79. fiduc.

L. 8. tit. 5.
L. 1. tit. 7.
Novel. 123.
c. 10.
Novel. 58.
Novel. 137. c. 6.

The Rights of Kings, and

* Intituled, A
Treasise of
Charlemaigne
against the
Greekisj Synod
touching Images.

did in like manner: And *Charlemaigne*, who approved not the decisions of the Greekish *Synod*, wrote a book against the same*, whereby the King maintained himself in possession, to make *Lawes* for the Church (saith *Johannes Beda*) of which Lawes there are many in a book, called *The capitulary Decrees of Charles the Great*, who as *Pepin* his predecessor had done in the City of *Bourges*, so did he also assemble many Councils in divers places of his Kingdoms, as at *Mayns*, at *Tours*, at *Reines* at *Chaaalons*, at *Arles*, and the sixt, most famous of all, at *Francfort*, where himself was present in person, and condemned the error of *Felician*; and so other Kings of *France*, and the Kings of our own Kingdom of *England*, both before and after the Conquest, (as Master *Fox* plentifully recordeth) did make many *Lawes* and *Constitutions* for the government of God's Church.

The saying of
Dioctesian.

[¶] That is, to rule the Common-wealth.

Tacitus Annal.
lib. 12.

But as *Dioctesian*, that was neither the best nor the happiest governour, said most truly of the civil government, that there was nothing harder than to rule well*, so it is much harder to govern the Church of Christ; therefore as there cannot be an argument of greater wisdome in a Prince, nor any thing of greater safety and felicity to the Common-wealth, then for him to make choice of a wise Council to assist him in his most weighty affaires; saith *Cornelius Tacitus*:

So all religious Kings must do the like in the government of the Church, and the making of their *Lawes* for that government; so God out of his great mercy to them, and no less desire to have his people religiously governed, left such men to be their supporters, their helpers and advisers in the performance of these duties: and I pray you, whom did Kings chuse for this busyness, but whom God had ordained for that purpose? for you may observe that although those Christian Kings and Emperours made their *Lawes*, as having the *supremacy* and the chiefest care of God's religion committed by God into their hands; yet they did never make them, that ever I could read, with the advice, counsel, or direction of any of their Peers, or Lay Subjects; but, as *David* had *Nathan* and *Gad*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, and the rest of the Jewish Kings and Heathens had their *Prophets* only and *Priests* to direct them in all matters of religion; so those Christian Kings and Princes took their *Bishops* and their Clergie only to be their counsellors and directors in all Church causes, as it appeareth out of all the fore-cited Authors, and all the Histories that do write thereof: and *Justinian* published this Law, that when any Ecclesiastical cause or matter was moved, his Lay officers should not intermeddle with it, but shold suffer the *Bishops* to end the same according to the *Canons*: the words are, *Si Ecclesiasticum negotium sit, nullam communionem habent civiles magistratus cum ea disceptatione, sed religiosissimi Episcopi secundum sacros canones, negotio suum impunusso*. For the good Emperour knew full well, that the Lay Senate neither understood what to determine in the points of faith, and the government of Christ's Church, nor was ever willing to do any great good, or any special favour unto the Shepherds of Christ's flock, and the teachers of the true religion; because the Son of God had fore-told it, that the world shold hate us, that secular men and Lay Senatours should commonly oppose, cross, and shew all the spite they can unto the Clergy, of whom our Saviour saith, Behold I send you forth, as *sheep in the midst of wolves*. Whence this, *wha xania*, great distance between their dispositions being observed, it grew into a Proverb, that *Lasci semper infestisunt Clericis*. And Doctour *Meriton*

John. 15.19.
Matth. 10.16.

In a Sermon before King *James*, observed this as one of the good favours the Clergie of *England* found from our Parliaments since the reformation, (when many men first began to be translated from the seat of the scornefull to sit in *Moses chaire*, and to prescribe *Lawes* for Christ his Spouse) to make an Act, that all wandering beggars after their correction by the Constable, should be brought to the Minister of the Parish, to have their names registered in a Book, (and the Constable used to give to the Minister 2^d for his paines for every one so registered) but if he refused or neglected to do it, the Statute saith he should be punished

How the Lai-
ty love the
Clergy.
A very memo-
rable act.
Anno 39. Eliz.
cap. 4.

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The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

43

punished five shillings for every one that should be so omitted; where, besides the honourable office, I will not say to make the Minister of Christ a Bedle of the Beggars, but a Register of the vagrants; you see the punishment of one neglect amounteth to the reward of thirty labours: therefore all the Christian Emperours and the w^est Kings, considering this great charge that God had laid upon them, to make wholesome Lawes and Constitutions for the government of his Church, and seeing the *inclinations* of the *Laiy*, would never permit any of these Lay-Elders, and the *Citizens* of the world, to usurp this authority, to be the composers, contrivers, or assistants in concluding of any Ecclesiastical Law, until the fences of God's vineyard were pulled down, and the *wilde Boar* out of the forrest, the audacious presumption of the *unruly* Commonalty ventured either to govern the Church, or to subdue their Prince; since which incroachment upon the rights of Kings, it hath never succeeded well with the Church of Christ; and I dare boldly lay it, & fideliter quia fideliter, and the more boldly because most truly: the more authority they shall gain herein, the less glory shall Christ have from the service of his Church; and therefore Be wise & ye Kings. And consider how any new Canons are to be made by our Statute, 25 Hen. 8.

That the Laity
should have
no interest in
making Laws
for the
Church.

Ob. But then it may be demanded, if this be so, that the *Laiy* hath no right in making Lawes and Decrees for the government of God's Church, but that it belongs wholly unto the King to do it, with the advice of his *Bishops* and the rest of his Clergy: then how came the *Parliament* to annul those *Canons* that were so made by the King and Clergy, because they had no vote nor consent in confirming of them?

Sol. Truly I cannot answer to this Objection, unless I should tell you what the Poet saith,

Dum furor incursum, currents cede furori,
Difficiles aditus impedit omnis habet.

They were furiously bent against them; and you know, *furore armis ministrat*: & *dum regunt arma, plenteges*, all Lawes must sleep while Armes prevaile: besides, you may finde those Canons, as if they had been prophetically made, fore-saw the increasing strength of *Anabaptisme*, *Brownisme*, *Puritanisme*, most likely to subvert true *Protestantisme*, and therefore were as equally directed against these *Sectaries* of the left hand, as against the *Papists* on the right hand; and I think the *whole Kingdom* now findes and feels the strength of that *virulent* Faction; and therefore what wonder, that they should seek to break all those Canons to pieces, and batter them down with their mighty *Ordinances*, for seeking to subdue their *invincible* errors; or else, because (as they say) the Ecclesiastical State is not an independent society, but a member of the whole, the *Parliament* was not so to be excluded, as that their advice and approbation should not be required, to make them *obligatory* to the rest of the Subjects of the *whole Kingdom*, which claim this *priviledge*, to be tyed to the observation of no humane Lawes; that themselves by their representatives have not consented unto.

2. As the King is intrusted by God to make Lawes for the government of the Church of Christ, so it is a rule without question, that *cives est dispensare dispensations & absolvere, enjovest condere, he hath the like power to dispense with whom he pleasereth, and also absolve him that transgresseth, as he hath to oblige them*: therefore our Church being for reformation the most famous throughout all the parts of the *Christian world*; and our King, having so just an authority to do the same, it is a most impudent scandal, full of all malice and ignorance, not to be endured by any well affected Christian, that the *new brood* of the old *Anabaptists* do lay upon our Church and State, that they did very unreasonably, and unconscionably by their Lawes, grant *Dispensations* both for *Pluralities*.

about inheritance, or the bounds of lands did arise, they also did set down their Decrees, and appointed the penalty : and whosoever rejected their order, or refused their judgement they excommunicated him from all society, and he was then deemed of all men as an ungodly and a most graceless person. Thus did they, that had but the twilight of corrupted Nature to direct them, judge those that were most conversant with the minds and will of the gods, to be the first Counsellors and Judges of the actions of men : and I fear these children of nature will rise in judgement, to condemne many of them that profess themselves to be the sons of grace, for comming so short of them in this point.

2. The Jewes also which received the oracles of God, were enjoyned by God to yeild unto their Priests the dispensation both of divine and humane Lawes ; and the Lord enacted it by an irrevocable Law, that the judgement of the High Priest should be obserued, as sacred, and inviolable in all controversies ; and if any man refused to submit himselfe unto it, his death must make recompence for his contumacy. And Josephus saith, *Si iudicesset noscimus de rebus ad se delatis pronunciare, integrum causam in urbem sanctam mittent, & convenientes Pontifex & Prophetae & Senatus, quod visum sit, pronuntiantur :* and in his second book against Appian he saith, *Sacerdotes inspectores omnium, judices controversiarum, puntores damnatorum constituti sunt a Moysi :* The Priests were appointed by Moses to be the lookers into all things, the judges of controversies, and the punishers of the condemned. And they were of that high esteem amongst the Jewes, that the royall blood disdained not to march in marriages with the Priests, as Jebojada married the daughter of King Jezoram, and in the vacante of Kings they had all the affaires of the Kingdome in their administration, and when they became tributaries unto the Romans after Aristobulus, the royall government was often annexed to the Priesthood : and S. Paul argueth from hence, that if the administration of death was glorious, how shall not the administration of the Spirit be rather glorious ? for, if the ministrations of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministrations of righteousness exceed in glory ; or otherwise it were very strange, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be deemed more base and contemptible, because their calling is far more glorious and excellent, yea, so excellent, that to all good Christians the Prophet demandeth, *quam speciosi pedes eorum ?*

And for the discharging of secular imployments, we have not onely the example of the Priests and Prophets of the Old Testament, but we have also the testimony, and the practice of many godly Bishops, and Fathers of the Church of Christ, under the New Testament, to justify this truth. For,

you. Not onely Moses and Aaren that were both the Priests of the most high God, and the chiefe Judges in all secular causes, but also Joseph had his jurisdiction over the Egyptians, Daniel had his Lieutenancie over the Babylonians, and Nehemias was a great Courtier among the Persians : and yet these secular imployments were no hinderance to them in the divine worship and service of God. So Ely and Samuel both, were both Judges and Priests together : and the most religious Princes, David, Solomon, Jeboaphat, and others, used the Priests and Levites at their command in the civil government of their Dominions, for, when David caused all the Levites to be numbered from 30 years old and upwards, and that they were found to be 38 thousand ; he appointed 24 thousand of them to be overseers of the works of the house of the Lord, and he ordained the other six thousand to be Judges and Rulers in all Israel ; and so did Jeboaphat likewise. * for though the last verse of the said chapter seems to put a difference betwixt the Civil matters and the Ecclesiastical affaires, yet it is rightly answered by Saravia, that this error riseth from a misconceived opinion of their government, as if it were the same with the government of some of our reformed Churches, which was nothing less ; for if you compare

2. Among
the Jewes.

Deut. 17.

*Joseph. contra
Appi. lib. 2.*

2 Chron. 22.

11.

2 Cor. 3. 7,
8, 9.

Esay, 52. 9.
Priests imployed in secular affaires.

1. Among
the Jewes.
Psal. 99. 5.
Priests and
Prophets
among the
Jewes exerci-
ted secular ju-
risdiction.

1 Chron. 23. 4.
2 Chron. 19.
11.
The place ex-
plained.

this

Sigoniis legit. this place with the 26. chap. of the 1. Chron vers. the 29, 30, and 32. you may easily finde, that the Kings service, or the affairs of the King, doth not signifie the civil matters, or the politique affairs of the Kingdom, over which *Amaris* here, and *Habshabia* and his brethren there (1 Chron. 26. 30.) were appointed the chief Rulers; but it signifieth those things which pertained to the King's right, betwixt him and his subjects, (as thole things that were described by *Samuel*, and were retained, and perhaps augmented, either by the consent of the people, or the incroachment of the succeeding Kings, as the special rights of the Kings) over which *Zebadiah* the son of *Ismail* was appointed by *Jehoshaphat* to be the Ruler; and the busyness of the Lord is fully set down, ver. 10. to be not onely the Church affairs, but all the affairs of the Kingdom; between *bloud* and *bloud*, between *Law* and *Commandment*, *Statutes* and *Judgements*; over which the *Priests* and *Levites* were appointed the ordinary Judges, and the Interpreters of the Law, as well *Civil* as *Ecclesiastical*; for the Lord saith plainly, that every question and controversie shall be determined according to the censure of the *Priests*; which certainly he would never have so prescribed, nor these holy men have thus executed them, if these two Functions had been so averse, and contrary the one to the other, that they could never be exercised together by the same man.

2. In the Primitive times under the Gospel, *Salmeron* saith, that in the time of S. *Augustine*, as himself teacheth, *Episcopi* *lisibus* *Christianorum* *vacare* *solabant*, the *Bishops* had so much leisure, that they were wont to judge of the quarrels of Christians: yet they did not so spend their time in judging their contentions, that they neglected their Preaching and Episcopal function: and now that they do judge in civil causes, *confusione Ecclesia introductum est*, ut *peccata* *caverterur*. And *Bellarmino* saith, *Non pugnat cum verbo Dei*, ut *nullus* *homo* *sit Princeps Ecclesiasticus & politicus simul*, it is not against the word of God, that the same man should be an Ecclesiastical and a Secular Prince together, when as the same man may both govern his Episcopacy and his Principality. And therefore we read of divers men, that were both the Princes and the Bishops of the same Cities: as the *Archbishop* of *Collegium*, *Mentz*, *Triers*, and other *German* Princes, that are both Ecclesiastical Pastours, and great secular Princes. And *Hubert* *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* was for a long while *Viceroy* of this Kingdom: And so *Leo. 9. Julius 2. Philip* *Archbishop* of *York*, *Adelboldus. Innocent 2. Collegantius* and *Blondus*, and many others, famous and most worthy Bishops, both of this Island and of other Kingdoms, have undertaken and exercised both the Functions. And Saint *Paul* recommendeth secular busynesses and judgements unto the Pastours of the Church, as S. *Augustine* testifieth at large, where he saith, I call the Lord *Jesus* a witness to my soul, that for so much as concerneth my commodity, I had rather work every day with my hands, and to reserve the other houres free to read, pray, and exercise my self in *Scriptures*, then to sustain the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes, in determining secular Controversies by judgement, or taking them up by arbitrement; to which troubles the Apostle hath appointed us, not of his own will, but of his that spake in him. And as this excellent Father, that wrote so many worthy volumes, did notwithstanding employ no small part of his time in these troublesome affairs, so S. *Ambrose* twice undertook an honourable Embassy for *Valentinian* the Emperour unto the Tyrant *Maximus*. And *Mauritius* *Bishop* of *Mesopotamia* was sent by the *Romane* *Emperour*, an Ambassador to the King of *Persia*, in which employment he hath abundantly benefitted both the Church and the Emperour: and we read of divers famous men that undertook divers Functions, and yet neither confounded their offices, nor neglected their duties; for *Spiridion* was an husbandman, and a Bishop of the Church: a Pastour of sheep, and a feeder of soules; and yet none of the ancient Fathers, that we read of, either envied his Farm, or blamed his neglect in his Bishoprick; but they admired his simplicity, and commended his sanctity: they

Bellar. de Rom.

Pont. l. 5. c. 9.

Theod. l. 2. c. 30.

Henr. of Huntington. Hist. Angl.

Voluntas Regis. Ist. in Insula. in Lib.

Aug. tom. 3.

de spirib. Monach. c. 29.

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they were not of the spirit of our *hypocritical* *Saints*. And *Theodoret* writeth, *Theodor. lib. 4.*
c. 13. that one *James* Bishop of *Nisib*, was both a Bishop and a Captain of the same
 City, which by the help of his God he manfully preserved against *Sapor* King
 of *Persia*. And *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosis*, managing himself with all warlike
 habiliments, ranged along throughout all *Syria*, *Phenicia*, and *Palestina* ;
 and as he passed, erected *Churches*, and ordained *Priests* and *Deacons*, and
 performed such other *Ecclesiastical* pensions, as pertained to his office in all
 places ; and I fear me the iniquity of our time will now call upon all *Bishops*,
 that are able, to do the like : to preach unto our people, and to fight against
 God's enemies, (that have long laboured to overthrow his Church) as we read
 of some *Bishops* of this Kingdom, that have been driven to do the like : and if
 these men might do these things without blame, as they did, why may not the
 same man be both a *Bishop* and the *Kings Counsellour* ? both a *Preacher* in the
 pulpit, and a *Justice* of the peace on the Bench ? and yet the *callings* not con-
 founded, though the same man be called to both offices, for you know the
 office of a *Lawyer* is different from the office of a *Physitian*, and the office
 of a *Physitian* as different from the duty of a *Divine*; and yet as *Saint*
Luke was an excellent *Physitian*, and a heavenly *Evangelist*; and *S. Paul* as
 good a *Lawyer*, as he was a *Preacher*, (for he was bred at the feet of *Gamaliel*)
 as was *Malter Calvin* too, as good a *Civilian* as he was a *Divine* (for that was
 his first profession.) so the same man may, as in many places they do, and that
 without blame, both play the part of a *Physitian* to cure the body, and of a *Di-
 vine* to instruct the soul ; and therefore why not of a *Lawyer*? when as the
 Preachers duty, next to the teaching of the faith in *Christ*, is to perswade men
 to live according to the rules of *Justice*, and *Justice* we cannot understand
 without the knowledge of the Laws, both of God and men; and if he be ob-
 liged to know the Law, why should he be thought an unfit man to judge accor-
 ding to the Law ? But.

CHAP. IX.

*Showeth a full answer to four special Objections that are made against
 the Civil jurisdictions of Ecclesiastical persons ; their abilities to
 discharge these offices, and desire to benefit the Common-wealth ;
 why some Councils inhibited these offices unto Bishops ; that the King
 may give titles of honour unto his Clergy ; of this title, L O R D ,
 not unfitly given to the Bishops, proved ; the objections against
 it answered, six special reasons why the King should confer honours
 and favours upon his Bishops and Clergy.*

1. If you say the office of a *Preacher* requireth the whole man, and where
 the whole man is not sufficient to one duty, for τις τῶν τις λιγεῖ ; then *ob. 1.*
2 Cor. 2. 16. certainly one man is never able to supply two charges.

I answer, that this *indefinite censure* is uncertainly true, and most *certainly* *sol.*
 false, as I have proved unto you before, by many examples of most holy
 men, that discharged two offices with great *applause*, and no very great *difficul-
 ty* to themselves, for though *Saint Matthew* could not return to his trade of *Pub-
 lican*, because that a continued attendance on a *secular busines*, would have
 taken him from his *Apostolate*, and prove an impediment to his *Evangelick* mi-
 nistrition ; yet *Saint Peter* might return to his nets, as he did, without blame,
 because that a *temporary* *imemployment*, and no constant *secession*, can be no hin-
 derance

N

o man is al- derance to our Clericall office ; when there is no man that can so wholly ad- w^{ayes} able to do the same thing.

Change of la-
bour is a kinde
of recreation.

derance to any kinde of art, trade, or faculty, but that he must sometimes interchangeably afford himselfe leisure, either for his recreation, *Ut quimvis animo posse sufferre laborem*, or the recollection of strength and abilities to discharge his office by the undertaking of some other exercise, which is to many men their chiefest recreation ; as you see, the husband-mans change of labour doth still inable him to continue in labour ; and the Courtier cannot always wait in the same posture, nor the Scribe alwayes write, nor the Divine always study ; but there must be an exchange of his actions for the better performance of his chiefest employment : and that time, which either some Gentle- men, Citizens, or Courtiers spend in playing, hawking, or hunting, onely for their recreation, the better to inable them to discharge their offices, why may not the Divine employ it in the performance of any other duty, different, but not destructive, or contradictory to his more special function ? especially considering that the discharging of those good duties, to give counsell, to do justice, to relieve the distressed, and the like, are more acceptable recreations unto them

John. 4. 34. (as it was meat and drink to Christ to do his fathers will) then the other fore-named exercises are or can be to any others ; and considering also, that where the Bishop or Pastor hath great affaires, and much charge, he may have great helpe, and much aid to assist him. You will allow us an hour for our recreation, why, will you not allow us that hour to do justice ?

Ob. 2. 2. If you say, they are spirituall men, and therefore cannot have so great a care of the temporall state, and Common-wealth.

Sol.

1. The abi-
lity of the
Clergy to ma-
nage civil af-
faires.

Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. *οργανωσοντες και ωντες αρχαιοντες τοις θεοις*, and not to be attended upon by weak and simple men ; and if Kings must be served by such men, then certainly the service of God is not to be performed by Weavers and Taylors, and others like Jeroboams Priests ; but it will require men of great abilities, learning, and understanding in all busineses whatsoever, such as are indeed well able to discourse *De quolibet ente* : And they have very unprofitably consumed themselves with their time in their head-pain vigils, and heart-breaking studies, in traversing over all the Common-wealths of the world, if they

The Clergy of
better abilities
to benefit the
Common-
wealth, then
many others
that now sway
it.

The employ-
ment of the
Bishops in ci-
vil affaires, is
the good of
the Common
wealth.

*Petrus Blesen-
sis, ep. 84.*

whereby they may benefit their own Common-wealth, or do understand less what belongeth unto the good of their Countrey, especially in matters of equity and right, then illiterate Burgesses, and meere Chapmanen : for, if you read but the booke of the Prophets, you shall finde how plentifull they are in the precepts of peace, in the policies of war, and in the best counsels for all things which concern the good of the Common-wealth : and do not the Divines read the Histories of all, or most other Common-wealths ? how else shall they be inable to propole unto their people the example of Gods justice upon the wicked, and his bounty and favour unto the observers of his Lawes, throughout all ages, and in all places of this world ? and will you deprive the King of the assistance of such instruments for the government of his people, that are stronger then any one man can rule, and would quickly despise Heaven, and destroy the earth, if their consciences were not awed with Religion ? or would you damme up the channels of those benefits that should flow from them to the Common-wealth ? for it is not the addition of any honour to the calling of a Bishop, but the King's interest, and the peoples good that is aimed at, when we assert the capacity of the Clergy to discharge the offices of the most publique affaires ; because, as *Petrus Blesensis* saith, it is the office of the Bishops to instruct the King to righteousness, to be a rule of sanctity, and sobriety unto the Court, to mix the influencies of Religion with the designes

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 49

designes of State, and to restrain the malignity of the ill-disposed people; and all histories do relate unto us, that when pious Bishops were employed in the King's Counsels, the rigour of the Lawes was abated, equity introduced, the cry of the poor respected, their necessities relieved, the liberties of the Church preserved, pride depressed, religion increased, the devotion of the Laity multiplied, the peace of the Kingdom flourished, and the tribunals were made more just and merciful, then now they be.

And therefore the sacred histories do record of purpose, how the people of God never adventured upon any action of weight and moment, before they had well consulted with the Priests and Prophets, as you see in the example of *Abab*, No Nation at-
that was none of the best Kings, yet would not omit this good duty: and such
was the custom of all other Countries, wheresoever there was any religion or
reverence of God; *Quoniam est res publica. ubi ecclesiastici primum non habeant
locum in comitiis & publicis de salute reipub. deliberationibus?* for which is that
Common-wealth, where the Ecclesiastical persons had not the first place in all
meetings and publique consultations about the welfare of the Common-wealth?
as in *Germany* the three spiritual Electours are the first; in *France* the three
Ecclesiastical persons were the first of all the Peers; in *England* (till this un-
happy time) the two Archbishops, and in *Poland* as many, were next to have
the chiefest place, and not unworthily: *quia equum est, antestent in concilio Apud Euseb.
qui antestant prudentia, nec videtur novissimus humanus, nisi qui divinus cognitus
habet;* as the *Indian* said unto *Socrates*: and therefore the *Chaldaens*, the
Egyptians, the *Gracians*, the *Romanes*, the *French*, and the *Britons*, thought
it alwayes ominous to attempt any notable thing in the Common-wealth, without
the sad and sage advice of their Priests and Prophets; for they knew the neglect
of God was never left without due revenge; and though their false gods were
no gods, yet the true God was found to have been a sharp revenger of the con-
tempt of the false gods; because that to them they were proposed for the true
gods, and they believed them so to be, as *Lactantius* sheweth: and therefore
all antiquity that bare any reverence to any Deity, shewed all reverence and
respect unto the teachers of his religion; but now men desire to throw learning
over the Bar, because it should not discover the ignorance of the Bench; or
rather piety is excluded, because it should not reprove their iniquity: And the
Clergy must not sit on the seat of judgement, that the Laity may do injustice
without controul; or perhaps revenge themselves upon their Ministers on the
Bench, for reproving their vices in the Church: so the Devil gaigneth, whatso-
ever piety loseth by their depression.

2. As the Clergy-men are as able, so they are as willing and as careful to provide for the good of the State, as any other; for themselves are members of the Clergy to do good to the State.

Therefore, seeing the good of the Common-wealth is their own good, The Church and the good of the Church is the good of the Common-wealth, when a Christian Common-wealth and the Church of Christ are imbarke in the same Vessel, and do sayle together with the same success, aiming both at the same Port; and God hath commanded his Ministers to be no less solicitous for the one, then the other: it is incredible to think that a godly Minister should have less care of the Common-wealth, then the best of our common Burgo-Masters; and it is impossible to conceive any true reason, why the Bishops and Pastours above all others, should be excommunicated out of their assemblies, and excluded from their Parliaments, and other civil Courts; when it doth most chiefly concern them, to see unto the welfare of their flock, not onely in such things

The Rights of Kings, and

A miserable thing, that the Ministers of the Gospel should be made more slaves, than the basest calling in the World.

as concern the safety of their souls, but also in all other things that may pertain, either to the security of their bodies, or the quietness of their estates; because this is a thing utterly against the equal right of all Subjects, that the Ministers of the Gospel, being Subjects unto the king, and Citizens of the Commonwealth should have nothing to do in the Government thereof, but must be governed, not as strangers, that may have admission, but as slaves with an impossibility to be received into the civil administration of any matter: and their exclusion is as prejudicial to the king and kingdom, as it is injurious unto the Clergy; when they must be deprived of the grave advice and faithful service of so learned and religious assistants for the government of the people, as the reverend Bishops and devout Doctors have ever been.

Ob. 3.
A&. 15.
S. Cyprian pu-
nished *Gemininus Faustinus* for
undertaking
the Executor-
ship of *Gemininus Victor*. ep.
66.
Sol.

3. If you say the sixth Canon of the *Apistles*, the seventh Canon of the Council of *Calcedon*, and Saint *Cyprian* in his Epistle to the Priests of *Farnam*, do forbid these things in Ecclesiastical persons; and so many Fathers have accordingly refused these civil imployments and jurisdictions.

Good to be excluded from the counsel of the wicked.

Psal. 1. 1.

The giving of Cesar's due doth not hinder us to give to god his due

I answer briefly, that while the Emperours were Heathens, and neither the Kings nor their Kingdoms Christian, but their counsels were often held for wicked ends, private gain, or privy deceit, for bloody murders, or horrid treasons, the Clergy were inhibited, and the godly Bishops were ashamed to sit in such ungodly assemblies, that would neither be converted to Christ, nor reformed from their sins; and so now, when the Puritan faction prevailed in our Parliament, and our Sectaries disdained in their counsels, to take the counsel of Religion, and resolved to banish GOD from their assemblies, to make the Church and Church-men a publick scorn unto the wicked, and the Commonwealth a private gain to every broken Citizen, and every needy Varlet; I say, happy are those Bishops that are excluded, and well it is for those Ministers that are furtively off from such godless and irreligious, not Parliament, but Parricides; even as the Psalmist testifieth, *Blessed is the man that hath not sate in the seat of the scornful*; and therefore if they had not been excluded, I am sure, that as the tale now standeth, they would have seceded themselves.

But when the civil Magistrates became Christians, and the Christians consulted with God in all their actions, then it was no indecorum for the servants of Christ to be seen in the Congregation of Saints, and to sit as Judges among gods, where the judgement shall pass for the glory of God; neither is it any prejudice to our holy calling, to give unto Cesar those things that are Cesar's, and that we owe unto him, as our service and our counsel, and whatsoever else lyeth in us to do for the good of the Commonwealth, as we are his Subjects and the Tenants of the Commonwealth: nor do the rendering of these things to Cesar any wayes binder us to give unto God the things that are God's, and that we owe to God, as our prayers and our care over God's flock, as we are Christians and Bishops over the Church of Christ; but the same man, if he will be faithful, may justly perform both duties, without giving over or neglecting either. And when our men shall return to God, and take him along with them into their counsels, and desire the assistance of his servants (as I hope they will have grace to do) I assure my self the Reverend Bishops will not refuse to do them service.

Ob. 4. ad 10. to Mid. 10. ad 10. Solut. diffr. 10. ad 10.

But you will say the Emperours were good Christians, when the Council of Calcedon put out their Canons.

I answer, the Emperours were, but all Kings were not: besides, that Canon cleares it self, for it sheweth that Clergymen did at that time undertake secular imployments, *Propter lucra turpia, ministerium Dei parvi pendentes, for gaine, negligenter their duty*; and therefore the Council forbade all Clergy-men, *negligenter secularibus immissari*; because the Apostle saith, *qui se regardat super curiositatis, et libidinis, et appetituum; no man that warreth, intangleth or insnareth himselfe, with the affaires of this life*: and so neither the Apostle nor the Council doth absolutely forbid all secular affairs, as inconsistent with this function; but as the Coun-

2 Tim. 2. 4.

cil

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

51

cil of Arles saith, Clericus turpis lucri gratia aliquod genus negotiationis non concil. Arelat.
excereat, so they forbid all Clerks to meddle with any business for the love of gain, and filthy lucre, that might insnare him to neglect his duty: or as the Canon of the Apostle saith, εἰ μέν τοι καρπός ὁ πόλεμος μη ἀνατρέψει τὸν Βίσκον, A Bishop should not assume unto himself, or seeke after worldly cares, but if either necessity or authority impose them on him, I see not how he can refuse them; because there is no absolute prohibition of such imployments in any place, but as it might be a hindrance to discharge his office: or otherwise Saint Paul's Tent-making was as much against the calling of an Apostle, as the sitting in a secular tribunal is against the office of a Bishop; because there is no reason we should deny that benefit to a publick necessitated community, which we will yeeld to a private personal necessity.

Cas. 14.
The words of
the Canon ex-
plained,

Tantum
dilectio

The Presby-
terians will be
the directors
of all affaires.

And so indeed these very men that cry out against our Bishops, and other grave Prelates of the Church, for the least meddling in these civil affaires, do not onely suffer their own Preachers to strain at a gnat, but also to swallow a Camel, when M. Henderson, Marshal, Case, and the rest of their new inspired Prophets shall sit as Presidents in all their Counsels, and Committees of their chiefest affaires and consultations, either about War or Peace, or of any other civil cognizance; how these things can be answered, to deny that to us, which they themselves do practise, I cannot understand, when as the light of Nature tells us.

Quod tibi vis fieri, mibi fac, quod non, mibi noli:
Sic potes in terris viveri jure poli.

Unde Balduus
jubet, ut quis in
alios non aliter
judicet, quam
in se iudicari,
vellet.

How requisite
it is for Kings
to delegate ci-
vil affaires un-
to their Cler-
gy.

And therefore when as there is no politick Philosophy, no imperial constitution, nor any humane invention, that doth or can so strictly bide the consciences of men unto subjection and true obedience, as the Doctrine of the Gospel; and no man can persuade the people so much unto it, as the Preachers of Gods word, (as it appeareth by this Rebellion, perswaded by the false Preachers) because the Principles of Philosophy, and the Laws of many nations do permit many things to be done against tyrants, which the Religion of Christ and the true Bishops of Gods Church do flatly inhibit: it is very requisite and necessary for all Christian Kings, both for the glory of God, their own safety, and the happiness of the Common-wealthe, to defend this their own right, and the right of the Clergy, to call them into their Parliaments and Counsels, and to demise certain civil causes and affars to the gravest Bishops, and the wisest of the Ministers, and not suffer those Rebellious Anabaptists and Brownists, that have so disloyally laboured to pull off the Crown from their Kings head, to bury all the glory of the Church in the dust, to bring the true Religion into a scorn, and to deprive the King of the right, which is so necessary for his safety, and so useful for the Government of his people, that is, the service of his Clergy in all civil Courts and Councils.

That it is the
Kings right to
give titles of
honour to
whom he plea-
seth.

And as it is the Kings right to call whom he pleaseth into his Parliaments and Councils, and to delegate whom he will to discharge the office of a civil or Ecclesiastical magistrate, or both, wheresoever he appoints, within his Realms and Dominions: so it is primarily in his power and authority and his regal right, to give titles of honour and dignity to those officers and magistrates whom he chooseth: for, though the Barbarians acknowledge no other distinction of Persons, but of Master and Servants, which was the first punishment for the first contempt of our Superiors; therefore their Kings do reign and domineer over their Subjects, as Masters do over their servants; and the Fathers of Families have the same authority over their Wives and Children, as over the slaves and vassals; and the Muscovites at the day do rule after this manner, neither is the great Empire of the Turke much unlike this Government, and generally all the Eastern Kingdomes were ever of this kinde, and kept this

Gen. 9. 25.
Saravia c. 28.
p. 194.

The Rights of Kings, and

The milde go-
vernment of
our Kings.

Of the Title
of Lord.

Luke 22. 25.
vñs 3 vñs 5
Krau es ijsas.

Math. 16. 30.

That there is a
double rule or
dominion.

1 Pet. 5. 3.
vñs 3 vñs 5
ms. und os
wlawedor.
ms. sp. xl-
99.

rule over all the Nations whom they Conquered; and many of them do still retain it to these very times. Yet our *Western* Kings whom charity hath taught better, and made them milder, and especially the Kings of this *Island*, which, in the sweetnes of Government exceeded all other Kings, (as holding it their chiefest glory to have a free people subject unto them, and thinking it more Honourable to command over a free, then a servile nation,) have conferred upon their subjects many titles of great honour, which the Learned Gentleman M. Selden hath most Learnedly treated of: and therefore I might well be silent in this point, (and not to write *Iliads* after Homer) if this title of *Lord*, given by His Majestie unto our Bishops, (for none but he hath any right to give it) did not require that I should say something thereof: touching which, you must observe, that this name *dominus* is of divers significations, and is derived à *domo*, as *Zanchius* observeth, where every man is a *Lord* of that house and possession which he holdeth; and it hath relation also to a *servant*; so that this name is ordinarily given among the *Latinists* to any man that is able to keep servants: and so it must needs appear, how great is the *malice*, I cannot say, the *ignorance*, (when every school-boy knowes it) of those *Sectaries* that deny this title to be consistent with the *calling* of a Bishop, which indeed cannot be denied to any man of any ordinary esteemme.

But they will say, that it signifieth also *rule* and *authority*; and so, as it is a title of *rule* and *Dominion*, it is the invention of *Antichrist*, the donation of the Devill, and forbidden by our Saviour, where he saith, *Si ergo vos autem super- natus regnabitis, iunis de ihu Christo: that is, in effect, be not you called gracious Lords, or benefactors (which is the proper signification of *superiori*:) therefore these titles of honour are not fit for the *Preachers* of the Gospell, to puffe them up with *pride*, and to make them swell above their brethren.*

It is answered, that if our Saviours words be rightly understood, and his meaning not maliciously perverted, neither the *authority* of the Bishops, nor the *title* of their honour is forbidden, for as *rex* is a title of *dominion*, so it is fit to be ascribed to them, unto whom the Lord and author of all *rule* and *dominion*, hath committed any *rule* or Government over his People; and our Saviour forbiddeth not the same, because you may finde that there is a *double* rule and dominion, the one *just* and approved, the other *tyrannicall* and disallowed; and the *tyrannicall* rule, or as S. Peter saith, *wlawedor*, the *domineering* authority over Gods inheritance, both Christ and his Apostles do forbid; but the *just* rule and dominion they deny not; because they must do it, *asces i' id est ad iudicium*, as the son of man doth it; so the *manner* of their rule, *asces ad regnum eiusdem*, as the Kings of the Nations rule with *tyranny*, he prohibiteth; but, as the servants of Christ ought to rule with *charity*, not with *anxietie*; with *humility*, and not with *insolencie*, he denieth not; and so he denieth not the name of *Lord*, as it is a title of *honour* and reverence, given unto them by the King, and ascribed by their people; but he forbiddeth an *ambition* aspiring to it, and a *proud carriage*, and deportment in it; yet it may be so with you, *asces i' id est ad iudicium*, as it is with the son of man, whom no man can exceed in *humility*, and yet in his greatest *humility*, he saith, *ye call me, o doctor, and master*, Master and Lord: *super natus natus*, and ye say well, for so I am: John 13. 13. And therefore he forbade not this title no otherwise then he forbade them to be *Fathers*, *Doctors*, and *Masters*; and I hope you will confess he doth not inhibit the *Children* to call them *Fathers* that begat them, nor forbid us to call them *Doctors*, unto whom the *Lord* himself hath given the name, *doctores*, of *Doctors* in his Church, Ephes. 4. 11. otherwise we must know why S. Paul doth call himselfe the *Doctor* of the Gentiles, 1 Tim. 2. 7. and why doth the Law command, *us to honour our Father and our Mother*, if we may call no man *Father*.

But Christ coming not to *diminise* the power of Princes, nor to make it *unlawful* for Christian Kings to honour his servants, which the heathen Princes did to

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 53

to the servants of God, as Nebuchadnezzar preferred Daniel among the Babylonians, and Darius advanced Mordecai among the Persians, nor to deny that honour unto his servants, which their own honest deserts, and the bounty of their gracious Princes do confer upon them; it is apparent, that it is not the condition of these names, but the ambition of these titles and the abuse of their authority, is forbidden by our Saviour Christ; For, as Elias and Elizau in the old Testament suffered themselves with no breach of humility to be called Lords, as where Abdius, a great officer of King Ahab saith, art not thou my Lord Elias? and the Shunamite called Elizau Lord, 3 Reg. 18. 1. 4 Reg. 4. 16. So in the new Testament Paul and Barnabas that rent their cloaths when the people ascribed unto them, more then humane honour; yet refused not the name of Lords, when it was given them by the keeper of the prison, that said, Lords, what shall I do to be saved? which title certainly they would never have endured, if this honour might not be yielded, and this title received by the Ministers of the Gospel; and Saint Peter tells us, that Christian women, if they imitate Sarah (that obeyed Abraham *) whom he propounded to them as a pattern, may, and shoud call their husbands, though mean Mechanics, Lords: or else he propositeth this example to no purpose; and therefore me thinks they shold be ashamed, to think this honour may be afforded to poor Trades-men, and to deny it to those eminent pillars, and chief governors of God's Church. And as the Scripture gives, not only others the like eminent, and more significant titles of honour unto the governors of the Church, (as when it saith, they are Presidents, Presidents, Rulers, &c. &c. &c. &c. Princes; as where the Psalmist saith, instead of thy Father, thou shalt have children, whom thou mayst make Princes in all lands, which the best interpreters do expound of the Apostles and Bishops, that are called the Princes of God's Church, but also giveth and alloweth this very title of Lord unto them, as I shewed before; so the fathers of the Primitive Church did usually ascribe the same one to another, as Saint Hieron writing to Saint Augustine saith, Domine vere sancte, and the Letters sent to Julian Bishop of Rome had their superscription, Tu weyl manus tuas, To our most blessed Lord. And Nazanzen saith, Let no man speak any unrighteousness of me, nor of my coadjutor, of the Lord the Bishop: and in all antiquity as Theodore sheweth, this title of Lord is most frequently ascribed unto the Bishops: Saint Chrysostom in Psal. 13, as he is cited by Baronius, Anna 38, p. 3. saith that Heretics have learned of the Devil to deny the due titles of honour unto their Bishops: neither is it strange, that he which would have no Bishops, should deny all honour unto the Bishops: but they can be contented to transfer this honour, though to cover their hypocrisy in another title, that shall be as Emperour instead of King, from the Episcopacy to the Presbytery: so that indeed it is not the honour which they base, but the Persons of the Bishops that are honoured.

What Christ forbiddeth to his Ministers. Act. 16. 30. * Κύριος εί- ται γενόμενος. Origen bo. 19. in Matt. Hier. in Psal. 41. 16. Sozom. lib. 3. c. 23. Nazian. in ep. ad gr. Nyssen Theodor. I. c. 4. & 5. 1. c. 9.

Therefore, though for mine own particular, I do so much undervalue the
munity of all titles, that we e^t it not the day of the people to give it, more then
the desire of the Bish^{ps} to have it, I should have shewed all this Discourse; yet
seeing it is the right of Kings to bestow honours, and it is an argument of their
love to Christ, to honour them that honour God, to magnifie the order of their
Religion, and to account the chief Ministers of the Gospel among the chief States
of the Land, I could not pass it over in silence, but shew you how it belongs
to him to give this honour to whom he will; and because this dignity cannot be
given to *all* that are in the same order, it is wisely provided by the King, that
the whole order or Ministry should be honoured in those few, whose learning
and wisdome he hath had most use and experience of, or is otherwise well in-
formed thereof; and it is no small wonder unto me, that any learned man
should be so blinded with this error, as to *any* ways to oppose this truth, or that
any Christian should be like the sons of Jacob, so transported with envy, when
they see *any* of their brethren made more honourable then themselves, for they

The whole order honoured in few.

The Rights of Kings, and

when the lord Bishops are down, the Lords Temporal shall not contnuelong, for as Geneva put away their Bishop, their Prince: so the Cantons and Switzers put away all Lords. A just judgement of God, that they which will have no spiritual Lords, should not be any temporall Lords, but should be as little regarded by their creatures, as they regard the servants of their Creator.

Six special reasons, why the King should confer his favours and honours upon the Bishops.

1. Reason.

Rex inunctus
non est merus
Laicus, Guine-
rus, tit. 12.
scil. 9.
33. Edw. 3.
tit. Aide le Roy

2. Reason.

Ought to thinke themselves honoured in the honour of their brethren; but that pride, is such a beast, that thinketh himself the most worthy, and envy is such a monster, that cannot endure any happiness to any other.

And that which makes me wonder most of all, is to see those Lords, whose honours scarce saw the age of a man, and some pretending great loyalty to His Majesty, and wishing happiness to His posterity, so far yeilding to the misguidid faction, to darken the glory of Gods Church, and to undervalue Christs Ministers, as to obliterate that dignity, and rase out thole rules which are inherent to the Ministry from the foundation of the Church, and are ascribed unto the Bishops by the same Majestly that honoured them; and for some by-respect and private ends to perswade the King, to desert the Church, to leave the Prelates in the fuds, their honour to be laied and buried in the dust, and their revenues to be devoured by the enemies of all Godlines.

But do these men thinke that blessings come from God, or that this is the way for God to bless the King, or themselves, or this Kingdome, to vilifie those that honour God, and of whom Christ directly saith, *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me*? for alas, who were more favoured, protected, and blessed by God, then Constantine, Theodosius, and the rest of those good Emperours and Kings, that gave most immunitiess, and conferred most dignities upon the Bishops, and Prelates of Gods Church? because that hereby they testified their love to Christ himself, and did not God withdraw his favour and protection from those kings and Potentates that neglected to protect his servants? therefore they cannot wish well unto the king, that wish him to give way to denude the Church, and to desert the defence of the Bishops. For, besides many other reasons, we finde six special arguments proving, that our king, rather then any king in Europe, should uphold his Clergy, and confer his favours and honours upon them, I say, not more then upon his nobility, for that would procure hatred unto the king, envy unto them, and ruine unto all, but as well as upon any other state in this kingdome. As

1. Not onely the relation betwixt them and their Prince, as they are his faithful Subjects, and he their Sovereigne King, but as he is the Lords Anointed, and the Defender of that faith which they teach and publish unto his people, for this anointing of him by God for this end, superinduceth a brother-hood betwixt the king and the Bishops, and makes him *quasi unus ex nobis*, and the chief guide and guardian of the Clergy; because that thereby he is *mista persona*, more then a mere Lay-man, and hath an Ecclesiastical supreme Government, as well as the civil, and *ut leo sancto uniti sunt, spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces sunt*, and as it was laid in the time of Edward the third, and therefore as in relation to the temporality, the king is *supremus iusticiarum totius Angliae*; so in respect to the spirituality, he is as Constantine stiled himself in the Council of Nice, *Emperor* as *metropolitans* as the chief Christian Bishop among his Bishops.

2. Our Bishops and Clergy are truer and faithfuller Subjects to their Prince then any other Clergy in Christendome, because the Clergy of France and Spain, and other Popish States and Dominions, are not simply Subjects unto their king, but deny civil obedience unto their Prince, where canonical obedience commands the contrary; and you see how the Presbytery not only deny their just allegiance, but incite the people to unjust Rebellion; but the Bishops and their Clergy renounce all obedience to any other Potentate, and anathematize as utterly unlawful all resistance against our lawful Sovereigne; and in this hearty adherence to His Majesty, as they are wholly his, so they do exspect favour from none, but onely from His Highness; and yet Philip the second of Spain, notwithstanding he had but half the obedience of his Clergy, advised his son Philip the third to stick fast unto his Bishops, even as he had done before him; therefore our king that hath his Bishops so totally faithful unto him, hath more reason to succour them, that they be not nor the object of contempt unto the vngar.

3. The

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

55

3. The state of the Clergy is constantly and most *really* to their power, the 3. Reason. most beneficial state to the Crown, both in *ordinary* and *extraordinary* revenues, of all others; for though their meanes is much impaired, and their charges increased in many things, yet if you consider their *first fruits* the *first year*, their *Tenths* every year, *Subsidies* most years, and all other due and necessary payments to the king, I may boldly say, that *computatis computandis*, no state in *England* of double their revenue scarce renders half their payments; and now in the kings necessity for the defence of Church and Crown, I hope my Brethren the *Bishops*, and all the rest of the loyal Clergy, will rather empty themselves of all they have, and put it to His Majesties hands, then suffer him to want what lyeth in them, during all the time of these occasions.

4. They bestow all their *labours* in Gods service, continually praying for blessings upon the head of His Majesty, and his posterity; and next under god relying onely upon His favour and protection.

5. God hath laid this charge upon all *Christian* kings, to be our *nursing fathers*, and to defend the *faith* that we *preach*, which cannot be done when the *Bishops* and *Prelates* are not protected; and God hath promised to *bless* them, so long as they discharge this duty, and hath threatened to forsake them when they forsake his Church, and leave the same as a prey to the adversaries of the Gospel.

6. Our king hath, like a *pious* and a *gracious* King, at his *Coronation* promised and engaged himself to do all this that is desired of him. And as for these and other reasons His Majesty should, so we do acknowledge with all thankfulness that he hath and doth His best endeavour to discharge this whole duty, and do beleive with all confidence, that maugre all open opposition, and all secret insinuation against us, He will in like manner continue his grace and favour unto the Church and Church governours unto the end. And if any, who so ever they be, how great or how powerful soever, either in kingdom or in Court shall seek to alienate the Kings heart, or diminish His affection and *fauour* to protest and promote the publishers of the Gospel, (which we are confident all their malice cannot do, because the God of Heaven, that hath built his Church upon a rock, and will not turn away his face from his Anointed, will so bleſſ our King, that it shall never be with him as it was with *Zedekia*, when it was not in his power to save Gods Prophete, but said unto his Princes, Behold he is in your band, for the King is not he that can do any thing against you,) yet as Mordecai said to Hester, God will send enlargement and deliverance unto his Church, and they and their fashers houses that are against it, shall be destroyed, because as Saint Peter saith, we have forsaken all to become his servants, that otherwise might have served Kings with the like honour that they do, and we have left the world to build up his Church, we put our trust under the shadow of his wings, and being in trouble we do cry unto the Lord, and therefore he will hear our cry and will helpe us, and we shall never be confounded. Amen.

Or else they
are much to
blame, and
far unworthy
to be Bishops;

4. Reason.

5. Reason.
Eſay 49. 33.

6. Reason.

*Quia non plus
valens ad dei-
cendendum terrena-
madas quinque
erigendum di-
vina testid:
Cyp.*

Jerem. 28. 5-

Hester 4. 14.

CHAP

C H A P . X.

Sherweth, that it is the Kings right to grant Dispensations for Pluralities and Non-residency; what Dispensation is; reasons for it, to tolerate divers Sects, or sorts of Religions; the four special sorts of false professors; &c. Augustines reasons for the toleration of the Jewes; toleration of Papists, and of Puritans; and which of them deserve best to be tolerated among the Protestants; and how any Sect is to be tolerated.

2. That the King may lawfully grant his dispensation for Pluralities and Non-residen-

In Anno 112.

In Anno 636.

The first distribution of Parishes.

Pluralities and Non-residency no transgression of Gods Law.

Gods Law admitteth an interpretation; not a dispensation of it.

Mans Law maybe dispensed with.

2. **W**Hereas the *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* of our time, with what conscience I know not, cry out, that our Kings by their Lawes do unreasonably, and unconscionably grant dispensations both for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency*, onely to further the corrupt desire of some few aspiring Prelates, to the infinite wrong of the whole Clergy, the intolerable dishonour of our Religion, the exceeding prejudice of Gods Church, and the lamentable hazard of many thousand soules.

I lay, that the *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* granted by the King, and warranted by the Lawes of this Land, may finde sufficient reasons to justify them, for, if you consider the first limitation of Benefices, that either *Enaristus Bishop of Rome*, or *Dionysius* (as others thinke) did first assigne the precincts of Parishes, and appointed a certain *compas* to every Presbyter: and in this Kingdome *Honorius Arch-bishop of Canterbury* was the first that did the like, appointed the Pastorall charge and the portion of *meanes* accrewing from that compas, to this or that particular person; whereas before, for many years, they had no *particular* charge assigned, nor any Benefice allotted them, but had their *Canonicall* pensions and dividends, given them by the Bishop out of the common stock of the Church, according as the Bishop saw their *severall* deserts, for at first the greater Cities onely had their standing Pastors, and then the Countrey Villages imitating the Cities, to allow maintenance according to the abilities of the inhabitants, had men of *lesser* learning appointed for those places.

Therefore this *limitation* of particular Parishes being meerly positive, and an *humane* constitution, it cannot be the transgression of a *divine* ordinance to have more Parishes then one, or to be absent from that one which is allotted to him, when he is *dispensed* with by the Law-maker to do the same; for, as it is not *lawfull* without a dispensation to do either, because we are to obey every ordinance of the *higher* power for the Lords sake; so for the *higher* power to dispence with both, is most agreeable to *reason*, and Gods truth; for all our Lawes are either *divine*, or *humane*: and in the *divine* Law, though we allow of interpretation, *quia non sermoni res, sed rei sermo debet esse subiectus*, because the words must be applyed to the matter, else we may fall into the heresie of those, that as *Alfonsus de Castro* saith, held it *unlawfull* upon any occasion to *swear*: because our Saviour saith, *swear not at all*: yet no man, King nor Pope, hath power to grant any dispensation for the least breach of the least precept of Gods Law: he cannot dispense with the doing of that which God forbiddeth to be done, nor with the omitting of that which God commandeth; but in all *humane* Lawes, so far as they are meerly *positive* and *humane*, it is in the power of their makers to dispence with them; and so *quicquid sit dispensatione superioris, non sit contra praeceptum superioris*, and he sinneth neither a-

gainst

gainst the *Law*, nor against his own conscience, because he is delivered from the obligation of that Law by the same authority, whereby he stood bound unto it.

And as he that is dispensed with, is free from all *sins*; so the *King*, which is the dispenser, is as free from all *faults*, as having full right and power to grant His dispensations. For, seeing that all *humane Lawes* are the conclusions of the *Law of nature*, or the evidences of *humane reason*, shewing what things are most beneficiall to any society, either the *Church* or *Common wealth*; and that *experience teacheth us*, our reason groweth often from an *imperfection* to be more perfect, when time produceth more *light* unto us, we cannot in *reason* deny an abrogation and dispensation to all *humane Lawes*, which therefore ought not to be like the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Perfians*, that might not be changed; *Aug. de libero pro tempore justi potest*, any *humane Law*, though it be never so *just*, yet for the time, as occasion requireth, may be *justly* changed: *& dispensatio est iuris communis relaxatio, facta cum causa cognitionis ab eo, qui jus habet dispensandi*; and as the *Civilians* say, a dispensation is the *relaxation* of common right, granted upon the *knowledge* of the *cause*, by him that hath the *power* of dispensing; or as the *etymologie* of the word beareth, *dispensare est diversa pensare*, to dispense is to render *different rewards*: and the reward of learning, or of any other virtue, either in the *civil*, or the *ecclesiastical* person, being to be rendered (as one *faith*) not by an *Arithmetical*, but a *Geometrical proportion*; and the *division* of *Parishes* being (as I said before) a *positive*, *humane Law*, it cannot be denied but the *giver of honour*, and the *bestower of rewards*, which is the *King*, hath the sole power and *right* to dispose how much shall be given to *this* or *that* particular person.

If you say the *Law* of the *King*, which is made by the advice of his whole *Parliament*, hath already determined what portion is fit for every one, and what service is required from him.

I answer, that the voice of *equity* and *justice* tells us, that a *general Law* doth never derogate from a *speciall priviledge*, or that a *priviledge* is not opposite to the principles of *common right*, and where the *Law* it selfe gives this *priviledge* (as our *Law* doth it yet) enly it selfe can never deny this *right* unto the *King*, to grant his *dispensation* whensoeuer he seeth occasion; and where the *Law* is *tacite*, and saith nothing of any *priviledge*, yet seeing in all *Lawes*, as in all other *actions*, the *end* is the *marke* that is aimed at, and this *end* is no other then the *publique good* of any society, for which the *Law* is made; if the *King*, which is the sole *Law maker*, so, as I shewed in my *Discovery of My Stories*, leeth this *publique good* better procured by granting *dispensations* to some particular men, doth he not performe thereby what the *Law* intendeth, and no wayes breake the *Law* of *common right*? as if a mans *absence* from his proper *Cure* should be more beneficiall to the whole *Church*, then his *residence* upon his *Charge* could possibly be, (as when his *absence* may be either for the recovery of his *health*, or to discharge the *Kings Embassage*, or to do his best to confute *Heretiques*, or to pacifie *Schismes*, or to consult about the *Church affaires*, or some other *urgent cause* that the *Law* never dreamt of when it was in making) shall not the *King* (whom the *Lawes* have intrusted with the *examination* of these things, and to whom the principal *care* of *Religion*, and the *charge* of all the *People* is committed by God himselfe, and the *power* of executing his own *Lawes*) have *power* to grant his *dispensations* for the *same*?

Certainly, they that would perswade the world that *all Lawes* must have such *force*, that *all dispensations* are *transgressions* of them, (as if *general rules* should have no exceptions) would *manacle* the *Kings hands*, and binde his *power* in the *chaines* of their *crooked wills*, that he should not be able to do that *good*, which *God*, and *Right*, and *Law* it selfe do give him leave; and their *envy* towards

Dispensation,
what it is.

The reward of
learning and
virtue, how to
be rendered.

Ob.

Sols.

The Rights of Kings, and

How God
doth diversly
bellow his
gifts.

Match. 25. 15.
Gen. 43. 34.

towards other mens grace, is a great deale more, then either the grace of *humility*, or the love of *truth* in them; for doth not God give *five talents* to some of his servants, when he gives but *one* to some others? and did not *Joseph* make *Benjamins* messe five times so much as *any* of his brethren's? and have not some *Lords*, six, or eight or ten thousand pounds a year, and some very good men in the Common-wealth, and perhaps *higher* in God's favour, not ten pounds a year? and shall not the King *double* the reward of them that *deserve* it in the Church of God? or shall he be so *curbed* and manacled, that he shall neither *alter* nor *dispense* with his own Law, though it be for the greater *glory* unto God, and the greater *benefit* both to the Church and Common-wealth?

Besides, who can deny, but that some mens *merits*, *virtue*, *paines*, and *learning*, are more worthy of *two Benefices*, then many others are of *one*? and when in his *younger* time he is possessed of a *small Benefice*, he may perchance afterwards, when his *years* deserve better, far easier obtain another *little one* to keep with it, then get (what I dare assure you, he would desire much rather*) *one Living* of *equall value* to them both: and shall the *unlearned zeal* of an *envious* minde so far prejudice a *worthy* man, that the King's lawful *right* shall be censured, and his *power* questioned and clipped, or *traduced* by this *ignorant* *Zelot*? I will *bless* my self from them, and maintain it before *all* the world, that the King's dispensations for *Pluralities*, *Non-residency*, and the like *Priviledges*, not repugnant to *common right*, are not against *Law*; nor the *giving* or *taking* of them upon *just causes* against *conscience*: but what the *violencie* of this *viperous* brood proclaimeth an *intolerable offence*, we dare warrant both with *good reason* and *true Divinity* to be *no sin*, no fault at all, but an *undoubted portion* of the King's *right*, for the greater benefit both of the Church and State, and the greater *glory* unto God himself.

The Author's
Petition to
His Majesty.

And therefore (most gracious King) we humbly desire your Majesty, suffer not these children of *Apollyon* to pull this *flower* out of your Royal Crown, to abridge you of your *just right* of granting *dispensations* for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* (which the *Lawes* of your Land do yet allow you) and which they labour to annul, to darken the *glory* of God's Church, and to bring your *Clergy*, by depriving them of their *meanes* and *honour*, into *contempt*, lest that, when by *one* and *one*, they have robbed you of all your *rights*, they will fairly *salute* you, as the *Jews* did *Christ*, *Haile King of the Jewes*, when God knows they hated him, and stript him of all power, (I speak not of his *Divinity*) either to govern them, or to save himself.

3. The toleration
of divers
Sects and sorts
of religions.

3. As the King hath *right* and *power* to grant his *dispensations* both of *grace* and of *justice*, of *grace* when it is merely of the King's *Princely favour*, as in *legitimations* and the like, and of *justice* when the King findeth a *just cause* to *grant* it; so likewise it is in the King's *power* and *right* to remit any *offence*, (that is, the *mullet* or *penalty*) and to *absolve* the offender from any, or all the *transgressions* of his own *Lawes*; from the *transgression* of God's *Law*, neither *King*, nor *Pope*, nor *Priest*, nor any other can *formally* remit the fault, and *ablime* *transgressors*, but as God is the *Law-giver*, so God alone must be the *forgiver* of the *offence*; so the *Jewes* say, *who can forgive sins but God only?* Yet, as God which gives the *Law* can *lawfully* remit the *sin*, and forgive the *breach* of the *Law*, so the King, which makes these *positive Lawes* cannot be denied this *power*, to *parday* when he seeth cause, or is so pleased, the offenders of his *Lawes*; as you see they do many times grant their pardons for the most *haywains* faults and capital crimes, as *treasons*, *murders*, *felonies*, and the like: and if they may grant their pardons for the *breach* of the *Law*, and remit the *mullet* imposed for the *transgression* thereof, it is strange if they should not have *right* to *dispense* with whom they please, when they see cause, from the *bond* of the *Law*: and therefore, we are to discus how *far* the King, (in these *Lawes* of the Church) may give *exemptions* and *tolerations* unto them, whose *consciences* cannot

Mar. 2. 7.

As David par-
doned Abjalon,
and Solomon
Abiaabar.

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament. 59

cannot submit themselves to the observation of the established Laws; for seeing all men are not of the same faith, nor do profess the same Religion; and it is the nature of all men to dislike that which themselves will not profess; and if opportunity serve to root out that which they dislike; it is requisite it should be shewed, how far a prudent and a pious Prince may grant a toleration (the Law in terminis not forbidding it) unto any of these Sects that may be com-morant within his Kingdomes.

Touching which, I say that besides dissembling hypocrites, and profane worldlings, that have no faith, nor any other Religion, but the shadow of that Religion, whatsoever it is, which is protest wheresoever they are, there may be in any Kingdome Jewes, Turkes, Papists, Puritans, and the like; or to call them otherwise, Idolaters, Hereticks, Schismatickes, &c. And

1. For the Jewes, though they have many things in their Religion, which will ever alienate them from the Papists, yet they have free leave to use their ancient Ceremonies in Rome, faith Doctor Whitaker; and it is well known, that many pious Princes have permitted them to dwell, and to exercise their own Religion in this kingdome; the old Jury in London is so called, because it was allotted for their abode; and the Lawes of many Christian Emperours have in like sort permitted them to do the like in their Dominions, but with those cautions and limitations that Moses prescribed unto the Jewes, to be observed with the Heathens and Idolaters that dwelt amongst them; that is, neither to make marriages with them, nor to communicate with them in their Religion. And Saint Augustine is reported to be so favourable towards them, that he al-leageth several reasons for their toleration. As

1. That above and before others they had the promise of salvation; and therefore though some of the branches be cut off, and the case of the rest be most lamentable, yet not altogether desperate and incurable, if we consider what the Apostle setteth down, of their conversion and re-unition unto the good right o-live tree.

2. That the Prophet David speaking of them, made that prayer unto God, *Slay them not, O Lord, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad among the Heathen, and put them down, O Lord, our defence, for many excellent ends;* as first, that their being scattered among the Christians, might shew both the clemency and severity of God, towards us mercy and clemency, and towards them justice and severity, which may likewise happen, unto us if we take not heed, as the Apostle bids us, *Be not high minded but fear:* and secondly, that being among the Christians, they might the sooner at all times by their charity and prayers be reduced, the more willingly to imbrace the faith of Christ, when as unwillingly we may neither compel them, nor take their children to be baptized from them. And therefore as the Princes of this Realm, for divers causes hurtful to their State, have banished them out of their Dominions: so if they see good cause to permit them (as time may change the condition of things) they may do, as by their counsel they shall be advised, either the one or the other, to receive them or reject them without offence; because we finde no special precept or direction in Gods Word either to banish or to cherish them in any kingdome.

2. For the Turkes, the reasons are not much unlike, though something differ-ent, and in my judgement no less tolerable then the other, because [somewhat nearer to the Christian faith; therefore I leave them to the Laws of each king-dome, to do as the wisedome of the Prince shall think fit.

3. For the Papists the case is far otherwise with them, then either with the Turkes or Jewes; because,

1. They profess the same faith, quoad essentialia, the same Creeds, the same Gospell, and the same Christ as we do.

2. It is not denied by the best of our Divines, but that they together with us do constitute the same Catholick Church of Christ, though they be sick and corrupted

Christ bid-
deth that the
tares should
grow. Matth.
13. 30. And
the Apostle
saith, *Si di-
cioneis in iudeis,
erat, there
must be here-
sies: therefore
there must be
a toleration of
divers Sects.*

1 Cor. 11. 19.
Four special
sorts of false
Professors.

1. Jewes
Whitak against
Campion, trans-
lated by Ma-
ster Stoke,
p. 311.
With what
cautions the
Jewes are to
be suffered.

Deut. 7. 3.
Exod. 23. 32.
Doctor Covel.
c. 14. p. 199.
1 Reason for
their tolerati-
on.

Rom. 11. 24.
25.
2 Reason.
Psal. 59. 11.

Rom. 11. 20.
We may not
force the Jewes
to believe.

2. Turkes.

3 Papists.

The Rights of Kings, and

corrupted, yet not dead; and we strong and sound, yet not unspotted members of the same; as I have more fully shewed in my book of the true Church.

3. It is not agreed upon by all our Divines, that they are *Idolaters*, though they be in great errors, and implunged in many superstitions; because every Church in error, though never so dangerous, is not so desperate, as that Church which is *Idolatrous*; or be it granted, (which some of our Protestants will not admit) that they were *Idolaters*; yet seeing not onely seaven speciall sorts of heresies, as 1. the *Sadducees*. 2. the *Scribes*. 3. the *Pharisees*. The *Hemero-baptists*, such as baptizeth themselves every day. 5. The *Esseni*, which *Josephus* calleth *Eusebius*. 6. The *Nazarites*. And 7. the *Herodians*; whereof some denied the *resurrection*, and the being of *Angels* and spirits; but also *Idolaters* and heathens that knew not God, but worshipped the *Deyll* instead of God, were not inhibited to dwell and inhabit among the *Jewes* (of whose Religion notwithstanding God was as carefull to preserve the purity of it, and as jealous to keep them from *Idolatry*, as of any Nation that then or ever after lived upon the earth) it is no question, but if it please the King, permission may be granted them to exercise their own Religion, not publickely and authoritatively, equally with the

Grand Rebell. Protestant, but quietly, and so as I have shewed in my *Grand Rebellion*; for, I

c. 1. p. 5. &c. 6. am not of their faith, which hold it more safe, and less dangerous, to be conversant with the *Turkes*, or *Jewes*, and to have more *neerenesse* with them, then with an *Idolatrous* Church that professeth Christ; because, that where the greater distance is from the true Religion, there the lesser familiarity, and neerenesse should be in conversation, and the greater dillance in communion; therefore as the *wrath* of God was kindled against the *Israelites*, because they had the *Jewes*, their own brethren, in greater detestation then the *Idumeans*, or the *Egyptians*, whose *idolatry* must needs be far greater, and their *Religion* far worse, in their own judgement, then that of the *Jewes*; so we may feare the like anger from God, if we will be so partiall in our judgement, and so transported with disaffection, as to prefer a *blasphemous* *Turke*, or an impious *Jew* before those men, though ignorantly idolatrous, that do with all feare and reverence worship the same God, and adore the name of Christ as we doe.

Bishop Horne against Fecenham.
Justinus gave a toleration to the Arians.

And we read, that the Emperour *Justinus*, a right Catholique Prince, as Bishop Horne calleth him, at the request of *Theodorick* King of *Italy*, granted licence, that the *Arians*, which denied the *Deity* of our Saviour Christ, and were the *worst* of Heretiques, and therefore worse then any *Papist*, should be restored, and suffered to live after their own orders; and Pope *John*, for the peace and quietnes of the *Catholique* Church, requested him most humbly to do, which he did for feare of *Theodorick*, that otherwise threatened the Catholiques should not live.

Ob.

Deut. 17, 17,
19.

But you will say, the fatall success that befell to King *David*s house for *Solomons* permission of divers religions, to be divided into two parts, and the best ten Tribes for two to be given unto a stranger; and the principall care of a pious Prince, being to preserve pure Religion, which is soon infected by *Idolatrous* neighbours, do rather disprove all toleration, then any wayes connive with them that are of a different Religion: and if we read the Oration of the league to the King of *France*, wherein that *Orator* numbereth their victories, and innumerable successes, whilst they had but one Religion, and their miseries, and ill fortunes, when they fostered two Religions; it will appeare how far they were from allowing a toleration of any more then one Religion in one Kingdom.

Sol.

The true cause of renting Solomons Kingdome.
P. 106. 35.

Yet to this it may be easily answered, that *Solomons* Kingdom was not rent from his posterity for his permission of idolaters to dwell in his Kingdome, which the *Law* of God did not forbid; but for that fault which his father taxed the *Jewes* with, they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works, for his commixtion of alliances with strangers, and the corruption of true Religion

gion, by his marrying of so many idolatrous wives, and so becomming idolatrous himself, and thereby inducing his subjects the *Israelites* to be the like : and for the Oration of the league, there is in that brave Orator want of Logick, & ignoratio clenchi, non causa ut cause ; for you know what the Poit faith,

Careat successibus opro,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda puer :

and we must not judge of true causes by the various success of things, and I may say, it was not the professing of one religion, but the sincere serving of God in that true religion, which brought to them, and will bring to others, prosperous success against the infidels : neither was it the permitting of two religions, or to speak more properly, the diversity of opinions in the same religion, but their emulation and hatred one against another, their pride and ambition, and many other consequences of private discords might be the just causes of their misfortunes.

4. For the *Puritans*, *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Heretiques*, and *Schismatiques*, that are deemed neither Infidels nor Idolaters, but do obstinately erre in some points of faith, as the *Arians*, that denied the Divinity of Christ, and the *Nestorians* to them which sinned after baptism, and the like primitivish heresies, though not all alike dangerous ; or do make a Schisme or a zeal in the Church of Christ, as the *Donatists* did in Saint *Augustin's* time, and the *Anabaptists* and *Puritans* do in our dayes ; I say, these are not to be esteemed and expelled as deadly enemies, but to be suffered and respected as weak friends, if they proceed not to be turbulent and malicious, who then may prove to be more dangerous both to Church and State, then any of the former sort that profess their religion with peace and quietness : for it is not the Profession of this or that religion, but the malice and wickedness of the professor, that is the bane and poyon of the Church wherein it resteth : for what is diversity of opinions in the Church of God, but tares among the wheat ? and our Saviour sheweth, that the tares should not be plucked up, but suffered to grow with the wheat ; to teach us, that in respect of external communion, and civil conversation, all sorts of Professors may live together, though in respect of our spiritual communion and exercise of our religion, the Heretique shall be cast forth, and be unto me *tangam Ethnicus & Publicanus*, with whom notwithstanding I may converse, as our Saviour did, with hope that I may convert them unto him ; which could never be done, if they should be quite excluded our company, and banished from all holy society.

And therefore as the prudent Prince seeth the disposition, and observeth the conversation of any Faction, and the turbulency of any Sect, so he knoweth best how to advise with his Council to grant his toleration to them that best deserve it, not so much in respect of the meliority of their religion, as their peaceable and harmless habitation among their neighbours without railing against their faith, or rebelling against their Prince.

And thus, as the case now standeth, I see not any Sect, or any sort of Professors, that for turbulency of spirit, madness of zeal, and violence of hatred and persecution to the true Protestants, are more dangerous to the true religion, and deserve less favour from their pious Prince then these *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and *Puritans*, that have so maliciously plotted, and so rebelliously prosecuted their damnable designs, to the utter ruine both of Church and State. Doctor *Covell* long ago, when they were not half so bad as they be now, saith, they pretend gravity, reprehend severely, speak gloriously, and all in hypocrisy ; they daily invent new opinions, and run from error to error ; their wilfulness they account constancy, their deserved punishment persecution, their mouths are ever open to speak evil ; they give neither reverence nor tisles to any in place

4. Puritans.

What wrong
Professors
chiefly to be
suffered.

Math. 13. 29.

Why to be suf-
fered ? either
for the exer-
cise of the
godly, or in
hope to con-
vert the un-
godly.

Doctor Covell,
His descrip-
tion of the Pu-
ritans.

The Rights of Kings, and

And to confirme this description, read what King JAMES writeth of them in his *Basilicon Doron*, p. 160. & 161. and in the History of the conference at *Hampshire Courts* in anno 603. p. 81, 82.
 * *Huc usque.*
 Our factious Puritans bitter against Kings then the Jesuits.

place above them: in one word, the Church cannot fear a more dangerous and fatal enemy to her peace and happiness, a greater cloud to the light of the Gospel, a stronger hand to pull in barbarisme and poverty into all our Land, a more furious monster to breed contempt and disobedience in all estates, a more fretting canker to the very marrow and sinewes of this Church and kingdome, then this beast, who is proud without learning, presumptuous without authority, zealous without knowledge, holy without Religion, and in brief a most dangerous and malicious hypocrite, and were, therefore banished from amongst us in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, but now deserve it far better, being more dangerous, because far more numerous; * and therefore I cannot say with Saint Bernard,

Aut corrigendi ne percam, aut coercendi ne perimam; for in my judgement they are incorrigible, and in their own opinion they are invincible, having by lies and frauds gathered so much wealth, and united such strength together, that, except the Lord himself had been on our side, and made our very enemies the Papists to become our friends, and to hazard their lives and fortunes according to their duty, to preserve the Crown and Dignity of their king, as God most wisely disposeth of things, when he produceth light out of darkness, and against their wills support our true Protestant Religion from being quite defaced by these mercilesse enemies, we might well fear what destruction would have come upon us.

And therefore considering the bitter writings of their Prophets old and new, being fuller of gall and venome against Christian Kings, then can be found in the booke of the Jesuits; and considering the wicked practices, and this unparalleled rebellion of these new Proselytes, and the loyalty of those that heretofore received least favour from the Church, and not much from the State: Tell me I pray you which of these deserve best to be suffered in a Protestant Church? they that maliciously seeke her ruine, or they that unwillingly support her from falling? for my self, I will ever be of the true Protestant faith; yet for this loyalty of the Papists unto their King, I will ever be in charity, and rest in hope, though not in the same faith with them: and I doubt not but His Majestie will thinke well of their fidelity.

But as Saint Bernard saith, *Non est mea humilitatis dilitare vobis*, it is not for me to prescribe who are most capable of Grace, or who best deserueth the Kings favour, when his Princely Grace presupposeth a sufficient merit, but in humility to set down mine own opinion in this point of toleration, with submission to the judgement of this Church: wherein also I humbly desire my reader not to mistake me, as if I meant such a publick and legal toleration, as might breed a greater distraction in a kingdome, then the wisedome of the State could well master, and raise more spirits then they could lay down; but such as I have exprest in my *Grand Rebellion*; that is, a favourable connivence to enjoy their own consciences, so long as they live in peace and amity with their neighbours, but without any publick exercise of their Religion, which can produce nothing else but discord, distraction, and destruction to that Kingdome, where two religions are profest in *Aequilibrio*, with the same priviledges and authority.

These and many more are the rights of Kings, granted them by God for the Government of his Church, which they are to looke unto, and to protect in all her rights, service, maintenance, ordinances, governours, and the like, if they looke that God should bleſſ and protect them in their ways, dignities, and dues; because it is their duties and the first charge that God layeth upon them, *to be nursing Fathers unto his Church*: for God knew the Church should have many enemies; & *inimicis est equus Trojani*, and they are the worst that are nearest unto kings, and do with *Judas kis*, with fair words, and Machiavilian counsels, betray both Church and

Grand Rebellion
on p. 5, 6.

and King, and in the end destroy themselves; for who deceived Absolon though *rightly*, but his own *Confessours*? who betrayed Ahab, and that most wickedly, but his lying *Parasites*? and who overthrew Rehoboam, and that foolishly, but his young favourites? * and whom may the Church fear most of all, but her *dissembling* friends, that are in most favour with Kings, and therefore seduce them sooneft, insensibly to wound the Care, and neglect the Charge that is laid upon them; because, as St. Bernard saith, *Longe plus noet falsus Catholicus, quam si apertus appareret hereticus*, those care-wigs are most pernicious, whose counsels seeme to be most specious, when they are but as the spirit of darkness, appearing like an *Angel of light*, when they say, God indeed must be served, and the Word must be preached, but, whether Bishop or no Bishop, whether in a sumptuous Church, or private house, whether by an esteemed Clergy, or a poore meane Ministrie, in this manner, or in another fashion, it skilleth not much; Kings may well enough give way to spare that cost, to lessen that Revenue, and to pull down these *Cathedrals*, especially to give content unto the People, and to defray the expensive charge of the Commonwealth.

divorced from green heads; but because commonly experience is the fruitfull mother of these faire issues, and the multitude of yeares teacheth wisdom: for otherwise there may be *delirium senectutis*, the dotage of old age, as well as *vanitas juventutis*, the folly of youth; and as *Elihu saith*, Great men are not alwayes wise, neither do the aged understand judgement: but as Solomon saith, *Wisdom even in youth, is the gray haire and an undefiled life is the old age*; as we see, young Joseph was the wisest in all Egypt: Solomon, Daniel, and Titus, how wise, how learned, and how religious were they in their younger yeares? So Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio, in the feates of war; Lucan, Mirandula, Keckerman, and abundance more in all humane learning that were but *Neophyti annis*, yet were *egregii viri in annis*, young in years, yet very admirable for their worth. And Princes do most wisely, when they make such election; especially when they are inforced to call men to places of labour, and industry, they must have some regard to the bodies, as well as to the mindes of their servants, and chafe men of younger yeares, though not to be their favourites, but their confidens, according to the French distinction, as His Majestie hath lately made choice of one noble servant, who is, (as *Nerienzen* speaks) *πάλιος τύρων σύντονος, καὶ περ τὸν νοῦν*: grey in the minde, though yellow in the head, and supplying in all manner of excellent parts, what may be conceived wanting in years, whose name, so much already catched at by envy, I shall ever reverence, though now I purposely passe it over in silence.

But these counsels will not excuse Kings in the day of their account; therefore let them take heed of such Counsellors; and when they hear them begin to speak against the Church, though they be-guild their beginnings never so slyly, let them either stop their eares with the Cockatrice, that will not bear the voice of the charmer, charme be never so wisely; or let them answer, as our Saviour answere their grand instructor, *Vade Satana, non tentabis*; for it is most true, that, *Qui deliberat, jam deservit*; he that listes to them is halfe corrupted by them; and so they may prove destructive both to themselves, and to their posterity; for, as nothing establisheth the Throne of Kings surer, then obedience to God; so nothing is more dangerous then rebellion against God, with whom there is no respect of persons; for he expecteth, that as he made Kings his Vicegerents, so they should fear him, preverve the right of his Church, uphold his service, defend his servants, and do all that he commands them intirely, without taking the least liberty, for feare of the people, to dispense with any omission of his honour, or suffering the hedges of his Vineyard, the *Governours* of his Church, to be trodden down, and torn in pieces, that the beasts of the field may destroy the grapes, and defile the service of our God.

Therefore to conclude this point, let all Kings do their best to hinder their people to corrupt the Covenant of Levi, which is a Covenant of Salt, that is, to indure for ever; let them remember Moses prayer, *Blesse Lord his substance, and accept the worke of his hands*; smite through the loynes of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not again; and let them always consider, that God taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants.

Which thing
is purposely set
down in the
holy scripture,
to be a caveat
for all Kings,
not to rely too
much upon
young Coun-
sellors; not
that wisedome
and prudence
are intailed to
old age, and
inseperable
from gray-
haires, or di-

Psal. 58. 5.
Math. 4. 10.

Rom. 3. 11.

Malach. 3. 8.
Deut. 33. 11.

Psal. 35. 27.

C H A P. XI.

Sheweth, where the Protestants, Papists, and Puritans, do place Sovereignty; who first taught the deposing of Kings; the Puritans rene worse then the Jesuites; Kings authority immediately from God; the twofold royalty in a King; the words of the Apostle vindicated from false glosses; the testimony of the Fathers and Romantists for the Sovereignty of Kings; the two things that shew the difficulty of government; what a miraculous thing it is; and that God himself is the governour of the people.

3. The duty of Having set down some particulars of the Kings right in the Government the King in the *Church*; it resteth that I should shew some part of his right government of and duty to serve God, as he is a King, in the government of the Commonwealth; touching which, for our more orderly proceeding, I will distribute my whole discourse into these five heads.

Five points handled.

- 1. To justify his right to govern the people.
- 2. To shew the difficulty of this government.
- 3. To set down the assistants that are to helpe him in the performance of this duty.
- 4. To distinguish the chiefe parts of this Government.
- 5. To declare the end for which this Government is ordained of God.

1. Point.

1. Where the *Protestants* place Sovereignty.

2. In whom the *Papists* do place Sovereignty.

The Pope's sad Message to Hen. 3. Imp. *Quem meritum investivimus, quare immixtum non debiamus? quia ad quem periret institutio, ad eundem periret definitio;*

Cicerius, lib. 1. cap. 5.

1. We say that the Kings Sovereignty or royal power to govern the people, is independent from all creatures soley from God, who hath immediately conferred the same upon him, and this we are able to make good, with abundance both of divine and humane prooves, and yet we finde the same adversaries of this truth (though with a far less shew of reason) that we met withall about Government of Gods Church. For

2 They that are infatuated with the cup of Babylon, the *Canonists* and some *Jesuites* do constantly aver, that *summum imperium*, the primary supreme power of this Government, is in the *Pope*, *vicarius*, absolutely and directly, as he is the Vicar of Christ, who hath all power given him *both in Heaven and earth*; from whom it is immediately derived unto his *Vicars*, and from him to all Kings, mediately by *subordination* unto him: so *Bellarmino*, *Cicerius*, and otheri. But *Bellarmino* and the rest of the more moderate *Jesuites* say, that this *imperium in reges*, the Popes power over all Kings and States is but *indirectum dominium*, a power by consequent and indirectly, *in ordinis ad bonum spirituale*, as the civil State hath relation to Religion, and this great *Cardinal* least he should *scire ratione infanire*, doth (as the *Heresicks* did in *Tertullians* time) *Cadern Scripturarum facere ad materiam suam*, alledge two and twenty places of Scripture mis-interpreted, to confirm his indirect Divinity, and as *Porphyrii* wife, he produceth very honest *appearal*, but to prove a very bad cause; and therefore attributing to the Pope by the greatness of his learning, and the excellency of his wit, more then he could *justify* with a good conscience, he was so far from satisfying the then *Pope*, that he was well nigh resolved to condemne all his works for this one opinion: and *Cicerius* undertooke his confutation *ex professo*, and taxeth him so bitterly, that he putteh him *inter impios hereticos*, which he indeed

needed not to have done ; because the difference is onely in the expression, when the Pope by this indirect power may take occasion to king and unking whom he pleaseth, and do what he will in all Christian States.

3. The Anabaptists and Puritans either deny all government, with the *Fratricelli*, and all superiority by the title of Christianity, as the Author of the *Puritans* place Tract of *Sebjisme* and *Schismatics*; or do say that originally it proceedeth, and habitually resideth in the people; but is cumulatively and communicatively derived from them unto the King; and therefore the people (not denuding themselves of their first interest, but still retaining the same in the collective body, *populo quam in* that is, in themselves suppletive, if the King in their judgement be defective *per sona regis*, in the administration, or neglect the performance of his duty) may question *Parsons in Dol-* their King for his mis-government, *dethrone* him if they see cause, and resuming the collated power into their own hands again, may transfer it to any other whom they please.

Which opinion, if it were true, would make miserable the condition of all Kings; and I believe they first learned it from the *Sorbonists*, who to subject the *Sorbonists* Pope to the community of the faithful, say, that the chief spiritual power was first taught the first committed by Christ unto them, and they to preserve the unity of the Kings, and Church remitted the same communicatively unto the Pope, but suppletively, why. (not privatively, or habitually devesting themselves thereof) retaining the same still in themselves, if the Pope failed in the faith of the Church; and therefore he was not onely censurable, but also depositable by the Council, if he became an heretique, or apostated from the religion of Christ, and to make this both the more plausible and probable, they alledged, how Kings were thus eligible, and likewise depositable by the community of the people; for out of this Buchanan saith, *Romani Pontifices longe regum omnium conditio superiores, legem de jure regni p. 25, &* *gum tamen penitus eximuntur; sed & eos, quanquam sacros sanctos Christianos omnibus semper habitos, Synodus Basiliensis communis ordinum consensu senatus sacerdotum obnoxios esse pronunciavit*: that is, in brief, the Popes are deprivable by the Council; So are Kings by the community of the people: and so both the Papist and the Puritan do agree to depose their Kings, and as the *Poet* saith,

*Ausus uterque nefas, domini respersus uterque,
Insontis ingulo. —*

*Clandian de 4.
Consul. Honorii*

never a barrel better herring; both alike friends to Kings.

But to this *Blackvodens* answereth most truly, that although the Pope should be deprivable by the Council, (which I am sure neither Pope nor Jesuite will allow) yet for divers different reasons betwixt the examples, Kings are not depositable by their Subjects; especially if you consider the great difference betwixt the *Church* of Christ, that is guided by the Spirit of God, and the representation thereof in the flower of her Clergy, and a giddyheaded multitude, that is led by their unruly and unreasonable passions, and are represented by those, p. 304. that either basely bought their Votes, as the *Consuls* and other great men did the votes of the people of *Rome*, or that their partial and most ignorant affection, oftentimes without judgement, have made choice of: *ex quo sequitur, ut non sit eadem populi potestas in regem, qua in pontificem est Ecclesia*: So that the reason is far unlike.

But though the *Sorbonists*, to justifie their former tenet, were the first broachers of this unjust opinion of the deposition of Kings by the people, from whence the Jesuites, to subject the King unto the Pope, suckt it afterward: Yet in two main Respects I finde this tenet, as it is held by the *Puritans*, far worse then the doctrine of the Jesuites.

1. Because some of them say, that the people may not restrain the power, which they have once transmitted unto the King: when the Law of justice doth not permit, that *Covenants* should be repealed or a *donation* granted shoud be revoked

The Rights of Kings, and

Bellar. in tract.
cont. Pat. Paul.

revoked, though it were never so prejudicall to the donor: and Bellarmine makes this good by the example of the *souldiers*, that had power to accept or reject their Emperour before he was created, but being once elected, they had no coercive power over him, whereas all the *Puritanes* will make and unmake, promise and breake, doe and undoe at their pleasure.

2 Respect.

Judges 9.

Our Opinion proved.

Anti-Cav. in OsOlio p.25

* So acknowledged by Act of Parliament,
25 H. 8. c. 12.
28. c. 10.

Dr Sarav. fol.
175.

Bellar. de Lai-
cis, cap. 6. & 8.

Because the *Jesuites* permit not the people nor any *Peers* to depose their King, untill the *Pope*, as an indifferent judge deputed by Christ, shall approve of the cause; and our Sectaries depresse kings so far, as to submit them to the weake judgment, and extravagant power of the people, who to day cry to *Gideon*, *raise thou and thy son over us for ever*, and to morrow joyne with the base son of *Jerubbaal* and the *Sichimites* to kill seventy of the Children of *Gideon*, and to create *Abimilech* to be their king.

But, though the *Anti-Cavalier* takes it ill, that I should affirm that the kings power and right unto his government is immediately from God, yet if he would believe learned Authours, he might find enough of this judgment; for the sublime power and authority that resideth in earthly *Potentates*, is not a derivation or collection of humane power scattered among many, and gathered into one head, but a power immediately granted by God to his Vicegerents *, *quam nun-*
quam suisse populo demandatam legitimus, which God never communicated to any multitudes of men, saith *Saravia*.

And *Bellarmino* himself against the *Anabaptists* confuteth their error, that denied the power and authority of kings to be immediately from God;

I. From *Script. Sap.* 6. *Esay*, 45. *Hierem.* 27. *Dan.* 2. *Rom.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 2.

II. From the Council of *Constans*. *Sess.* 8. & 15. III. From *S. Aug.* *de civit.*

Dei. 1. 5. c. 21. where he saith, *non tribnamus dandi regni potestatem nisi Deo vero*; which giveth felicity in the kingdom of Heaven only to the godly, but the earthly kingdomes he giveth both to the godly, and to the wicked; *nam*

Idem de Rom. *Poni.* 1. 5. c. 3. *qui dedit Mario, ipse & Casari, qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni, qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo, qui Con-*

troinus de jure Constantino Christiano, ipse & Apostata Juliano; And IV. it is proved from the confession of the Popes of Rome, as *Leo. ep.* 38. & 43. *Gelasius epist. ad Ana-*

basianum. Greg. l. 2. epist. 61. Nicholans epist. ad Michaelem: out of all which

faith Irvinus, it is apparent, all and every king, *non multitudini aut hominibus sed*

Deo soli, regam regi, quicquid juris habent, acceptum ferre; And he might consider

that a thing may be said to be immediately from God divers wayes, as specially.

I. *Auctus, absque ullo signo creato.*

2. *Kart. nunc aliquo actu conjuncto.* that is,

i. Solely from God and no other; presupposing nothing previous to the obtaining of it; So *Moses* and *Joshua* had their authority from God.

Heningus fuses, c. 1. p. 4 & 5. de *power of Matthias* was immediately from God, though his constitution was from distinct. duplice *juridicitate*. *Sive electione sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli iure Principe fiat, Principi tamen facto divinitus potestat data est. Cun-*

narus, c. 5. de offic. Princip.

Jointly with an interposed act of some other instrument, as the Apostolicall *power of Matthias was immediately from God, though his constitution was from* distinct. duplice *juridicitate*. *Sive electione sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli iure Principe fiat, Principi tamen facto divinitus potestat data est. Cun-*

Psal. 62. 11.

Rom. 13. 2. *God hath spoken once and twice; I have also heard the same, that power belongeth unto God: and the Apostle saith, the powers that are, are ordained of God, which is to be understood of the regall, or Monarchical power,*

because

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament. 67

because Saint Paul's *Εγενας ρεπτιχοντας*, higher powers are interpreted by Saint Peter, to be *βασιλεις ρεπτιχοντας*, Kings that are supreme: where Saint Peter makes an excellent distinction betwixt the superior and the inferior Magistrates: the superior is that which Saint Paul saith is ordained of God, and the inferiors, are they which Saint Peter calleth *δι των μητρονος*, such as are sent by the King, : for the better explanation of which place, you must know that in every King or supreme Magistrate, we may conceive a double royalty.

The 1 is *merum imperium*, or *regni potestas, summa & plenissima*; and this *meritoria*, this fulnesse of power, and independent of any creature, and immediately received of God, which the Civilians call *jus regis*, or *munus regni*, is in the person of the King *indivisible*, not to be *imparted* by the King to any creature; because he cannot *devest* himself, *divide* this power, or *alienate* the same to any subject, no not to his own son, without *renouncing* or dividing his Kingdom; and by this the Civilians say, the King may govern *sine certa lege, sine certo jure,* How the King cannot do unjustly. *sed non sine equitate & justitia*, without Law, but not without equity: where upon it is a rule in the Common Law, *hoc unum rex potest facere, quod non potest injuncte agere*, which is to be applyed to this inseperable regality of the King; and hath been often alleadged by other Parliaments to justifie the King from all blame. The 2 is, *imperium dispositivum*, or *jus gubernandi vel jurisdictio* the right of governing, or jurisdiction and distribution of justice; and this may be derived and delegated from the King, *legatis vitalitiis*, either for terme of life, or during the Kings pleasure. But how *not privative*, when the King doth not *denude* himself thereof, but *cumulative* and *executive*, to execute the same, as the Kings Instruments for the preservation of peace, and the administration of justice, as it appeareth in their patent; and this *subordinate* power is not *inherent* in their persons, but *only committed* unto them for the execution of some office; because that when the *supreme* power is present, the power of the *inferior* officers is silent, it is in *nubibus*, fled into the clouds, and like the light of the Moon and Stars vanishing, whensoever the Sun appeareth, for Kings, when they do transfer any *actual* power to the *subalterne* Officers, retain the *habitual* power still in their own hands, which upon any *emergent* occasion they may *actually* resumie to themselves again, which they could not do, if they parted with the *habit* and forme of this *despotical* power of government, that they have *immediately* received from God.

And, as the *Scriptures* make it plain, that the Kings right and power to govern is *immediately* from God, so they make it as plain, that it is the greatest right, and most eminent highest power that is on earth; for though the *ca-* *villers* at this power translate the words of Saint Paul, *Εγενας ρεπτιχοντας*, not *poteſtatiſ ſublimioribz ſupremis*, but *poteſtatiſ ſuperexcellentiſ*, and say, that the word or particle *ως* *ρεπτιχoντας*, where S. Peter bids us submit our ſelves to the King; *ως ρεπτιχoντας*, as to the chief, intends a *reſemblance* onely, and not a reall demonstration to prove the King to be the chief: Yet the *malice* of these men, and the falſhood of these *glosses* will appear, if you conſider that the word, *ρεπτιχoντας*, *habens ſe ſuper alios*, or *Εγενας ρεπτιχοντας* joyned with *τιμyωντας* to the powers that are *ordained* of God, muſt needs ſignify not any *subordinate* power, but the *supremest* power on earth; because the other powers are directly ſaid by Saint Peter to be ſent by the King, and the article *ως* doth as reallly exprefſe the matter there, as in *John i. 14.* where the Evangelift ſaith, *and we beheld his glory, οὐκώς ωνοραντος*, as the glory of the onely begotten Son of God. And I hope our Sectaries will not be ſo impudent, as to ſay that this ſignifieth but a *reſemblance* of the Son of God.

But to make this point more plain, you ſhall heare what the Fathers and the learned ſay; for,

I told you before, *Tertullian* ſaith of Kings and Emperours, *inde potestas, unde de & spiritus*, and he is *solo Deo minor* inferior to none but God. *Saint Chrysostom* ſome faith, he hath no peer on Earth, but is the top of all men living. *Athanasius*

^{2 Pet. 2. 13.}
Saint Peters
decription be-
twixt the King
and the inferi-
our Magi-
ſtrates.

A twofold ro-
yalty in a King.
<sup>1 Merum impe-
rium.</sup>

How the King
cannot do un-
justly.

<sup>2 Imperium dis-
positivum.</sup>

How the King
delegates his
power to his
inferior Ma-
gistrates.

The words of
the Apostles
vindicated
from the false
glosses of the
Sectaries.

Rom. 13. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 13.
The testimony
of the Fathers
for the Sov-
erainty of
Kings.

Tertul. ad Scap.
& in apologet.
c. 30. Iren. ad-
vers. bartf. Va-
lent. l. 5. c. 20.
Opus. contr.

Parmen. l. 3.
βασιλεις ρε-
πεſtai της κορ-
δημαρχου.

Chrysost. tom.
6. orat. 40.
Orat. 2. Aug. de
civili. Dei. l. 5.

The Rights of Kings, and

Q. curius l. 9. *s*i *us* faith, there is none above the Emperour, but onely God that made the Emperour. Saint *Cyrill* in a Sermon upon that text, *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a King, (whom *Quintus Curius* affirmeth to be *Alexander*,) that being shot, and his Subjects would have him bound to pull out the arrow, laid, *non debet vinciri Regem*, *Bern. Tractat. de pass. Dom. c. 4.* it becomes not Kings to be bound, because none is superior unto them: *Agapetus*, a Deacon of *Constantine*, faith as much; and because it is a rule in the *Civill Law*, *testem quem quis inducit pro se, tenetur recipere contra se*: the testimony of our *adversaries* is most convictive: therefore I beseech you hear what they say; for *Rosellus* a great Catholique saith, it is heretical to affirm, that the *universal* administration of the *temporall affaires* is or must be in the *Pope*; when the King hath no *superior* on earth, but the *Creator* of heaven and earth. *Caninus* also saith, that the *Apostle*, *Rom. 13.* spake of the *Regall* and secular Power, and not of the *Ecclesiastical*; and *Casananus* saith, that Kings are the *highest*, and most paramount secular power and authority that ever God appointed on earth, and denies that either the *old*, or the *new* *Testament*, makes any mention of an *Emperour*: *& juris utriusque testimonia manifeste declarant imperiale dignitatem & potestatem immediate a filio Dei ab antiquo processisse*, said *Philip King of France*, in *Constit. de potest. elect.* *5. de dist. dupl. Imperat. Irvin. p. 33, 34, 35.* quoteth many authors to confirme the same truth: *Lombard*, *Gratian*, *Melanthon*, *Cranmer*, *Tyndall*, and abundance more without number do likewise most peremptorily affirme, that the Kings Power is the *supreme* power on earth: and as the mirror of our time, the Bishop of *Winchester*, observeth, the Scripture testifieth, that their *Throne*, their *Crowne*, their *Sword*, their *Scepter*, their *Judgement*, their *Royalty*, their *Power*, their *Charge*, their *Person*, and all in them are of God, from God, and by God; to shew how *sacred* they are, and ought to be unto us all; and so the very Heathens teaching sounder Divinity then our *Sectaries* thought, and said, that Kings were *Archontes*, and *magistras vobis dedit*, the Ministers of God, and not the servants of the people.

Homer.
Plutarch.

Ovid. Fast. l. 5.

Quia à jove nutriti & ab eo regnum adepti sunt.

Scapula in verbo dicitur.

* Many-headed beast.

2. The difficulty of Government.

2. Things shewing the difficulty of Government.

Cicer. Tusc. 3.

& de finibus lib. 2.

Plutarch. in Alcibiad.

Osorius his description of the factious Puritans, most plainly seen verified in our Rebels:

Good God! what shall we say then to those children of *Adam*, that will not only with *Adam* be content to be like God, but with *Antichrist*, this *Antichrist*, *παντοκράτορες*,^{*} as *Plato* calleth them, wil exalt themselves above all that is called God; they will *deservit* the King, and *invest* themselves with his right, and therefore,

2. This sheweth how difficult a thing it is to rule and govern this *unruly*, aspiring, and ambitious multitude: for the fuller understanding of which difficult duty, *Osorius* saith, that two things are to be considered.

1. *Suscepti munera amplitudo*, the greatness of the charge, which is of that weight, that we can scarce think of a greater in all our life; the care of *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and to rule millions of men far and neare.

2. *Gubernandorum qualitas*, the quality and conditions of those men that are to be governed; which (if there were nothing else to prove it) will sufficiently shew the difficulty of their government; for, if it be a very hard thing to govern a mans selfe, how much harder is it to govern such a multitude of mad men? for *Cicero* saith, the multitude is the greatest teacher of error, the unjuest judge of dignity, being without counsell, without reason, without judgement; and *Plutarch* calleth them, *peccatum veritatis interpretem*, whereunto agreeeth the answer of that Pope, who being demanded what was furthest from truth, answered, *populi sententia*, the opinion of the People; and as they are the weakest for judgement, so they are most infable in their resolutions; to day crying *Hosanna*, and to morrow *Crucifice*; this is the nature of the People, of whom these our *Sectaries* are the very dregs, the worst, and the basest of all: I must crave leave to set down what *Osorius* saith of them long ago, and you may finde, that this rebellion proves his words most true: for he saith, the desire and end of this *rebellion* is too much *liberty*, then which nothing can be more averse to the office and government of Kings; for, it is the duty of

of a King to cut off all *haynous* offences with just punishments, the *unbridled* people desires to be *free* from all fear of punishment; the King is the *Minister* of the *Law*, the *Keeper* of it, and the *avenger* of the transgression thereof, the people as much as possibly they can, with an *impetuous temerity*, pulleth down all Laws; the King laboureth to *preserve* peace and quietnes, the people with an *untameable lust* turmoileth and troubleth the peace of all men: lastly, the King thinkes not fit to distribute *rewards* and *compensations* indifferently to all men *alike*, but the people desire to have all *difference* of *worth* and *dignity* taken away, & *infima summis permisceri*, and to make the *baseſt* equal with the best, whence it happeneth so, that they hate all *Princes*, and especially all Kings *quos immanni odio persequuntur*, whom they persecute with a deadly hate; for they cannot endure any excellency or dignity: and to that end they use all endeavour, ut *principes interimant*, vel *salem in turbam conjiciant*, either utterly to take away and destroy their *Princes*; or to plunge them into a World of *troubles*; which thing at first doth not appeare, but when the multitude of *furious* men hath gathered strength, then at *last* their impudent boldness, being confirmed by *daily impunity*, breaketh forth to the destruction of the *royal* Majesty. And a little after he saith, add to these things the *abolition* of Laws, the *contempt* of Rule, the *hatred* of *royal* Majesty, and the *cruel* lying in wait, which they most *impiously* and *nefariously* do endeavour, for their *Princes*: add also their *clandestine* and *secret* discourses, where their *confederacies* are made for the *extirpation* of their Kings, and to plot with unspeakable mischief the death of them, whose health and safety they ought most heartily to pray to God for: and then he addeth, *cum immodica libertatis cupiditate rapiantur, leges oderunt, judicia detestantur, regum maiestatem extinxant* *cupiant, ut licentius & impunius queant per omnia libidinum genera vagari*; and this is most manifest (faith he) all their endeavours ayime at this end, that Princes being taken away, they may have an *uncontrollable* leave and liberty to commit all kinde of villanies; and to that purpose they have *poysoned* some kings, and *killed* others with the sword, and to root out all rule, *Consilia plena sceleris inserunt*, they are full of all wicked counsels.

And therefore this being the *condition* of the people, as the Scripture sheweth plainly in the *Jews*, by their continual *Rebellions* and *murmurings* against *Moses* and *Aaron*; and we see it as plainly in our own time, when our people hath confirmed all that this Bishop said; it is not an *easie matter* to govern such an *unruly* people: But we finde that the *rod* of *Government* is a *miraculous rod*, that being in *Moses* hand was a fair wand, but cast unto the ground turned to be an ungly and a *poysonus* *Serpent*; to shew that the people, being subject to the hand of *Government*, is a goodly thing, and a glorious society; but let loose out of the *Princes* hands, they are as *Serpents*, *crooked*, *wriggled*, *verſipelles*, and as full as may be of all deadly *poysone*: and the *Prophet David* makes the *ruling* of the people to be as great a *miracle*, as to appease the *raging* of the *Seas*; and therefore he ascribes this Government to be the *proper work* of God, when speaking unto God, he saith, *Thou ruleſt the rage of the Seas, the noſte of his Waves, and the madneſſe of the people*; for Kings are but Gods instruments, and God himself is the *ruler* of his people, even as the same King *David* sheweth, saying still to God, *Tu duxiſti populum tuum*, Thou leadest thy people like sheep by the hands of *Moses* and *Aaron*; God was the *leader*, and they were but the hands by which he led them; for where God hath not a hand in the *government* of the people, it is impossible for the best and most politick heads to do it: and this *Solomon* knew full well, when God bade him aske what he should give him, and he said, *Thou haſt made me King* (he doth not say the people hath made me) *and I know not how to go out or in*; that is, to govern them: therefore I pray thee, give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people? that is, what one man is able to govern an *innumerable* multitude of men? Thou therefore

Oforiu in ep.
Reginae Eliza-
bethæ prefiz.
i. de relig.

Pagina 24. &
25.

Reveramibi vi-
detur esse ars
artium, ho mi-
nem regere, qui
certè est inter
omnes animan-
tes maximè &
moribus variis,
& voluntate
diversus. Na-
xian in Apol.

A people well
governed very
glorious.

psal. 65. 7.
God is the go-
vernour, and
Kings are but
Gods instru-
ments.
psal. 77. 20.

¹ *Reg. 3. 7. 9.*

The Rights of Kings, and

They that re-
ject their King,
reject God,

1 Sam. 8.7.

*οὐαὶ ἀπὸ θεοῦ
ἀπὸ βασιλέως + αὐτοῦ
σύνδεσμοι με.*
Luk. 10.16.

therefore must be the *Gouvernour*, and I am but thine *instrument*; and that I may be a fit *instrument* to do thy work, I desire thee to give me a docible heart.

Wherefore, O you Subjects without obedience, and you Divines without *Divinity*, how dare you put any *instruments* into Gods hands, and refuse, nay reject the *instrument* that he chuseth, for the performance of his own work, to rule the people? you may as well refuse God himself, even as God saith unto *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me*; so you that do rebel and cast away your *King* that God hath chosen, as his hand to guide you, and his *instrument* to govern you, I pronounce it to all the World you have rebelled against God, and you have cast away your God; for the *rule* of *Christ* must stand infallible, he that rejecteth (or despiseth) him that is sent, rejecteth him that sent him.

C H A P. XII.

Sheweth, the assistants of Kings in their government; to whom the choice of inferior Magistrates belongeth; the power of the subordinate officers; neither Peers nor Parliament can have supremacy; the Sectaries chiefest argument out of Bracton answered; our Lawes prove all Sovereignty to be in the King; the two chief parts of the regal government; the four properties of a just War; and how the Parliamentary Faction transgress in every property.

3. The assistance that God alloweth unto Kings to help them in their government, of two sorts.

3. Seeing it is so hard and difficult a matter, *ars artium gubernare populum*, the Mistresse of all Sciences, and the most dangerous of all faculties to govern the people, that *Saturninus* said truly to them that put on his kingly ornaments, they knew not what an *evil* it was to rule, because of the many dangers that hang over the rulers heads, which under the seeming shew of a *Crown* of gold, do wear indeed a *Crown* of thornes: therefore, *Ut raro eminentes viros non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usum inveneris*, saith *Paterculus*; as great men, of a *wealthy* and vast estate, are seldom without great *counsel* to assist them to *govern*, and to dispose of that great fortune; so Kings having a *great* charge laid upon them, are not only permitted, but advised and counselleed by God, to have

1. Wife Coun-
sellors,

*Tacit. annal.
lib. 2.*

*Dionys. Halicar.
lib. 2.*

1. Subordinate
Magistrates.

1. Faithful and wise Counsellors to direct them
2. Subordinate Magistrates to assist them

1. *Tacitus* (as I said before) saith, *There cannot be an argument of greater wisedome in a Prince, nor any thing of greater safety to the Common-wealth, then for him to make choice of a wife and religious Counsel*; because the most weighty labours of the Prince do stand in need of the greatest helpe: therefore *Aga-memnon* had his *Nestor* and *Chalcas*; *Augustus* had *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, two wise Counsellors, to direct him in all his affairs; *David* had *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Achitophel*, and *Hushai*; and *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, *Shadrach*, *Mesiac*, and *Abednego*: and so all other Kings in all Nations do chuse the wisest men, that they conceive, to be their Counsellors.

2. For subordinate Magistrates, *Jetro's* counsel unto *Moses*, and *Moses* hearkning unto him, as to a wise and faithful Counsellor, makes it plain, how necessary it is for the supreme Magistrate to chuse such assistants, as may bear with him some part of the great burthen of government. Thus far it is agreed upon on all sides, but the difference betwixt us and our new State-Divines, consisteth in these two points.

1. About

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 71

§1. About the choice ² of these officers. For

A twofold difference.

2. About the power ¹ of these officers. For
1. We say, that by the Law of nature, every master hath right to chuse his own servants: this is *Lex gentium*, ever practiced among all Nations; why choice of inferior should not the King make choice of his own Counsellors and Servants? they rious Magistrates will say, because he is the servant of the *Common-wealth*: But how is that? I strates and Officers hope none otherwise then the *Minister* is the servant of the Church, for Christ's sake;

and shall he therefore, that is your King, lose the priviledges of a common Subject? Besides, hath not God committed the charge of his people into the King's hand, and will he not require an account of him of their government? how then shall he give an account to God when the government is taken out of his hands, and subordinate officers and servants put upon him? I am sure, when the 70 grand Senators of *Israel*, the great Sanhedrim of the Jewes were to be chosen; *Jethro* saith unto *Moses*, Thou shalt provide out of the people able men: mark I pray you, thou and not the people, shalt provide them; neither shall you find it otherwise in any History: *Pharaoh*, and not his people, made *Joseph* ruler over all the Land of Egypt. *Nebuchadnezzar*, and not his people, made *Daniel* ruler over the whole Province of Babylon: and *Darius* set over his Kingdome a hundred and twenty Princes, and made *Daniel* the first of the three Presidents that were over all these. And what shall I say of *Ahasuerus*, and all other kings, Al kings chuse Heathens, Jewes, or Christians, that ever kept this power, to chuse their own servants, Counsellors, and Officers, except they were infant Kings, in their non-age, and so not able to chuse them.

But you will say that our Histories tell you, how *Ric. 2. Edw. 2.* and others of our Kings, had their Officers appointed, and themselves committed unto Guardians by the Parliament; therefore why may not our Parliament do the like in case of male-administration?

I answer, that I speak of the right of kings, and not justify the wrongs done to Kings. *Adramelech* and *Sharezer* killed *Sennacherib* their own Father; is it therefore lawfull for other children so to do? Why should we therefore alleudge those things, *Qua insolentia populari, qua vi, qua furore, non ad imitationem exemplo proponenda, sed iusto legum suppicio vindicanda sunt*; which should rather have been revenged by the just punishment of the Law, then proposed to be imitated by the example?

Therefore I say, that whosoever abridgeth the King of this power, robbeth him of that right which God and nature hath allowed him: whereby you may judge how justly the Parliamentary faction would have dealt herein with our King, by forcing Counsellors and great Officers upon him; but I hope you see, it is the King's right to chuse his Servants, Officers, and Counsellors; what manner of men he should chuse, *Jethro* setteth down. And I have most fully described the qualities and conditions that they should be indued withall in my *True Church. Church. lib. 6. c. 4. &c.*

2. As our Sectaries differ much from the true Divines, about the choice, so they differ much more about the power of these subordinate officers, and inferiour about the power Magistrates; for we say, they are alwayes to be obedient to the supreme power: et of the subor- or otherwise, *eius est deponere, cuius est constitutere*, he can displace them that hath dinate Magi- appointed them; or if you say no, because I cited you a place out of *Bellarmino*, strates. where he saith, the Soulidiars had power to refuse their Emperour while he was in fieri, to be elected; but not when he was in facto, fully chosen and made Emperour; so the King hath power to chuse them, but not to displace them. I an- swer briefly, that in creating or constituting our inferiours, we may; but our superiour we may not: because inferiours, in the judgment of all men, have no jurisdiction over their superiours. And therefore elective Kings are not deposed in a Monarchicall government: where the supreme power resides in the whom the su- Monarch; though perhaps the Kings of *Lacedemon* might be justly deposed, be- cause by the constitution of their Kingdome, the supreme power was not in their felideth Kings, but in their Ephori.

But

The Rights of Kings, and

But our new Sectaries out of *Junius Brutus, Burcher, Althamius, Knox, and Cartwright*, teach very devoutly, but most falsely, that in case of *disfiance* to do his duty, they may with the *Tribunes of Rome*, or the *Demarchi at Athens*, censure and depose him too, if they see just cause for the same.

Blacvod. c. 33.

p. 285.

Grand Rebellion, c. 7. p. 52.

To confute which *blasphemous* doctrine against God, and so *pernicious* and *dangerous* to this State, though others have done it very *excellently* well already, and I have formerly shewed the absurdity of it in my *Grand Rebellion*; yet, because all books come not to every hand, I will say *somewhat* of it in this place. If these *Counsellours, Magistrates, Parliament*, call them what you will, have *any power* and *authority*, it must be either *subordinate, coordinate, or supreme*.

1 Subordinate officers can have no power over their superiors.

2. that neither Peers nor Parliament can have the supremacy. None above the king at any time.

The Sectaries chiefest argument out of Bracton fully answered.

How the Law and the Court of Barons is above the King

1. If subordinate, I told you before, they can have no power over their *superior*, because all inferior Magistrates are Magistrates only, in respect of those that are *under* their jurisdiction; because to them they *represent* the King, and supply the *office* of the King; but in *reference* to the King, they are but *private persons* and *Subjects*, that can challenge no jurisdiction over him.

2. If they be supreme, then *Saint Peter* is much mistaken, to say the *King is supreme*; and they do ill to *disclaim* this *supremacy*, when in all their Petitions, (not disjunctively, but as they are an *united body*) they say, *Your Majesties humble Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament*: and besides, they are *perjur'd* that deny it, after they have taken the *Oath of supremacy*, where every one saith, *I A. B. do utterly recifie and declare in my conscience, that the King's Highness is the only supreme Goverour of this Realme, &c.* But this is *further*, and so fully proved out of *Bracton*, the nature of all the Subjects tenures, and the *constitution* of this government, by the Author of *The unlawfulness of Subjects taking up arms against their Sovereigne*, that more needs not be spoken to any rational man. Yet because this point is of such great concernment, and the chiefest argument they have out of *Bracton*, is, that he saith, *Rex habet superiori, legem, curiam suam, comites, Barones; quia comites dicuntur, quasi socii Regis, & qui habet socium, habet magistrum;* & *ideo si Rex fuerit sine freno, id est, sine lege, debent ei frenum ponere, nisi ipsi metu fuerint cum rege sine freno;* and all this makes just nothing in the World for them, if they had the *honesty* or the *learning* to understand it right, for what is above the King? the *Law*, and the *Court of Earles and Barons*; but how are they above him? as the *Preccher* is above the King, when he preacheth unto him; or the *Physician* when he gives him *Physick*; or the *Pilot* when he sayleth by *Sea*; that is, *quoad rationem consulendi, non cogendi*, they have *superioritatem directivam, non coactivam*;

for so the *teacher* is above him that is taught, and the *Counsellor* above him that is counselled, that is, by way of advice, but not by way of command; and to shew you that this is *Bracton's* true meaning, I pray you consider his words; *Comites dicuntur quasi socii*, they are as his fellows or *Peeres*, not simply but *qua-*
si: and if they were simply so, yet they are but *socii*, not *superiors*; and what can *socii* do? not *command*, for *par in parem non habet potestatem*, that is, *praci-*
piendi; otherwise, you must confess, *habet potestatem consulendi*: therefore *Bracton addes, qui habet socium, habet magistrum*; that is, a *teacher*, not a *com-*
mander; and to make this yet more plain, he addes, *Si Rex fuerit sine freno,* *id est, lege*, if the King be without a bridle, that is, saith he (*lest* you should mis-
take what he meanes by the bridle, and thinke he meanes force and arms) the *Law*: they ought to put this *bridle* unto him, that is, to presse him with this *Law*, and fail to shew him his duty, even as we do both to King and people, saying, this is the *Law*, this should *bridle* you: but here is not a word of *com-*
manding, much lesse of *forcing* the King: not a word of *superiority*, nor yet
simply of *equality*: and therefore I must say, *hoc argumentum nihil ad rimbumbum*,
these do abuse every author.

3 That neither Peers nor Parliament are co-ordinate with the King.

If their *legio*, (I speak not of *duabus*, their natural strength and power), but of their *right and authority*, be *coordinate* and *equal* with the Kings *author-*
ity,

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 73

rity, then whether given by God (which they cannot prove) or by the people there must be *dno summa imperia*, two supreme powers, (which the philosophers say cannot be; nam quod summum est, unum est, from whence they prove the unity of the God-head, that there can be but one God) and if this power be divided betwixt King and Parliament, you know what the Poor *confulti, pounant* Omnisque Phi-
sumnum in eo
verorum genere
quod dividit non
possit Lastant.
l. i. c. 3.

— *Omnisque potestas,*
Impatiens confortis erit, —

Or you may remember what our Saviour saith, *If a Kingdome be divided against it selfe it cannot stand*, and therefore when *Tiberius*, out of his wonted *Suavis in Ba-
siblity*, desired the Senate to appoint a *colleague* and partner with him, for the *xenia civium*. *Afinius Gallus*, that was desirous enough *Marc. 3. 14.*
of their *Pristine liberty*, yet understanding well with what *minde* the subtle fox spake, (only to decry his ill willers) after some *jefts* answered seriously, *adulator r̄n̄ dpx̄n̄ d̄sp̄d̄v̄z*, that government must not be divided; because you can never have any *happines* where the power is *equally divided* in two parts, when according to the well known *axiome* to every one, *Par in parum non habet potestatem*. But to make the matter cleare, and to shew that the *Sovereign* The Case of ty is inseparably inherent in the person of His Majesty, we have the whole *cūr- our Affaires.* rent of our very Acts of Parliament acknowledging it in these very termes. p. 19. 20.
Our Sovereigne Lord the King; and the Parliament, 25. Hen. 8. saith, *This* the *Laws of your Graces Realme*, recognizing no *superiorus under God*, but *your Grace, &c.* And *our Land ac-* the Parliament 16. Rich. 2. c. affmeth the Crown of *England* to have been so *Sovereignty in free at all times*, that it had been in no *earthly subjection*, but *immediately to the King*.
God, in all things touching the *regality* of the said Crown, and to none other, and in the 25. of Hen. 8. the Parliament declareth, that it belongeth to the Kings *regality*, to grant or deny what *Petitions in Parliament* he pleases: and so indeed whatsoever authority is in the constant *practice* of the Kingdom, or in the *known* and published Laws and Statutes, it concludeth the *Sovereignty* to be fixed in the King, and all the Subjects virtually united in the *representative body* of the Parliament, to be obliged in *obedience & allegiance* to the *individual person* of the King: and I doubt not but our learned Lawyers can finde much more prooife then I do, out of their Law to this purpose. And therefore seeing divers *supreme* powers are not *compatible* in one State, nor allowable in our State; the conceit of a *mix-* ed Monarchy is but a foppery, to prove the *distribution* of the *supreme power* into two sorts of governors, *equally* indued with the same power; because the *supreme power*, being but one, must be placed in one sort of governors, either in one *numerical man*, as it is in *Monarchy*; or in one *specicall kind* of men, as the *optimates*, as it is in *Aristocracie*; or in the *people*, as in *Democracie*; but if *mixed Mon-* by a *mixed Monarchy* you meane, that this *supreme power* is not *simply abso-* lute, *quoad omnia*, but a government limited and regulated, *x̄i v̄b̄c̄r̄*, we will not much quarrell with our *Sectaries*, because His Majesty hath *promised*, and we are sure he will *performe* it, to govern his people according to the *Laws of this Land*.

And therefore they that would *rob* the King of this *right*, and give any part of his *supreme power* to the *Parliament*, or to any of all his *inferiorus Magistrates*, deserve as well to be *expelled* the Kingdome, as *Plato* would have *Homer* to be *banished*, for bringing in the Gods fighting, and disagreeing among themselves; when as *Ovid*, out of him, saith,

Jupiter in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo:

Because, as the Civilians say, *Naturale vitium est negligi, quod communiter pos-
siderat, utque se nihil habere putet qui totum non habeat, & suam partem corrum-
pi patiatur, dum invideat aliena*; and therefore the same *Homer* treating of our humane Government, saith,

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament. 75

And to this part of the *regall government*, which consisteth in the *Militia* Luc. 14. 31.
 in Armes, for the *defence* of the Kingdome, pertaineth, 1. The *proclaiming of War*, 32.
 which our Saviour properly ascribeth unto the *right* of Kings, when he saith, not what State, or Common-wealth, but *What King going to war with another King?* &c. 2. The concluding of *Peace*, which our Saviour ascribeth also unto the *King*, in the same place. 3. The making of *leagues* and *confederacies* with other foraigne States. 4. The sending, and receiving of *Ambassadors*. 5. To raise *Armes*, and the like, which the Lawes of *God*, and of all *Nations* justifie to be the proper *right* of Kings, and to belong *only* unto the supreme Majesty.

Aristot. Polit.
I. 7. c. 8.
Arnif. I. 2. c. 1.

But then you will say, did not the *Judges*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Gidron*, *Zephra*, Judges 11. 11.
Barac, *Samson*, and the rest make *war*, and yet they were no *Kings*? Why then may not the *Nobles* make *war*, as well as *Kings*? I answere, that they do indeed make *war*, and a miserable wretched *war*; but I speak of a *just* *war*, and so I say that none but the *King*, or he that hath the *Kings* power can do it; for though the *Judges* assumed not the *name* of *Kings*, nor Captains, *sed à posteriori parte vocati sunt iudices*, but from the sweetest part of the Royall government were termed *Judges*; yet they had the *full* power, & *ducendi & iudicandi populi*, both of *war* and *peace*, saith *Sigonius*: and to the men of *Gilead* said unto *Zephabe*, *veni & esto princeps noster*: and they made him their head by an inviolable covenant. And of *Moses* it was plainly laid, *He was King in Esraun*; and when there was no *Judge*, it is said, *there was no King in Israel*: for I stand not about words, when some were called *Kings*, for the honour of the People, and yet had no more power then *Subjects*, as the *Kings of Sparta*; and others had not the *name* of *Kings*, and yet had the *full* power of *Kings*; as the *Dictator*, and the *Emperour*, and the great Duke of *Muscovie*, and the like.

Deut. 33. 5.
Judges 17. 6.
18. 1. 19. 1.

But, when a *war* is undertaken by any Prince, how shall we know which party is in the *right*? for to make an *unjust* *war*, cannot be said to be the *right* of any *King*: yet, as the Poet saith,

— *Quis iustus induit arma
Scire nefas, summo se iudice quisque tuerit.* *Lucan lib. 1.*

Every one pretends his cause is *just*, he fights for *God*, for the *truth* of the *Gospell*, the *faith* of *Christ*, and the *liberty* and *Lawes* of his Country: how then shall those *poore men*, that hazard their *lives* and their *fortunes*, yea, and *soules* too, if they war on the *wrong side*, understand the *truth* of this great, doubtfull, and dangerous point?

I answer, all the Divines that I read of, speaking of *war*, do concur with *Dambaud*, in what *Dambauerius* writeth of this point, that there must be *fourre properties* *praxi criminali.*
cap. 82.

- 1. A *just* cause.
- 2. A *right* intention.
- 3. *Meet Members.*

Fourre properties of a just War.

4. The *King's authority*. *Sine qua est iusta Majestas*, without which authority the *Warriours* are all *Traytors*. And I would to *God* our *Rebels* would lay their hands upon their hearts, and seriously examine these *fourre points* in this present *War*.

1. What *cause* have they to take *Armes* against their *King*, and to kill and 1. A just cause.
murder so many thousands of their own *Brethren*? they will answere, that they do it for the *defence* of their *Liberty*, *Lawes*, and *Religion*: but how *truely*, let *God himselfe* be the *Judge*; for, His *Majesty* hath *promised* and *protected* they shall enjoy all these *fully* and *freely*, without any manner of *diminution*: and we know that never any *rebellion* was *raised*, but these *very causes* were still pretended. And therefore,

2. Consider with what *intend* they do all this? and I doubt not but you shall finde 2. A right intention.

The Rights of Kings, and

What Lawes
and Religion
the Rebels
would fain
have.

3. Meet Mem-
bers.

Who the Re-
bels are, and
what manner
persons they
be.

4. The su-
preme autho-
rity.

*Albertus Gen-
tilis de jure bel-
li, l. 1. c. 2.
Subjects can
never make a
lawful war
against their
King.*

*Res dura ac
plena periculi est.*

finde foul weeds under this fair cloak; for under the shadow of *liberty* and *pro-
perty*, they took the liberty to *rob* all the King's loyal Subjects that they could
reach, of all or most of their *estates*, and to keep them fast in prison, because
they would not consent to their *lawless* liberty, and to be *Rebels* with them a-
gainst their conscience. And under the pretence of *Lawes* they aimed not to
have the old Lawes well kept, which was never denied them, but to have such
new ones made, as might quite *rob* the King of all his *rights*, and transfer the
same unto themselves and their friends; so he should be like the King of *Spar-
ta*, a Royal Slave; and they should be like the *Ephori*, ruling and *command-
ing* Subjects. And for the *religion*, you may know by their new *Synod*, which
are a *Synod* not of *Saints*, but of *Rebels*, what religion they would fain have,
not that which was professed in Q. Elizabeth's times, that was established by
the *Lawes*, justified by the *paines*, and confirmed by the *blood* of so many
worthy men and faithful *Martyrs*; but a new religion first hatched in *Amster-
dam*, then nourished in *New-England*, and now to be transplanted into this
Kingdom.

3. Who are the persons that are employed in this war? he first of all, that
is the *more* disloyal, because he was a person of *honour*, that had so much ho-
nour conferred upon him by His Majesty, and so much *trust* reposed in him,
and would notwithstanding prove so *unthankful*, as to kick with his heel's a-
gainst his Master; and so follow, whom you know, *passibus agnis*, whose ex-
ample, any other man, that were not *rob'd* of his understanding, would make
a *remora* to retain him from rebellion: and what are the other heads, but a
company either of poor, needy, and mean condition'd Lords and Gentlemen,
or discontented Peers that are misled, or such *factious* Sectaries, whose *blind*
zeal and *furious* malice are able to hurry them headlong to perpetrate any mis-
chief? for their *Captains* and their Officers, I believe they fight neither for the
Anabaptists creed, nor against the *Romane* faith, nor to overthrow our *Pro-
testant* Church, but for their *pay*; for which, though they cannot be *justified*
to take their *hire* for such ill service, to *rebel* against their King, and to *murder*
their innocent brethren; Yet are they not so bad as their grand Masters; and
for their common Souldiers, I assure my self many of them fight *against* their
wills, many seduced by their *false* Prophets, others inticed by their *factious* Ma-
sters, and most of them compelled to kill their brethren *against* their wils; and
therefore in some places, though their number trebled the Kings; yet they had
rather run away then fight; and what a miserable and deplorable case is this,
when so many poor soules shall be driven unto the Devil by Preachers and
Parliament against their wills?

4. If you consider *qua & autoritate*, by what authority they wage this war,
they will answer by the Authority of Parliament, and that is just none at all;
because the Parliament hath not the *supreme* authority, without which the
war is not *publique*, nor can it be *justifiable*: for a war is then *injustifiable*, when
there is no *legal* way to end the controversie by prohibiting farther appeals,
which cannot be, but onely betwixt *independent* States and *several* Princes, that
have the *supreme* power in their own hands, and are not liable to the *sentence*
of any Court, which power the Parliament cannot challenge; because they
are or should be the King's *lawful* Subjects: and therefore cannot be his law-
ful enemies: but they will say, Master *Goodwin*, *Burroughs*, and all the rest of
our *good* men, *zealous* brethren, and *powerful* Preachers do continually cry out
in our ears, it is *bellum sanctum*, a most *just* and *holy* war, a war for the *Gospel*
and for our *Lawes* and *Liberties*, wherein whosoever dies, he shall be crowned
a *Martyr*.

I answer, that for their *reward*, they shall be indeed as Saint *Augustine*
faith of the like, *Martyres stulta Philosophie*, when every one of them may
be indicted at the bar of God's justice for a *felo de se*, a Malefactor guilty of
regale occidisse his own *untimely* death: and for their good *Oratours* that persuade them to
the

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 77

thi s w i c k e d n e s s e , I pray you consider well what they are : men of no worth, rebellious against the Church, Rebels against the King, factious Schismatics, of no faith, of no learning, that have already forfeited their estates, if they have any, and their lives unto the king : and will any man that is wise, hazard his estate, his life and his soul to follow the persuasions of these men ? my life is deare to me, as the Earle of Essex his head is to him, and my soul dearer ; and I dare ingage them both, that if all the Doctors in both Universities, and all the Divines within the kingdome of England, were gathered together to givē their judgement of this War, there could not be found one of ten, it may be as I believe not one of twenty that durst upon his conscience say, this war is lawful upon the Parliament side, for though these *Loyalls*, that is, the *Germans*, *Scots*, *French*, and the *English Puritane*, agreeing with the *Romanie* Jesuite ever since the reformation, harped upon this string, and retained this *serpentine poison* within all the Pro- their bosome, still spitting it forth against all States, as you may see by their bookes ; Yet I must tell you plainly, this doctrine of *Subjects taking up armes* for Subjects to *resist their King*, is point blanck and directly against the received doctrine of the Church of *England*, and against the genet of all true *Protestants* : and therefore *Andreas Rivetus Professor at Leyden writing against a Jesuite*, *Parens in Rom. 13. Bon.* that cast this aspersion upon the *Protestants*, that they jumpe with diem in this doctrine of warring against, and deposing kings, saith, that no *Protestant* doth cher. 1. 2.c. 2. maintain that *damnable doctrine*, and that rashnes of *Knox* and *Buchanan* is to Keckerm. Synt. be ascribed *praeferendo Scotorum ingenio et ad andendum prompto*. *Jam and Billi Bru. q. 2. p. 56.* *Jon* and all the Doctors of the Church are of the same minde : and *Lichfield Bellar. de laic.* *faith*, no *Orthodox* father did by word or writing teach any resistance, for the c. 6. *Suar. de.* space of a thousand yeares : and Doctor *Field* saith, that all the worthy fathers *fid. cabol. c. 3.* and Bishops of the Church perswaded themselves, that they owed all duty unto *Lichfield. l. 4.* their kings, though they were *Hereticks* and *Infidels* ; and the *Homilies* of the *Field. l. 5.c. 30.* Church of *England*, allowed by authority, do plainly and peremptorily con-demne all Subjects *warring* against their *King* for *Rebels* and *Traytors*, that do resist the *ordinance* of God and procure unto themselves *damnation* : and truely I believe most of their own consciences tell them so ; and they that thinke otherwise, I would have them to consider, that if they were at a banquet, where twenty should ever such a dish to be full of *poyson*, for every one that would warrant it good, wouldst thou venture to eat it, and hazard thy life in such a case ? O then consider what it is to hazard thy soule upon the like termes. So you see the justnes of the War on the Parliament side. But,

1. On the Kings side, it cannot be denied, but his cause is most just ; for his own defence, for the maintenance of the true *Protestant Religion*, that is established by our Laws, and for the rights of the Church and the just *liberties* and property of all his loyal Subjects : this he testifieth in all his Declarations : and this we know in our own consciences to be true ; and therefore

2. As his Majesty professeth, so we believe him, that he never intended otherwise by this war, but to protect us, and our Religion, and to maintain his own just and unquestionable rights, which these Rebels would most unjustly wrest out of his hands, and under the shew of humble *Petitioners* to become at last proud *Commanders* ; for as one saith,

— *They whom no denial can withstand,*
Seeme but to aske, while they indeed command.

3. For the persons that war with him, they are the chiefest of the *Nobility*, ^{3 His assistants} all the best *Gentry*, that hazard their *lives*, not for *filthy lucre* ; for, the Kings learned, honest *Revenues*, being so unjustly detained from him, they are fain to *supply* his necessities, and to bear their own charges ; and the poor common *Soldiers* are nothing wanting to do their best endeavours ; neither need they to fear any thing ; because

4 His authority sacred and unquestionable.

4. The King hath a just right, to give them full power and authority to do execution upon these Rebels, as I have proved unto you before.

And therefore the result of all is, that the Parliament side (under the presence of Religion, fighting if not for the Crown, yet certainly for the full power and authority of the King, who shall have the ordering of the Militia, that is, who shall have the government of this Kingdome, which is all one as who shall be the King, they or King CHARLES, and which is the very question that they would now decide by the sword) in taking away our goods, are thieves and robbers; in killing their brethren, are bloody murderers, and in resisting their King, are rebellious traytors; that as the Apostle saith, purchase to themselves damnation: when (as the Prophet Esaï speaketh of the like Rebels) *being hardly bestead and hungry, (as I believe thousands of them are in London, and other Rebellious Cities) they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God, and looke upward (as I fear many of them do, curse the earth: and behold trouble and darknesse, dimnesse, and anguish, and they shall be driven to darknesse even to utter darknesse, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, if by a true repentance they do not betimes rent their hearts and forsake their fearful sinnes)*

Esaï 8. 11, 12.

Matthew 8. 12.

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and Justines opinion prove most true; for *Talui* his time must needs be uncer *Joseph. advers.*
tain, and by *vōuō adūe*, *Homer* means the just *measure* of ryming, but never *Appion. l. 55.*
useth *vōuō* for the set *Law* of living; besides, there were many ages, and *Plutarch in lib.*
many Kings before *Homers* time, and before *Talui*, *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, or
any other Law-maker that you read of; *Moses* was the first that I finde, either
giving *Laws*, or inventing *Letters*; and yet there were many Kings before
Moses; nine Kings named in one Chapter, and what *Laws* had they to govern *Gen. 14. 1. 2.*
their people besides their own *wils*? and therefore Master *Selden*, *in veritatis*
victus, confesseth that in the first times, in the beginning of States, there were no
Laws but the *arbitremens* of Princes, as *Pomponius* speaketh: and pag. 4. he *Pompon. de ori-*
faith, the people, seeing the inconveniences of popular rule, chose one Monarch, l. 1. sett. 2.
under whose *arbitrary* rule their happy quiet should be preserved; where also *Josephus regnū*
you may obserue his great *mistake*, in making the *Monarchy* to spring out of *appellat imper-*
the Democracy; when as I have proved before, the *Monarchical* government *rium summum*
was many hundred of years before we heare mention of any other forme of go-*unus hominis*,
vernment: but in any government, Doctor *Saravia* saith, and he saith most non ex lege, sed
truly, *Quisquis sumnum obtinet imperium, sive est sit unus rex, sive pauci nobiles, perant. Anti-*
vel ipse populus universus, supra omnes leges sunt; ratio haec est, quod nemo sibi fecit quis. l. 4.
rat legem, sed subditis suis, se legibus nemo adstringit: hoc accedit & illa ratio, Saravia deim.
quod neque suis legibus teneri possit (scil. rex) cum nemo sit scipso superior, nemo perad. autor.
a scipso cogi possit, & leges a superiore tantum sciscantur, dentisque inferi- Barclains l. 3.
oribus. c. 16.

And so *Arnicens* faith, and proveth at large, *Majestatis essentiam consistere in Aris. l. 1. c. 3.*
summa & absolute potestate, that the being of Majesty and Soveraignty consisteth in the highest and most absolute power. And *Irinus* alleadeth many testimo- *Irinus cap. 4.*
nies out of *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Ulpian*, *Dio*, *Constant.* *Harmenopolis*, and others, *p. 64, 65.*
to prove that *Rex legibus non subjicitur*.

And to make it yet more cleare, that the Kings power to rule his people was *arbitrary*; *Sigenius* faith most truly, that the power of governing the people was given by God unto *Moses* before the *Law* was given; and therefore he called the people to counsell, and without either *Judges* or *Magistrates*, *jura* *eisdem reddidit*, he administrered *Justice*, and did right to every one of them: So *Joshua* exercised the same right, and the *Judges* after him; and after the *Judges* *Sigen. de rep.* *succedid*, he administrered *Justice*, and did right to every one of them: So *Heb. l. 7. c. 3.* *legibus quam ab arbitrio & voluntate regis prefecta sit*, whose power and authority was far greater, as proceeding, not so much from the *Lawes*, as from the *expressit Deus.* *arbitrement*, and the will of the King, saith *Sigenius*: for they understood the *1 Sam. 8.* power of a King in *Aristotles* fense, *Qui solitus legibus plenissimo iure regnaret,* & *David. Ps. 11. Reges eius in* who being freed from the *Lawes*, or not tyed to *Lawes*, might governe with a *virga ferrea.* *Idem Ibidem.* *plenary* right. And so *Saul* judged *Israel*, and had altogether the *arbitrary* power both of life and death; & *quodam modo superior legibus fuit*, and was after a sort above the *Law*, undertaking and making *Warr*, pro *arbitrari* *suo*, according to his own will. And in his sixth booke he saith, the *Jewes* had three great Courts or Assemblies.

1. Their *Councell*, which contained that company, that handled those things especially, which concerned the State of the whole Common-wealth: as warre, peace, provision, institution of *Lawes*, creation of *Magistrates* and the like. *Cap. 2.*

2. Their *Synagogue*, or the meeting of the whole Congregation or people, which no man might convocate, but he which had the chiefe rule, as *Moses*, *Jo-*
shua, the *Judges*, and the *Kings*. *Cap. 3.*

3. Their standing *Senate*, which was appointed of God to be of the seventy Elders; whereof he saith, that although this was *always* standing for consulta- *Cap. 4.*
tion; yet we must understand that the *Kings*, which had the Common-wealth *Numb. 15.*
in their *own* power, and were not obnoxious to the *Lawes*, made Decrees of *Plenum regnum* *vocatur quo*
themselves, without the authority of the Senate, *ut qui cum summo imperio essent, voluntate geris.* *cuncta rex sua*
as Idem.

The Rights of Kings, and

as men that were indued with the chiefest rule and command : And we find that the king judged the people two manner of wayes.

§1. Alone.

§2. Together with the Elders and Priests.

For it is said, that *Absalon*, when any man came to the king for judgment, wished that he were made Judge in the Land, and he did in this manner to all *Israel* that came to the king for judgement : and when the people demanded a King instead of *Samuel* to reigne over them, and God said, *T*hey had cast him off being their King ; he signifieth most plainly, that while the Judges ruled, which had their chiefe authority from the Law, God reigned over them, because his Law did rule them ; but the rule and government being translated unto Kings, God reigned no longer over them ; *Quia non penes legem Dei, sed penes voluntatem suam hominis summa rerum autoritas esset futura* ; because now all authority, and all things were not in the power of the Law, but in the power of one mans arbitrary will.

But, seeing we are fallen upon the peoples desire of a king, let us examine what right God saith belongeth unto him ; and because that place, *1 Sam. 8.* is contradicted by another, *Deut. 17.* as it seemeth, we will examine both places, and see if *Moses* doth any wayes crossie *Samuel*: and truly I may say of these two places, that, as S. *Ang.* saith in the like case, *Alii atque alii, aliud atque aliud opinati sunt* ; for some learned men say, that *Moses* setteth down to the king, *legem regendi*, the Law by which he should governe the people, without wronging them ; and *Samuel* setteth down to the people *legem parandi*, the Law by which they shold obey the king, without resisting him whatsoever he should doe to them ; And other Divines say, *Hac est potestas legitima, non tyrannica, nec violenta* : & idè quando rex propria negotia non possit expedire per proprias res ac servos, possit pro negotiis propriis tollere res & servos aliorum : & isto modo dicitur *Dens quod pertinebat ad jus regis*, this is the lawfull and just right of the king. Therefore to find out the truth, let us a little more narrowly discusse both places. And

1. In the words of *Moses*, there I observe two speciall things.

§1. The charge of the people.

§2. The charge of the king.

1. Popular election utterly forbidden.

2. The Kings charge.

1. The people are commanded very strictly, *in any wise*, saith the Text, to make choice of no king of their own heads, but to accept of him whom the Lord did chuse.

2. The king is commanded to write out the Law, to study it, and to practice it ; and he is forbidden to do foure speciall things, which are

- 1. Not to bring the people back into Egypt, nor to provide the means to bring them, by multiplying his hories.
- 2. Not to marry many wives that might intice him, as they did *Solomon*, unto Idolatry.
- 3. Not to hoord up too much riches.
- 4. Not to tyrannize over his Brethren.

And *Josephus* to the same purpose saith, *Si regis cupiditas vos incollerit, is ex eadem gente sit, curam omnino gerat justitia & aliarum virtutum, caveat verò, ne plus legibus aut Deo sapiat, nihil autem agat sine Pontificio, Senatorumque sententia*, (which *Moses* hath not) *neque unpiis multis natetur, nec copiam pecuniarum equorumque sectetur, quibus partis super leges superbia efferratur*, that is, to be a Tyrant.

Rex Jacobus in his true Law of free Monarchs.

2. The words of *Samuel* are set down, *1 Sam. viii. 11.* to the 18. verse, whereof I confess there are severall expositons ; some making the same a prophetical prediction of what some of their Kings would doe, contrary to what they shold doe, as it was expressed by *Moses*. So King *James* himself takes it ; others take it Grammatically, for the true right of a King, that may do all this, and yet no way contradict those precepts forecited by *Moses* ; to confirme which supposition

supposition, they say, 1. The phrase here used must bear it out; for as the Hebrew word signifieth, as *Pagninus* noteth, *Morem, aut modum, aut consuetudinem*, and many other things, as the place and the matter to be expressed do require, (because every equivocall word of various signification is not to be taken alike in all places, but is to be interpreted *secundum materiam subiectam*) yet the *Septuaginta* that should know both the propriety of the word, and the meaning of the Holy Ghost in that place, as well as any other, translate the word to significare *et non dicitur ad iustitiam*; and we know the Greek word *δικαιον*, which the *Septuaginta* useth, *δικαιον* *et* *ius*, which the *Latine* useth, is never taken in the worser sense, the Scripture *δικαιον*, never using to call *vices* by the names of *virtues*, or to give a right to any one to exercise *tyranny*, which then might be better termed *ius latronis*, because an *unjust* tyrant is no better than an open thief. 2. There is nothing here set downe by *Samuel*, that is simply forbidden by the Law of God, but that *any*, the very best Kings may do, as the occasions shall require; for, being a King, he must have the *royalty* of his house supported, and the *necessities* of his war supplied: and you may read in *Herodotus* how *Dioeces*, after he was chosen King, had *all* things granted unto him, that were needfull to express his *royall* state and magnificence; and here is nothing else in the text; for if you marke it, the Prophet saith not, he should kill their sons, nor ravish their wives, nor yet take their daughters to be his *Concubines*, which are the properties of a tyrant; * but he should take them to support his State, and to maintain his *war*, which, as his *necessities* require, is lawfull for him to do; so that, it is not the *doing* of those things, but the *motives* that cause the King to do them, or the manner of doing them, that do make it either an *unjust* tyranny, or the *just* right of a King; for as Doctor *Bilson* saith, kings may justly command the goods and bodies of all their Subjects, in the time both of war and peace, for any *publique* necessity or utility. And *Hugo de Sancto Victore* saith, *Nanquam possessiones à regia potestate ita elongari possunt, quin si ratio postulaverit & necessitas, & illis ipsa potestas debeat patrocinium, & illis ipsa possessiones debeant in necessitate obsequium*. And so most Authors say, the Subjects ought to supply the kings necessities, and he may justly demand what is requisite and necessary for his *publique* occasions; and who shall judge of that necessity but his own *conscience*? and God shall judge that *conscience*, which doth *unjustly* demand what he hath no *reason* to require; because the *greatness* of his authority gives him no *right* to transcend the rules of *equity*, whereof both God and his *conscience* will be the *impartiall* Judges. And therefore in *Deut. Modus describitur, res non prohibetur*; and in *Samuel*, *Ius ponitur, & ratio subintelligitur*; for many things may be prohibited in some respect, that in other respects may be allowed; and many things lawfull in some wayes, which otherwayes may be most sinfull; as it is most lawfull to drink, *ad satietatem*, but not *ad ebrietatem*, and many other like things: so it is lawfull for the king to do all that *Samuel* saith, *ad supplendam respubl. necessitatem, & supportandam regiam maiestatem*, but not *ad sarcinandum suo fastu, luxu, luxo, vaniti, aut carnali voluptati*; which is the thing that *Moses* forbiddeth: So that in briefe the meaning is, if the Subjects should be unwilling to do what *Samuel* saith, then the king, when *just* necessity requireth, may for these *lawfull* ends lawfully assume them. And if he takes them any other way, or for any other end then so, *habet Deum judicem conscientia, & iudicem iniustitia*.

But then it may be said, *Ahab* did not offend in taking away *Naboths* vineyard, if *Samuel* did properly describe the *right* of kings.

Ob.

I cannot say that *Ahab* sinned in desiring *Naboths* vineyard, neither do I finde that the Prophet blames him for that desire; there is not a word of that in the text, but for killing *Naboth*, and then taking possession; for this he might not do, the other he might do, so he do it to a *right* end, and in the *right* manner; wherein he failed,

An.

The Rights of Kings, and

Ababs sin.

1. In being so discontented for his denial, because his conscience telling him, that he had no such urgent necessity whereby he could take it; and *Naboth* being unwilling to sell it, he should have beene satisfied.

2. In suffering his wife, whom he knew to be so wicked, to proceed in her unjust course against *Naboth*.

Naboths fault

3. In going down to take possession, when he knew that by his Wifes wicked practice the poore man was unjustly murdered, when he should have rather questioned the fact, and have punished the murderers.

*Lex posterior
deroga priori,
specialis genera-
li: & cetero-
nista aquae fo-
rensecedunt
moralibus.*

And yet *Ababs* sin doth not excuse *Naboths* fault, both in the *denial* of the Kings right, if the king had a just necessity to use it; and also for his *uncivil* answer unto the King, far unlike the answer of *Arauna* to King *David*, but nearer like the answer of *Naboth*, which the Holy Ghost seemes to take notice of, when after he had said, *The L O R D forbid it me*, which was rather a *prayer* and postulation that God would forbid it, as we say, *abfit*, when we hear of any displeasing likelyhood; then any declaration of any inhibition of God to sell it, who never denied them leave to sell it until the yeare of redemption, the Prophet tells us in the next verse, that *Naboth* said, *I will not give thee the inheritance of my father*.

1 Reg 21. 4.

Which very answere seemes might do, or his power what he would do, what belongs to him of *equity*, or what to be the cause, his *practice* would be by *tyranny*, I will not determine: but I say, that although it should not be a just rule for him to command: yet it is a *certain* rule for them to obey; and though it should not excuse the king from sin, yet it wholly disabiles and disavowes the peoples resisting their king, because in all this the Prophet allows them none other remedy, but to *cry unto the Lord*: for seeing God hath given him *directum dominium, & absolutum imperium*, though he should fail of his duty, which God requireth, and do that wrong unto the people, which God forbiddeth; yet he is *solutus legibus*, free from all *Laws*, *quoad coalitionem, in respect of any coalition from the people, but not quoad obligationem, in respect of obedience to God by his obligation*; for though Kings had this *plenitudo potestatis, tollere et governare* their people, as the father of the family rules his household, or the Pilot directs his Ship, *secundum liberum arbitrium*, according to his own *arbitrary* will; yet that will was to rule and to guide all his actions according to the strict Law of common equity and justice, as I have often shewed unto you.

*Diodor. Siculus, l. 2. c. 3.
Boemus. Auba-
nus tamen affec-
tit voluntatem
regum Aegypti,
pro lege esse.*

But though this *arbitrary* rule continued long and very general for *Diodorus Siculus* faith, that excepting the Kings of *Egypt* that were indeed very strictly tied to live according to *Law*, all other Kings *infinita licentia ac voluntate sua pro lege regnabant*, ruled as they listed themselves; Yet at last *corruption* so prevailed, that either the Kings abusing their power, or the people refusing to yield their obedience, caused this *arbitrary* rule to be abridged and limited within the bounds of lawes, whereby the Kings promised and obliged themselves to govern their people according to the rules of those established lawes; for though the *supreme* Majesty be free from all Lawes, *Sponte tamen iis accommodare potest*, the king may of his own accord yield to observe the same; and as the *German* Per-

*German. vates
de rebus Frid.
l. 8.*

— *Nihil, ut verum fas earum, magis esse decorum
Aut regale puto, quam legis iure solutum
Sponte tamen legi sese supponere regem.*

How diversities of government, among the several kingdoms of the earth; for I speake not of any

ment came up. *Popular* or *Aristocratical* state, therefore as some kings are more restrained by their Lawes then some others, so are their powers the lesse absolute; and yet all of them being absolute Kings and free Monarchs, are excepted from

from any account of their actions to any inferiour jurisdiction ; because then they had not been Monarchs, but of Kings had made themselves Subjects.

Thus you see, that rule which formerly was arbitrary, is now become limited, but limited by their own lawes, and with their own wills, and none otherwise : for I shewed you else-where, that the Legislative power resided alwayes in the King, even as Virgil saith,

Virgil Aeneid.
I.

— Gaudet regno Trojanus Acceptes,
Indicique forum, & patribus dare jura vocatis.

And as that mirror of all learned Kings faith, King Fergus came to Scotland before Rex Jacobus in any Statutes, or Parliament, or Lawes were made ; and you may easily finde it, that Kings were the makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes the makers of Kings ; for the Lawes are but craved by the Subjects, and made onely by him at their request, and with their advice : so he gives the Law to them, but takes none from them ; and by their own Lawes Kings have limited, and abridged their own Right and Power, which God and nature have conferred upon them, some more, some less, according as their grants were unto their people.

§.

The extent of the grants of Kings ; what they may, and what they may not grant ; what our Kings have not granted, in seven speciall prerogatives ; and what they have granted unto their people.

And here I would have you to consider these two points, concerning these grants of Kings unto their Subjects.

{ 1. Of the extents of these grants,
 { 2. Of the Kings obligation to observe them. }

Two things
considerable
about the pri-
vileged
grants of
Kings.

1. It is certain, that the people, always desirous of liberty, though that liberty should produce their ruine, are notwithstanding like the daughters of the Horse-leech, still crying unto their Kings, give, give, give us liberties and privileges more and more ; and if they may have their wills, they are never satisfied,

1. The ex-
tent of the
grants of
Kings.
Prov. 30. 15.

Till Kings by giving, give themselves away,
And even that power, which should deny, betray.

For the concessions, and giving away of their right to govern, is the weakening of their government : and the more privileged they give, the less power they have to rule : and then the more unruly will their Subjects be : and therefore the people being herein like the horses the Poets faigne to be in Phæbus chariot, pround and stomackfull, Kings should remember the grave advice the Father gave unto Phæton :

Parce puer stimulis, sed fortius utere loris :
Sponte sua proferant, labor est inbibere volantes.

Ovid. Met. I. 1

They must be strongly bridleed, and restrained, or they will soone destroy both horse and rider, both themselves and their Governours : Yet many Kings, either forcibly compelled by their unruly Subjects, (when they might think, and therefore not yield, that,

That it is to
the prejudice
of govern-
ment to grant
too many pri-
vileges to the
people.

Who gives constrain'd, but his own feare reviles,
Not thank't, but scorn'd, nor are they gifts, but spoiles.)

Or else (as some intruding usurping Kings have done) to retaine their unjustly gained crownes without opposition, or as others, out of their Princely

clemencie

What moved Kings to grant so many priviledges to their Subjects.

clemency and facility, to gain the more love and affection, and as they conceived, the greater obligation from their Subjects, have many times, to the prejudice of themselves and their posterity, to the diminution of the rights of government, and often to the great damage of the Common wealth, given away and released the execution of many parts of that right, which originally most justly belonged unto them, and tyed themselves by promises and oaths to observe those Laws, which they made for the exemption of their Subjects.

Majora jura inoperabilia à Majestate, ne queunt indulgeri subditis, & ita coherent ossibus, & ab illo separari, si ne illius destruzione non posse sunt. Paris. de Puceo Arniseus l. 2. c. 2. de jure ma. Blavod. c. 7. pag. 75.

things that the King cannot grant.

things that the King should not grant.

Things that kings have not granted away.

But there be some things, which the King cannot grant, as to transfer the right of succession to any other then the right heir, to whom it doth justly belong: *quia non iam hereditas est: sed proprium adestis patrimonium, cuius ei pleno jure dominium acquiritur, non à Patre, non à populo, sed à lege* — : Because he hath this right unto the Crown, not from his Father, nor from the people, but from the Law of the Land, and from God himself, which appointed him for the same, saith the Civilian: and therefore that vulgar saying is not absurd, *nunquam mori Regem: That the King never dyeth*: for as soone as ever the one parteth with this life, the other immediately without expecting the consent either of Peeres or people, doth by a just and plenary right succeed, not only as his fathers heir, but as the lawful governour of the people, and as the Lord of the whole kingdome, not by any option of any men, but by the condition of his birth, and the donation of his God: and therefore the resignation of the Crown by King John unto the Pope was but a fiction, that could infer no diminution of the right of his successor: because no King can give away this right from him, whom God hath designed for it.

And there be some things, which no Christian King should grant away, as any of those things, that being granted, may prejudice the Church of God, and depress the glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; as the giving way for the diminution of the just revenues of the Church, the prophanation of things consecrated to Gods service, and the suppression of any of the divine callings of the Gospel, which are Bishops, Priests and Deacons; because all kings are bound to honour God, and to hinder all those things, whereby he is dishonoured, either in respect of things, persons, or places.

And there be some things, which the Kings of this realm have never granted away, but have still retained them in their own hands, as inviolable prerogatives and characteristical Symboles and Properties of their Supremacy, and the relicks of their pristine right, as in the time of peace, those two special parts of the government of the Common wealth, which do consist.

1. About the Lawes.

§ 1. About the Lawes. 2. About the Magistrates.

The first whereof, saith Arniseus, containeth these particulars, that is, to make Lawes, to create Nobility, and give titles of dignity, to legitimate the ill begotten, to grant Priviledges, to restore Offenders to their lost repute, to pardon the transgressors, and the like.

1. *Jus Legislativum.*
Johann. Beda.
Pag. 25.
The power of making Lawes is in the King
The case of our affaires, pag. 11.

Then it is the right of the King *jura dare*, to give Lawes unto his people: for though (as I said before) the Subjects in Parliament may treat of Lawes, and intreat the King to approve of them that they propose unto him; yet they are no Lawes, and carry with them no binding force, till the King gives his consent; and therefore out of Parliament, you see the Kings Proclamation hath *vim & vigorem legis*, the full force and strength of a Law; to shew unto us, that the power of making Lawes was never yeilded out of Kings hands; nor can it indeed be parted with, except he part with His Majesty and Sovereignty; for the limiting of his own power, by his voluntary concession of such favours unto his people, *not to make any Lawes without their consent*, doth no way diminish his

his *Soveraignty*, or lessen his own right and authority ; but as a man that yieldeth himself to be *bond* by some others, hath the use of his strength taken from him, but none of his *naturall strength* it self is lessened, (and much lesse is any part of it transferred to them that bound him;) but that whensoever his bonds are *loosened*, he can work again by vertue of his *own naturall strength*, and not by any *received strength* from his *losers*; so the *natural right* and *interest* of the *Soveraignty*, being solely in the King, and the *Peeres* and *Commons*, by the Kings voluntary concession, being onely interessed in the office of *restraining his power*, for the more regular working of the true legitimate *Soveraignty*, it can not be denied, but in *whatsoever* the *Peeres* and *Commons* do remit the *restraint*, by yeilding their *consent* to the point proposed, the King worketh and acteth therein *absolutely* by the power of his *own inherent Soveraignty*, and all acts and lawes so passing doe virtually proceed from the King, as from the *true and proper efficient author thereof*: and may notwithstanding be said to be the acts of the *whole Court*, because the three estates contribute their power of *remitting the restraint*, and yeilding their *assent*, as well as the King useth his *unrestrained power*.

And therefore *Suarez* saith, that as *condere legem, unus est ex principis attributis gubernationis reipublicae, ista principiam & superiorem requirit potestatem*, to make *Lawes* is one of the chiefest acts of the government of a Common-wealth, so it requireth the cheifest and supremest power and authority; *qua quidem potestas legislativa primaria in Deo est*, which legislative power is primarily in *God*, and is communicated unto Kings (saith he) per *quandam participationem*, according to the saying of the wise man, *Hoc est Oye Kings, because power is given unto you of the Lord*. And Saint *Augustine* calleth *Jura humana jura imperatorum, quia ipsa jura humana per imperatores*: all humane lawes are the lawes of Emperors or Kings, because they are made by them, and the Holy Ghost speaking of the Kings of *Judah*, saith, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet*; to teach us, that whosoever swayeth the *Scepter* hath the right to be the *Law-maker*, which is one of the prime prerogatives of *Soveraignty*.

2. *Ius Nobilitandi*, the right of appointing the *principall Officers of State*; to cry up any of all his Subjects, whom the King will honour, as *Pharaoh did Joseph*, and *Abasuerus did Haman and Mordecai*, and to give them titles of honour, *per codicilos honorarios, aut per diplomata sua*, as to make Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, Knights, &c. doth belong onely unto the King, that hath onely the supreme Majestie.

But if the Dukes, Earles, and Barons be so *plyable* to the *Puritan* faction, to put down the *spiritual Lords*, I doubt that e're long the King shall have but few Nobility; when not *onely* the Mechanicks and Rusticks will *all* cry out against this *Lordlineſſe*, and say, as they did in the rebellion of *Jack Cade* and *Wat Tyler*.

When *Adam delv'd*, and *Eve span*,
Who was then the Gentleman ?

And why should we now *indure* so many titles of vanity, and so many *vain honours* to vapour it over us? but the *Puritan Clergy* also, seeing themselves deprived of their *due honour*, and made all *equall*, all as base as *Jeroboams Priests*, will be *apt* enough to blow up this conceit, and to put it into the *Creed* of all the *vulgar*, that God made us all *equal*, and to be *Lords* is but to be *tyrants* over their Brethren; and the *Presbytery*, whose *pride* could not obey the *authority* of their Bishops, will not abide the *superiority* of any *Lords*; but if they cannot *Lord* it themselves, will be sure to take away the *Lordship* from all others.

And therefore if the Nobility be not *wiser*, then to lay our honours in the *dust*, (as I see some about his Majesty, that would faine be the *Priests* to *bury it*, which

Stat. West. 1.
3. E. I. 3. &c. 6.
Ch. 42. Stat. of
Merch. 1. 3. E. I.
West. 3. 18. E.
1. 1. Stat. of
Waſte. 2. 0. E. I.
of appeals. 2. 8.
E. I. 1. E. 2. 1.
and all the ti-
tles and acts of
our Parlia-
ment.

How the same
acts may be
said to be the
acts of the
King, and of
the Parlia-
ment.

Suarez. I. 1. c1
3. 9. 8.

Sap. 6.
Aug. in Joan.

Gen. 49. 10.

*2. Ius nobili-
tandi.*

It is the Do-
ctrine of the
Anabaptists and
Puritans, that
there should be
no Degrees of
Schooles, nor
titles of ho-
nour among
men.

which *meere policy*, though they wanted piety, should prohibit) they shall find that

Virgil. Aeneid.
l. 1.

Iam tua res agitur partes cum proximus ardet.

When our *Cottages* are burnt, their next *Palaces* shall not escape the fire; but through our sides their *Honours* shall be killed, and buried without honour.

3. ius legitimandi.

3. *Ius legitimandi*, the right of *legitimation* belongs unto the King, without which *legitimation* the Lawyers tell us, that as the world now standeth, a mighty *emolument* would happen unto the Crown, if the King granted not this *grace* to them that want it.

4. ius appellationis recipiendi.

Act. 25. 11.

4. *Ius appellationis recipiendi*, the right of taking *notice* of causes, and of judging the same by the *last appeale* definitively, doth alwayes belong to the *supreme Majestie*; because that as *Saint Paul* appealed unto *Cesar*, so the *last appeale* is to the *big best Soveraigne*, from whom there lyeth *none* *appeale*, but onely to *him* that shall judge all the *Judges* of the earth.

5. Honores restituendi.

Oforius de rebus Imman. p. 6.

1 Reg. 2. 26.

Veniam criminosis indulgere.

Our kings unparalleled clemency and piety towards the Rebels.

5. *Ius restituendi in integrum*, the right to restore men attainted, or banished, or condemned to death, unto their *Country*, wealth, and honour, is likewise a part of the *royall right*: So *Oforius* saith, that *Immanuel King of Portugall* restored *James* son of *Fernandus*, and his brother *Dienysius*, and others, unto their forfeited honours; and so not *only* the *Scripture sheweth* how *David* pardoned *Absolon* and *Shimei*, two wicked Rebels, and *Solomon* pardoned *Abiathar* that were all worthy of death; but also *Saint Augustine* speaking of other Kings and Emperours, saith, *judicibus statnendum est ne licet in reum datum sententiam revocare*, the Judges may not pardon a man condemned to death; *namquid & ipse Imperator sub hac lege erit?* but shall not the Emperour or King pardon him? are they likewise under this *Law of restraint*? by no meanes: *Nam ipsi soli sicut revocare sententiam, & reum mortis absolvere, & ipsi ignorare;* for he and he alone, that is, the *Emperour* or King, may revoke the sentence, and *absolve* him that is guilty of death. And so our King according to this his *undeniable* right, hath most *graciously*, and not *seldome*, offered his *pardon* unto these *intolerable Rebels*, a *pardon* not to be *parallel'd* in any *History*, nor to be *believed*, unlesse we had seen it, that a man could be so far inclined to *clemency* and *mercy*, as to remit such *transcendent* *impiety*, which will render them the more *odious* both to God and man; and their names the more *infamous* to all posterity, that after they had filled themselves with all *kind* of *wickednesse*, with *incredible* *transgressions*, they should be found contemners of so *favourable* a *pardon*.

2. Sam. 3. 39.

But though it be the Kings *right* to *pardon* faults, and to restore offenders; yet *herein* all Princes should take great heed (especially when they have power to take revenge, for sometimes the sinners may be like the sons of *Zervia*, too strong for *David*) how they pardon those *great crimes* that are committed to the *dishonour* of God, and do so far *provoke* him to anger, as to plague both the *doers* and the *sufferers* of them; because, that although they be *soluti legibus suis*, not bound to their own Lawes, yet they are not *soluti ratione & preceptis divinis*, but they are bound to *observe* Gods Lawes, and to punish the *transgressors* of his Commandments; or if they do not when they can do it, they shall render a *strict account* to God for all their omissions, as they may see it in the example of *King Saul*.

*Arnisaeus l. 1.
c. 3. pag. 69.*

1 Sam. 15. 9.

6. ius convocandi Synodos, Parliamenta, &c.

6. *Ius convocandi*, the right of calling *Synods*, *Parliaments*, *Dyets*, and the like, were the *rights* of the *kings of Israel*, and are the *just Prerogatives* of the *kings of England*, howsoever this faction of the *Parliament* hath sought to *wrest* it, as they do all *other rights* out of the *kings hands*, by their *presumption* to call their *Schismatical Synod*, to which they have no *more colour* of *right*, then to call a *Parliament*.

*7. ius monies excludendi.
Matth. 22. 20.*

7. *Ius excludendi*, the right of *coyning* *mony*, to give it *value*, to stampe his *armes* or his *image* upon it, (as our *Saviour* saith, *Whose Image and superscriptio[n] is this? and they say to him Caesars*) is the *proper right* of *Cesar*, the *prerogative* of the *king*.

The

The second sort of the King's right is *circa Magistratus*, and containeth jurisdiction, rule, creation of officers, appointing of circuits, provinces, judgments, censures, institution of Scholes and Colledges, collation of dignities, receiving of fidelities, and abundance more; whereof I intend not to speak at this time, but refer my Reader to *Artisens de jure Majestatis*, if he desires to be informed of these particulars.

2. About the Magistrates.

Arts. 1. 2. 3. 4.

And as these and the like are *jura Regalia*, the rights of *Majesty* in the time of *peace*; so when peace cannot continue, it doth properly belong unto the King, and to none else, but to him that hath the *Sovereignty*, whose right it is alone, to make war, either to succour his allies, or to revenge great injuries, or for any the like just causes; and, as he feeth cause, to conclude *Peace*, to send *Ambassadors*, to negotiate with foreign States, and the like, are the rights of Kings, and the indelible Characters of *Sovereignty*, which whosoever violateth, and endeavoureth to purloin them from the King, doth with *Prometheum* steal fire from Heaven, which the Gods would not suffer (as the Poets saign) to go unrevenged.

And these things (so far as I can finde) the King never parted with them unto his Subjects; and therefore whosoever pretendeth to an *individuall power* to do any of these, and exempteth himself from the King's right herein, resisteth the ordinance of God, and is guilty of *High-Treason*, what pretext soever he brings, saith the *Advocate of Paris*.

Ioh. Beda. 26.

And there be *some* things which our Kings have granted unto their Subjects, and restrained themselves from their *full right*; as the use of that power, which makes new Lawes, or repeals the old, or layeth any tax or sums of monies upon his Subjects, without the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and it may be *some* other particulars, which the Lawyers know better then I.

*In actione Regis
negotiis quibus
voluntate pro le-
ge est, legamus
non influimus in
legendis potestis,
is, quotidianaque
vita sequeban-
tur. Aubanus.
What things
Kings have
granted.*

And all these *Priviledges* of the Subjects are but *limitations* and *restrictions* of the King's right, made by themselves unto their people; and therefore where the *Law* cannot be produced to confirm such and such Liberties and Priviledges granted unto them, I say there the King's power is *absolute*, and the Subject ought not in *such cases* to determine *any thing* to the disadvantage of the King: because all these *Liberties* that we have, are enjoyed by vertue of the King's grant, as you may see in the ratification of *Magna Charta*; where the King saith, *We have granted and given all these Liberties.*

But I could never see it produced, where the King granted unto his Subjects that they might force him, and compel him with a strong hand, by an Army of Soldiers to do what they will, or else to take away either his *Crown* or his *Life*; this *Priviledge* was never granted, because this deprives the King of his *supremacy*, and puts him in the condition of a *Subject*, and would ever prove an occasion of rebellion, when the people upon every discontent would take Arms against their King.

And therefore this present resistance is a mere *usurpation* of the King's right, a rebellion against his Lawes, an *High Treason* against his Person, and a *resistance* of the ordinance of God, which heap of deadly sins can bring none other *but then damnation*, saith the Apostle.

C H A P. XIV.

Sherweth the Kings grants unto his people to be of three sorts. Which ought to be observed: the Act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament discussed: the King's Oath at his Coronation: how it obligeth him: and how Statutes have been procured and repealed.

3. The Kings obligation to observe his grants.

Peter de la Primaudias saith, Laws annexed to the Crown cannot so abrogate them, but his Successor may disannul what done in prejudice of them.

p. 597.

1. All grants of grace ought to be observed.

The true Law of free Monarchs, p. 103.

2. Grants obtained through fraud; which to be observed.

2. **W**e are to consider how far the King is obliged to observe his promise, and to make good these Liberties and Priviledges unto his Subjects; where I speak not how far the father's grant may oblige the son, or the predecessor his successor, who cannot be deprived of his right dominion by any act of his predecessors; but for the rights of his dominion, how far precedent grants, and the custom of their continuance, with the desuetude and non-claim of his right, may strengthen them unto the Subject, and oblige the successors to observe them, I leave it unto the Lawyers and Civilians to dispute: but I am here to discuss how far the King, that hath promised and taken his oath to observe his Lawes, and make good all priviledges granted to his Subjects, is bound in conscience to keep and observe them: Touching which, you must understand, that these grants of immunities and favours are of three special kindes.

{ 1. Of grace. { 2. By fraud. { For,
3. Through fear.

1. The King that hath his full right, either by conquest or succession over his people, to govern them as a most absolute Monarch, and out of his meer grace and favour, to sweeten the subjection of his people, and to binde them with the greater love and affection to his obedience, doth minnere sua jura, restrain his absolute right, beflow liberties upon his people, and take his oath for their security, that he will observe them, is bound in all conscience to perform them, and can never be freed from injustice before God and man, if he transgresse them: *Quia volentes fit non injuria*, because they do him no injury, when he doth voluntarily, either totally resign, or in some particularity diminish his own right; but after he hath thus firmly done it, he can never infly go from it: and therefore King James saith, that a King which governeth not by his Lawes, can neither be accountable to God for his administration, nor have a happy and established Reign, because it cannot be, but that the people seeing their King failing of his duty, will be always murmuring and defective in their fidelity. And

Yet the King's breach of oath doth neither forfeit his right, nor warrant their rebellion: because another mans sin doth no way lessen mine offence, and neither God nor the King granted this privilege unto Subjects, to rebel and take Armes against their Sovereign, when they pretend he hath broken his promise.

2. When the King through the subtile persuasions of his people, that pretend one thing, and intend another, shall be seduced to grant those things that are full of inconveniences; as our King was over-reached, and no better then meerly cheated by the faction of this Parliament, to grant the continuance of it, till it should be dissolved with the consent of both Houses, and the like Lawes that are procured by meer fraud, that soonest over-reacheth the best meaning Kings. I answer with the old Proverb, *Caveat emptor*, he ought to have been as wise to prevent them, as they were subtile to circumvent him; and therefore

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 89

fote, as Joshua, being deceived by the Gibeonites, could not alter his promise, Josh. 9. 20. nor break his league with them, lest wrath should fall upon him, so no more should any other King break promise in the like case.

But you must observe, that the Psalmist saith, *The good man which shall dwell in the Tabernacle of the Lord, is he that sweareth unto his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hinderance*: mark, though it were to his own hinderance never so much, he must perform it; but what if he hath promised and sworn that which will be to the great dishonour of God, to the hinderance of thousands of others, and it may be to the ruine of a whole Kingdom, which is a great deal more then his own hinderance, is a King bound, or is any man else obliged to perform such a promise, or to keep such an oath? to tell you mine own judgement, I think he ought not to perform it; and our own Law tells us what grants soever are obtained from the King, under the broad Seal by fraud and deceit, those grants are void in Law; therefore, seeing the Act for the perpetuity of this Parliament was obtained, *dolo pessimo*, to the great dishonour of God, and the ruine both of Church and State, when their pretence was very good; though the goodness of his Majesty in the tenderness of his conscience was still loath to allow himself the liberty to dissolve it, until he had other juster and more clear causes to pronounce it no Parliament, as the abusing of his grant to the raising of an Army, and the upholding of a Rebellion against their Sovereign; yet I believe he might safely have done it long ago, without the least violation of God's Law, when their evil intentions were openly discovered by those Armies which they raised. For I doubt not to affirm it with the Author of *The sacred Prerogative of Christian Kings*, p. 144. if any good Prince, or his royal Ancestors have been cheated out of their sacred right by fraud & force, he may at the fittest opportunity, when God in his wise providence offereth the occasion, resume it, especially when the Subjects do abuse the King's concessions, to the dammage of Sovereignty, so that it redounds also to the prejudice either of the Church or Common-wealth.

3. When the King, through fear, not such as the Parliaments fear is, who were afraid where no fear was, and were frightened with dreames and causelesse jealousies; but that fear, which is real, and not little, but such as may fall in fortior & constantem virum, doth passe any Law, especially that is prejudicial to the Church, and injurious to many of his Subjects; I say, that when he shall be freed from that fear, he is not onely freed from the obligation of that Law, but he is also obliged to do his uttermost endeavour to annul the same: it is true, that his fear may justly free him from all blame at the passing of it, as the fear of the thief may clear me from all fault in delivering my purse unto him; because these are no voluntary acts, and all acts are adjudged good or evil according to the disposition of the will; the same being like the golden bridle that Minerva was said to put upon Pegasus to guide him and to turn him as she pleased: but when his fear is past, and God hath delivered him from the insurrection of wicked doers, if his will gives consent to what before he did unwilling, who can free the greatest Monarch from this fault?

Therefore His Majesty confessing (which we that saw the whole proceedings of those tumultuous routs, that affrighted all the good Protestants and the Loyall Subjects, do know that it could not be otherwise,) that he was driven out of London for fear of his life; I conclude that the act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament, being past after his flight out of London can be no free, nor just, nor lawful act; and the King when he is more fully informed of many particulars about this act, that is to prejudicial to the Church of Christ, and so injurious to all his servants, the Clergy whose rights and privileges the King promised and sware at His Coronation to maintain, cannot continue it in my judgement, and be innocent.

But this is answered by the answerer to Doctor Ferne, that he is no more bound to defend the rights of the Clergy by his oath, then the rest of the Lawes formerly

Quicquid sit
la malo, annul-
lat factum &
imponit panam,
summa Angel.

3. Grants go-
ten by force
not to be ob-
served.

The will must
never consent
to forced acts
that are un-
lawful.

His Majesties
answer to the
Petition of the
Lords and
Commons, 16.
Julij p. 8.

or impo-
nunt
actis
factum
et
panam
merly

The Rights of Kings, and

merly enabled, whereof any may be abrogated without perjury, when they are desired to be annulled by the Kingdome.

Sol.
His Majesties
answer to the
remonstrance
or declaration
of the Lords
and Com-
mons 26. of
May, 1642.

To which I say, that as His Majesty confesseth, there are two speciall questions demanded of the king at His Coronation.

1. Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the *Laws and Customs* to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawfull and religious predecessors?

And the king answereth, I grant and promise to keep them.

2. After such questions, as concerne all the *commonalty* of this kingdome, both Clergy and Laity, as they are his Subjects, one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the king before the people with a loud voice;

Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge all Canonical privileges, and due law and justice, and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in His Kingdome ought to be the protector and defender of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government,

And the king answereth,

With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserue and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to your charge, all *Canonicall Priviledges*, and due law and Justice, and that I will be your Protector and defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king in His kingdome, in right, ought to protect and defend the *Bishops* and Churches under their Government.

The Kings
Oath at His
Coronation
two-fold.

Then the king laying his hand upon the book, saith, *the things which I have before promised, I shall performe and keep; so helpe me God, and the contents of this Book.*

Where I beseech all men to observe, that here is a two-fold promise, and so a two-fold oath.

The first part
of the Oath.
*Populi Angli-
canae.*
Vide D. p. 165.

**Contracts,
wherein God
is interested,
cannot be dis-
solved without
God.**

The second part of the oath.
clericis Ecclesiasticis. D. p.

The party to whom the bond is made, must release the bonds."

1. The one to all the Commonalty and people of *England*, Clergy and Laity; and so whatsoever he promiseth, may by the consent of the parties, to whom the right was transferred, be remitted and altered by the representative body in Parliament, *quia volenti non fit injuria*, and the rule holds good, *quibus modis contrahentes contractus, iisdem dissolvuntur*; and therefore as any compact, or contract is made good and binding, so it may be made void and dissolved, *mutuo contrahentium assensu*; by the mutual assent of both parties; that is, any compact, where God hath not a speciaill interest in the contract, as he hath in the conjugal contract betwixt man and wife, and the politike covenant betwixt the King and His Subjects; which therefore cannot be dissolved by the consent of the parties, untill God, who hath the chiefeft hand in the contract, gives his assent to the dissolution; and so, when things are dedicated for the service of God, or Priviledges granted for his honour; neither donor nor receiver can alienate the gift, or annull that Priviledge, without the leave and consent of God, that was the principal party in the concession, as it appeareth in the example of *Ananias*, and is confirmed by all Casuists.

2. The other part of the oath is made to the *Clergy* in particular; and so also with their *consent*, some things I confess, may perhaps be revoked, but *without* their consent, not any thing can be altered, in my understanding, without *injustice*; for, with what equity can the *Laity* vote away the *rights* of the *Clergy*, when the *Clergy* do *absolutely* deny their *assent*? just as if the *Clergy* should give away the *lands* of the *Laity*; or as if I had lent the king ten thousand pounds upon the *publique assurance* of King and both Houses, to be *repaid again*; and

they without mine assent, shall vote the remission of this debt, for some great benefit; that they conceive redounding to the Common-Wealth; by which vote I should beleive my selfe to be no better then merely cheated; or, as if the Parliament, without the assent of the Londoners, should pass an act, that all the money which they lent, should be remitted for the releiving of the State; I doubt not

not, but they would conclude that *act* very unjust; and so is this *act* against the Bishops; because the Kings obligation to a particular body, personall or politique, cannot be dispensed with by the representative Kingdome without the releasement of that body, to whom the King is obliged.

For I find that all the Casuists will tell you, that *juramentum promissorium ita obligat, ut invito creditore, non potest in melius commutari; quia aliter iustitia & veritas non servarentur inter homines*: and it is their common tenet, that it cannot be dispensed with, *quia per promissum acquiritur jus ei cui sit promissio, & utilitas unius non sufficit ut alter suo iure privetur*, the benefit of others must not deprive me of my right; This point is so cleare, that neither Scholer, nor any man of reason or conscience will deny it.

Therefore to perswade the king, that is bound by his oath to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Church and Clergy, to cast out the Bishops out of their rights, or to take away their Lands, without their own consent (whom the king by his oath hath obliged himself to protect;) I cannot see how they can do it without great iniquity, or His Majestys consent to it, and be innocent, when he is fully informed of the Rights of his Clergy; whereas otherwise the most religious Prince may be subject to mistakings, and so nesciently admit that, which willingly he would never have granted. And if they can not perswade him to do this without iniquity, how dare they goe about to force and compell him against conscience, to commit this and such other horrible impiety? but I assure my self that God, who hath blessed our king, and preferred him hitherto without blame, as being forced to what he did, or not thoroughly understanding what was our right, the Bishops being imprisioned, and not suffered to informe him, nor to answer for themselves, will still arme His Majestys with that resolution, as shall never yeild to their impetuosity, to transcend the limits of his own most upright conscience.

Yet still it is urged, they were excluded by *act* of Parliament, therefore their exclusion cannot be unjust, as being done by the wisdome of the whole State, and the king should not desire it to be altered.

*Suarez de ju-
ramento pro-
miss. l. 2. c. 12.
n. 14.*

ob.

I answere, that all Parliaments are not alwayes guided by an unerring spirit, but were many times swayed by the heads of the most powerfull faction, which are instances rather of their unsteady weaknesse, then of their just power; when forsaking the guidance of their lawfull head, they suffered themselves to be led by popular pretenders, as when *Canutus* prevailed by his armes, he could have a Parliament to resolve, that his title to the Crown was the best; when *Hen. 4.* had an army of 60000 men, he could have a Parliament to depose *Rich. 2.* and confer the Crown upon himself; when *Edw. Duke of Yorke* grew powerfull, he could have a Parliament to determine the reigne of *Hen. 6.* and leave him only the name of king, for his life, but give the very Kingdome unto the Duke, under the names of *Protector* and *Regent*; and then he could procure the Parliament to declare that *Hen. 4.* *Hen. 5.* and *Hen. 6.* were but kings *de facto, non de jure*; so *Rich. 3.* as meere an Usurper as any, could notwithstanding procure a Parliament, to declare him a lawfull king, and *Hen. 7.* could procure the forementioned acts, that were made in favour of *Edw. 4.* and *Rich. 3.* to be annulled; and *Hen. 8.* could have a Parliament to justifie and authorize his divorces, and Queen *Elizab.* could have a Parliament to make it high treason for any man to say, that the Queen could not by *Act* of Parliament bind and dispose the rights and titles, which any person whatsoever might have unto the Crown: when as we know, it was adjudged in *Hen. 7.* that no *Act* of Parliament, nor yet an *Attainder* by Parliament, can disable the right heire to the Crown; because the descent of the Crown upon him purges all disabilities whatsoever, and makes him every way capable thereof.

Thus, as the Parliaments, when they were most prevalent, caused their kings unwillingly to yeeld many things against right; so the kings, growing most powerfull, prevailed to work the Parliament to consent to very unjust conclusi-

Sol.

*The case of
our affairs. p.
17.*

*How power-
full factions
have procured
Parliaments to
doe most un-
just things.*

*Turba tremens
sequitur fortu-
nam, ut semper
& odit damna-
tios. juven. Sa-
tyra. 10.*

*When Kings
were most
powerfull, they
could get the
Parliaments to
yield to what
Statutes they
thought best;
when the Lords
or faction were
most powerful,
they forced
their Kings to
make what
Statutes they
liked best.*

The Rights of Kings, and

ons: and therefore it is inconsequent to say, this exclusion must be just, because it is past by an *Act* of Parliament.

The case of
our affaires.
p. 20.

And therefore, as in the 15 yeare of *Edw. 3.* the king being unwillingly drawn to consent to certain Articles, prejudicall to the Crown, and to promise to seale the Statute thereupon made, lest otherwise his affairs in hand might have been ruined, (which we conceive to be just in like manner now, the king very unwillingly drawn to passe this *Act* for the exclusion of the *Clergy*, which is most prejudicall both to the *Crown* and the *Church*, and a mighty dis honour unto God himself, lest otherwise more mischiefe might have followed, when he hoped that this would have appeased the fury of that prevalent faction, which now the kingdome feeth it did not.) Another Statute was made the same year, reciting

Statutes un-
willingly pro-
cured from the
king, repealed.

the former matter, that was enacted, in these words; *It seemed to the said Earls, Barons, and other wise men, that since the Statute did not of our free will proceed, the same to be void, and ought not to have the name, nor strength of a Statute, and therefore by their counsell and assent, we have decreed the said Statute to be void,* &c. So I hope our Earles and Baron, and the rest, will be so wise and so just, both to the king and to the Church, that seeing this Statute proceeded not of the kings free will, as I believe their own conscience knoweth, and do presume His Majesty will acknowledge, they likewise will consent, that the king may make it void again.

§.

Certaine Quares discusſed, but not resolved; the end for which God ordained Kings; the prayſe of a just rule: Kings ought to be more just than all others in three respects; and what ſhould moſt eſpecially move them to rule their people juſtly.

1. Quare.

AND here I must further craue leave, to be resolved in certain *Quares* and doubts, wherein I would very gladly be ſatisfied; for, ſeeing, as I told you before, there are *some rights of royalty*, which are *inſuperabili a majestate*, which the king ought not, and which indeed he cannot grant away; as there be *ſome things which he may forgoe*, though he need not; I demand,

Malach. 2. 7.

1. Whether any positive *Act*, *Statute*, or *Law*, that is, either *ex diametro*, or *ex obliquo*, either directly, or by consequent, or any other way contradictory, or transgreſſive to the *Law of God*, ought to be kept and observed; wherein I believe, and constantly maintain that it ought not: and I ſay further, that by the *Word of God*, not any *Lay men*, be they never ſo noble, never ſo learned, and never ſo many; but the *Clergy*, be they never ſo poore, and never ſo much *dis-eſteemed*, ought to be the *resolvers* of this point, what is *repugnant*, and what *conſonant* to the *Law of God*; because the *Priests lips muſt preserve knowledge*, and the people muſt *ſeek the Law at his mouth*; therefore it may be conceived no *Statute* can be *rightly made*, that is not *assented to*, and *approved* (as all our *former Statutes were*) by the *Bishops*, that are the *chiefest* of the *Clergy*, to be no *wayes contrary* to the *Law of God*.

2. Quare.

2. Whether the king that is an *absolute Monarch*, to whom God hath committed the *charge* and *government* of his people, can without *offence to God*, change this *forme of government*, from a *Monarchical* to an *Aristocraticall*, or a *Democraticall* forme of government; which may be believed he cannot; because, though as I ſhewed out of *Saint Augustine*, the *worſer forme*, invented by man, may *lawfully be changed* into a better: yet the *best*, which is *only* and primarily ordained by God, cannot be changed into a *worſer* without offence.

3. Quare.

3. Whether the king can *paffe away* that *power*, *authority*, and *right*, which God hath *given him*, and *without* which he cannot govern and protect his people, that God hath committed under his *charge*; wherein it may be conceived he cannot

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament. 93

cannot, because God must *discharge* him from the charge that he *imposed* upon him before he can be *freed* and excused from it; but, as the *Bishop*, on whom the Lord hath laid the charge of *soules*, cannot lay *aside* this charge when he *pleaseth*, so no more can the *King* lay aside the charge of the *Government*, nor *part* with that power and right, * whereby he is *enabled* to govern them, and *without* which he cannot governe them, until God, that *laid* this charge upon him, and gave him *full* power and authority to do it, by some undeniablie *dif-*
*pen**sation* gives him his *Writ* of *ease* to *discha*ge him.

* Otherwile
then by sub-
stitution.

Rege absente, &
durante bene-
placito; or,
quandiu se be-
ne gererint sub-
stantia.

4. Quare.

4. Whether such an *Act* or *Statute*, which *disinableth* any King to dissolve his *Dyer*, *Council*, *Assembly*, or *Parliament*, and *inabiliteth* some subtle *faction* of his Subjects, in *some* sort, to *contermand* their *King*, be not *derogatory* to the *inseperable* right of *Majesty*, *destructive* to the *power* of *government*, and *prejudicial* to all the *loyall* Subjects, and therefore *void* of it selfe, and not to be observed; because *such an act* ought not to have been concluded: wherein I leave the resolution to be determined by the *Judges* and *Bishops* of this Land, and I will onely crave leave to set down what may be thought herein, viz. that such an *Act* or *Statute* is clearly and absolutely *void*.

The *Act* for
the *indissolu-*
bility of any
Parliament, be-
lieved by ma-
ny, to be of it
selfe *void*.

1. Reason.

1. Because that hereby the *King* may be said, after a *sort*, and in *some* kinde, to change the *fundamentall* *constitution*, and *Government* of his *Kingdome*, from an *absolute Monarchy*, to another *Species*, and forme of *Government*, either *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*, or *some other forme*, emergent out of all these, *such as we know not how to terme it*, and *such as was never known* from the beginning of the world: a mixture indeed, which, I told you before, *no absolute King* can be thought to do without offence, unless he can prove his *licence* from God to do the same.

2. Because that hereby he may be said to *denude* himselfe of his *Right*, and by *deprivinge* himselfe of this *power*, to *disinable* himselfe to *discharge* that *duty*, which God doth *necessarily* require at his hands; that is, to *govern* his people, by *protecting* the *innocent*, and *punishing* the *wrong doer*; and when God shall call the *King* to an *account*, why he did not *thus* governe his people, and *defend* those poore Subjects that were *loyal* and *faithful* both to *God* and their *King*, according to the *charge* that he laid upon him, and the *right* and *power* which he gave him to *discharge* it: It may be feared, it will be no *sufficient answer* * Which may for *any King* to say, but I have so laid away that *power*, and parted with that *right* unto my *Lords* and *Commons*, that I could not do it; for it may be asked, where doth God require him, or when did he authorize him to *devest* himselfe of that authority wherewith he *indured* him? how then can he do it, to the *undoing* of many people, without an *assurtd* leave from God? therefore, as that *Act* which was made *unrepealable*, was adjudged *no Act*, but *immediately void*, because it was *destructive* to the *very power* of *Parliament*, * and if any *act* should be made to destroy common *right*, or to hinder the *publique service* of *God*, or to *disinable* the *right heire* to *injoy* the *Crowne*, or the like, those *Acts* are *void* of themselves; so *any Statute* that *disinableth* the *Kings Government*, must needs be *void ips'o facto*; as I have partly shewed in my *Discovery of Mysteries*. p. 32.

3. Because it may be beleived *no King* would ever grant *such an act*, unless he were either *subtilly* deceived and seduced, or *forebly* compelled thereunto, for feare of *some inaviodable extremity*, which (according to all *outward appearance*) could not otherwise be prevented, without the *concessions* of such *unspeakable disadvantages*; as a man gives away his *sword* when he seeth his *life* in danger, if he deliver it not: Therefore the *premises* considered.

5. The *Quare* is, whether *any King* should be *bound* and *obliged* to observe *such grants*, and make good *such Acts*, as are thus *frandulent* obtained, or *forcibly wrested* from him, and are thus *contradictory* to *Gods* *will*, thus *prejudicall* to the *power* of *Government*, and thus *destructive* to his *Subjects*:

5. Quare.

In all these
Quares I con-
clude nothing
whatsoever I
believe.

The Rights of Kings, and

* As I know
not whether it
doth or not ;
neither will I
determine it.

*quid prodest si
bi nomen usur-
pare alienum,
& vocari quod
non es ?*

Subjects : which for the fore said reasons is by many men beleived he is not ; but that this right was unduly procured from him, so when God inableth him , he may justly acquire it , and re-assume it, without any offence to God, or the least reluctance to his own conscience.

And if this Act, that hath passed in our Parliament, makes it immediately to be no Parliament, * as being now another forme of government, which the Divines hold, ought not to be effected ; then certainly all Acts that passed since, are no Acts, but are void and invalid of themselves.

Or be it granted, that the A&t for the perpetuity of Parliament doth not annul the Parliament ; yet it is doubted by many, whether the Parliament may not themselves, without the kings pronouncing it void or dissolved, make it no Parliament : when of Counsellors for the King, they become Traytors unto the King , and of Patriots, that should protect the Common-wealth, they become Parricides and Catilines unto the same : because these duties, being as the soul, the life, and the end of Parliaments, when these are changed, to be the bane and death of King and Kingdome, it is doubted how it can be a Parliament , any more then a dead carcasse that is deprived of his soul, can be said to be a man ; for the circumstantes and ceremonies of times, places, and the like, are not essentialia Parlamenti, but as accidentia, qua possunt adesse & abesse sine interira subjecti, and may be ad bene esse, but are as Punctilio's in respect of the end and essence of a Parliament.

And therefore, as God promiseth infallibly to do a thing , for example, that Psal. 89. 34. *He will not fail David , his seed shall endure for ever : and of Eli , he said in- 1 Sam. 2. 30. deed , that his house and the house of his father should walke before him for ever ;* yet this unchangeable God, when the change is wrought in David , or his seed or in Eli his house, David doth immediately say, *Thou hast abhorred and for-*

Psal. 89. 37. *faken thine Anointed, and art displeased at him ; and of his promise to Eli , God saith in the same place, now be it far from me ; so it may be conceived, that 1 Sam. 2. 30.*

I should never acknowledge Judas after he betrayed his master, and re-solved to perfist in his wick-edness, to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, no more then I should take Jerusalem to be the house of God, so long as it continu-ed the den of theeftes. And I assure my selfe much more may be spoken, and many inanswerable arguments may be produced to confirm this to be most true, so I have set down what I conceive to be true about the Kings grants and con-cessions unto his people, and his obligations to observe them.

And if His Majesty (whom I unsainedly love, and heartily honour, and in whose service, as I have most willingly spent my slender fortunes, so I shall as readily hazard my dearest life) be offended with me for setting down any of these things, that my conscience tells me to be true, and needful to be known, and my duty to declare them ; I must answere in all humility and with all reverence, that, remembraing what Lucian saith, *ταῦτα εἰπούσεις τὸ πῦρ μάζαν*, many men shunning the smoake fell into the fire ; and that Job saith, *Timentes pruinam opprimentur à nive*, which Saint Gregory moralizeth of them , that fearing the frost of mans anger, which they may tread under foot, shall be overwhelmed with the snow of Gods vengeance, that falleth from Heaven, and cannot be avoided ; I had rather suffer the anger of any mortal man, then endure the wrath of the great God ; and now I have freed my soule, let what will come of my body : I will fear God, and honour my King.

* The end for which God ordaine the King to rule and which God or-govern his people ; and that is, to preserve justice and to maintain peace daimed Kings, throughout

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 25

through out all the parts of his Dominions ; for as the Subjects may neither murmur nor resist their Sovereign, at any time, for any cause, so the King must not do any wrong or injustice to his meanest Subject ; neither do we preesse the obedience of the Subject, to give licence unto the King to use them as he listeth : but we tell Kings their duties, as well as we do to the subjects, and that is, to doe justice unto the afflicted, and to execute true judgement among all his people : for as *Plato* saith, *πάντες οἱ ἄρδες σπουδαὶ τὸν ποιῶντα τὸν καὶ δικαίωνταν* all men cry out with one mouth how beautiful a thing is temperance *Zachar.* 7.9. and righteousnesse : *Cicero* calleth her the *Lady* and *Mistresse* of all virtues : and *Pindarus* saith, that *περιστερὴ δόμησις καὶ χρύσοντος προσώπου*, a golden eye and a golden countenance are always to be seene in the face of justice, and that *Jupiter Soter* dwelleth together with *Themis* : whereby he would give us to understand, *regem servatorem esse justum* : that a King must preserve his people by justice, as *Clemens Alexand.* expoundeth it : because as *Theognis* pag. 431. saith, *ἐν δικαιοϊδίῳ αὐτῷ δέλει μὲν ἀγέρν τοι*, justice is that virtue, which comprehends all virtues in it selfe ; and therefore *Solomon* saith, that the *Kings throne is establisched by righteousness* : and justice exalteth a *Nation*, making it to flourish and famous ; and justice destroyeth the people, when a *Kingdome is translated from nation to Nation because of unrighteousnesse* ; the same being as it was said of *Carthage* fuller of sins then of people : as you see the *Monarchy of the Assyrians* was translated unto the *Medes and Persians*, and the most famous repub. of the *Romanes* was spoiled, when forgetting their pristine honesty, they became unjust. *Pindar. apud them. c. Alex. et Strom. h. 5.* *Prov. 16.12.* *c. 14.34.* *Injustice destroyeth Kingdomes.*

Pindar, apud A.
Ythen, cl. Alex.
, and Strom, l. 5.

Prov. 16.12.
c. 14.34.

Injustice destroyeth Kingdoms.

卷之三

— Mensurāque juris
Vicet. —

And the Law was measured by strength, and he had the best right which was most powerful : and so the ancient nation of the Britons came to utter ruine and destruction, propter avaritiam principum, injustitiam judicium, negligentiam Episcoporum, & luxuriam populi, saith Gildas.

And therefore God, that defireth not the death of a sinner, much lesse the ruine of any Nation, would have us to seeke for justice, and to live uprightly one among another; but as the sheepe that are without a shepheard, wander where they list, so, as you read often in the booke of *Judges*, when the people were without a King, there was no justice amongst them, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes: therefore to prevent oppressions and wrongs, God out of his infinite love, and favour unto mankind, from the beginning of the World, called and appointed Kings to be his Vicegerents, to judge the earth and to see that the poore and the fatherlesse have right: for besides many other places that might be alleadged, the Spirit of God saith directly, *ego dixi Di estis, and by me Kings do reign*, that is, by my appointment, by my direction, and by my protection, they do, and shall rule and reign over my people, as *Zerubbabel*. *Optat. Saint Chrysost. St Ambrose, St Ang. Saint Gregory*, and the rest of the most Orthodox Fathers have ever taught, and maintained; and therefore this is not *inventum humannum*, as the Puritans have dreamed, and the Popes flat-terers have maintained, but it is an *ordination of God*, that we have Kings given unto us, not to domineere and to satisfy their untamed wills, and sensual appetites, but to administer justice and judgement unto their people, and so to guide them to live in all peace and tranquillity; for as *Ausonius* saith;

Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur, erit Rex.

And therefore *Plinii Secundus* in his panegyrics, saith, *ut felicitatis est posse quantum velis, sic magnitudinis est velle quantum possis, & bonitatis facere quantum iustum*: as it is a great felicity to be able to do what we will, so it is a most ^{Autor libelli cui inscriptio brevis narratio quoniam Hinc. 4.}

Bellar. de laic. most heroick resolution, to will no more but what we should, and to do nothing
c. 5. Abem. anno but what is just; Claudian faith to Honorius.

1 Pet. 2. 23.

Dela Cerdain

Virgil. l. 11. p.

560. or. Herod.

l. 2.

Nec tibi quid licet, sed quid fecisse decebit,
Occurrat, mentemque domet respectus honesti.

and so Homer saith, that *Sarpedon* preserved *Licia*, διηγεται τις διεγενης through justice and fortitude: whereupon the old Scholiast citeth the words of *Aeschilus* ισχυρος ουχι γε και στην, that virtue and justice are ever coupled together: and Dio. *Chrysost.* saith, ο πατρος αρθρων αγετος θεος, αρχοντας ον και στρατηγος, he is the best of men, that is, the most valiant and most just: *Orat.* 2. and Herodian saith of *Pertinax*, that he was both loved and feared of the *Barbarians*, as well for the remembrance of his virtues in former battels, as also ειναι ανδρας ειδυλλειστης because that wittingly or willingly he never did injustice to any man at any time. *Plutarch* ascribeth these virtues to *Lucullus* and to *Pompey*; *Ciceron* saith the like of *Pompey*, *Ovid.* of *Eriophybus*; *Suetonius* of *Octavians*, *Augustus* his father; *Virgil* of *Aeneas*; *Krantius* of *Fronto* King of the *Danes*; and of our late king *James* of famous and ever blessed memory, we may truly say,

—Cui pudor & iustitia soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?

Horat. lib. 1. Od. 26. Neither need I blush to apply the same to our present King.

So you see how *Justice exalteth a Nation*, commends the doers of it, and crownes them with all honour, and as the Poet saith,

— Δικαια δράσους, ου μητραχες τοιξην διη.

he that worketh justly shall have God himself for his Co-adjutor.
But here you must observe that, which indeed is most true;

Αντη δικαιούεται θεος, ον δη μηδεπικόν,
Αλλ οτις αδικεῖται πυνάμενος, οι βέλεσαι.

Who rightly termed just. He is not a just man that doeth no hurt, but he that is able to do hurt, and will not do it, that can be unjust and will not be: for it is no great matter to see a poore man that hath no ability, to do no wrong; but it is hard to use power right, even in the meanest office, and therefore this is that, that is to be urged, to be then most just, when we have most power to offend, which most properly doth belong to all kings and Princes, to put them in minde of their duties, to what end God hath made them kings: for they are but base

Tacit. annal. l. 3. flatterers, quibus omnia principum honesta atque inhonestia laudare mos est, that *Plut. in Apo.* will commend all the doing of Princes, be they good or bad: and which say, *Ibid. Euseb.* πάντα γελάτιν δίκαια τοις βασιλέσσαι, all things are honest and just that kings do, *Ad Iliad. B.* as that flattering sycophant said to *Antigonus*, or like those *Chirodai*: οι οντις αδικεῖται πυνάμενος, οι βέλεσαι, who thinke justice lyeth not in the Lawes, but in their hands: because as *Cesar* saith, in maxima fortuna minima licentia est, the higher their places are, the more righteous they ought to be, and the lesse liberty of sinning is left unto them: and that in respect 1. of God. 2. of others. 3. of themselves.

Kings ought to be more just 1. Where God hath conferred much honour, there he exspecteth much e-
then all others quity, and the more goodnessse, where he beloued the more grace: id est de-
in 3 respects. riores

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament.

97

riores effis, quia meliores esse debetis? and will men therefore be the more sinfull, Luke 12. 48.
because they ought to be the more righteous? Salvan. de Pro. vid. 1. 4.

2. All mens eyes are upon the Prince; and as Seneca saith of the royal Palace, Perlucet omne regia vitium domus; the houses of Kings are like glasses, and every man may look through them: so their actions can no more be hid, then the City that is placed upon an hill; but their least and lightest acts are soon seen.

3. Their places are as slippery as they are lofty; when (as one faith) height it- Seneca in Aga-
self maketh mens braines to swimme; & nunquam solido stetit superba felicitas, memm. 2. 1.
and proud insolency never stood sure for any certain space; for, as God hath
made them Gods, so he can unmake them at his pleasure; and as S. Au-
gustine saith, Quod contulit immerentibus, tollit male merentibus, & quod illo do- Aug. bo. 14.
nante sit nostrum, nobis superbientibus sit alienum; what God hath freely bestow-
ed upon you without desert, he may justly take away from you for your evill de-
serts; and what is ours through Gods gift, may be made another mans through
our own pride; and not onely so, but as he hath heaped honours upon their
heads, that they might honour him; so, if they neglect him, he can powre contempt
upon Princes, and cast dirt in their faces, and make them a very scorne to those Job. 12. 21.
that formerly they thought unworthy to eat with the dogs of their flock; and then, Job. 30. 1.
Quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior, the higher they were exalted,
the more will be their greif when they are dejected; as it was with those Kings,
that being wont to be carried in their roiall Charets, were forced like horses to
draw Sesostris Coach; Quia miserrimum est fuisse felicem; because it is a most
wretched thing to have been happy, and not to be; or as the Poët saith,

*Qui cadit in piano, vix hoc tamen evenit unquam,
Sic cadit ut tacta surgere possit humo;
At miser Elpenor, tecto dilapsus ab alto
Occurrit regi, flebilis umbra suo.*

Ovidius Trist. l. 3. Eleg. 4.

And therefore all Kings should be ever mindfull of the words of King David, He
that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the feare of God; and all these things 2 Sam. 23. 3.
that I have set down, should move all Kings and Princes to set their mindes upon
righteousnesse, to judge the thing that is right, and to live, to reigne and rule ac- Psal. 5. 8. 1.
cording to the straight rule of the Law; that so carrying them justly and wor- What should
thily in their places, the poore people may truly say of them, Certe Deus est in
illis, they may well be called Gods, because God is in them: and if these things
will not, nor cannot move them to be as mindfull of their duty, as well as they are Laws.
mindfull of their excellency, then let them remember what the Psalmist saith, Psal. 149. 8.
He will bind Kings with fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of Iron; and let
them meditate upon the words of King Solomon, where he saith unto them all,
Hear O ye Kings, and understand, learne ye that be judges of the ends of the earth;
give eare, you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of Nations; for power
is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your works,
and search out your counsels; because, being Ministers of his Kingdomes, you have
not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counsell of God, horribly
and speedily shall he come upon you; for a sharpe judgment shall be to them that are in high places: for mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but mighty men shall be aduers. 9.
mighty tormented: for he that is Lord over all shall feare no mans person, neither
shall he stand in awe of any mans greatness, for he hath made the small and the
great, and careth for all alike: but a sore tryall shall come upon the mighty. And
the Aposle saith, It is a fearfull thing to fall into the hands of the living God, Heb. 10. 35.
which things should make their eares to tingle, and their hearts to tremble,
whensoever they step aside out of Gods Commandments. And thus we set down
the charge of Kings, and the strict account that they must tender unto God, how
they have discharged the same: whereby you see we flatter them not in their
O o o greatness,

The Rights of Kings, and

greatnesse, but tell them as well what they should be, as what they are, and presse not onely obedience unto the people, but also equity and justice unto the Prince, that both doing their dutie, both may be happy.

C H A P. XV.

Showeth the honour due to the King. 1. *Feare.* 2. *An high esteem of our King;* how highly the Heavens esteemed of their Kings; the Marriage of obedience and authority; the Rebellion of the Nobility how banious. 3. *Obedience, fourfold;* diverse kinds of Monarchs; and how an absolute Monarch may limit himself.

2. The honour that is due to the King.

The same that is due to our Father and Mother.

Six speciall branches of the honour due to the King.

1. Feare.

Plal. 21. 3.

Plal. 18. 39.

Judg. 7. 17.

Exod. 4. 20.

17. 9.

1 Chron. 19.

21.

2 Chron. 19. 6.

Sap. 17. 12.

The want of feare, the cause of all mischiefe.

Rom. 3. 13.

P. 14.

V. 7.

2 I Have shewed you the person that we are commanded to honour, the *King*; I am now to shew you the honour that is due unto him, not only by the customes of all Nations, but also by the Commandment of God himself. Where first of all you must observe, that the Apostle useth the *same* word here to expresse our duty to our *King*, as the Holy Ghost doth to expresse our duty to our *father and mother*; for there it is said, *tua & maries tuus pater est, arbi que maritus*: to shew indeed that the King --- *arbi pater est, arbique maritus*, is the common Father of us all, and therefore is to have the *same* honour that is due to our *Father and Mother*: and I have *fully* shewed the *particulars* of that honour upon that fifth Commandment. I will insist upon some few points in this place, and as the ascent to *Solomons throne* was, *per sex gradus*, by six speciall steps, so I will set you down six main *branches* of this honour, that are typified in the six *enfignes* or emblems of Royall Majesty: for

1. The *Sword* exacteth *feare*, and the word *timor* signifieth as much.
2. The *Crown* importeth *honour*, because it is of *pure gold*.
3. The *Scepter* requireth *obedience*, because that ruleth us.
4. The *Throne* deserves *Tribute*, that his *Royalty* may be maintained.
5. His *Person* meriteh *defence*, because he is the *Defender* of us all.
6. His *charge* calleth for our *Prayers*, that he may be *inable* to discharge it.

1. Kings are called *Gods*, and all the Royal *Enfignes* and *Acts* of Kings are ascribed to *God*, as their *Crown* is of *God*, whereupon they are called *imperatores*, crowned of *God*; their *sword* is of *God*, whereupon the Psalmist saith, *thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle*; their *Scepter* is the *Scepter of God*, for so *Moses* rod, which signifieth a *Scepter* as well as a *rod*, is called the *rod of God*; their *throne* is the *throne of God*, and their *judgement* is the *judgement of God*: and you know how often we are commanded in the Scripture to *feare God*; and the Poet saith, *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*: and where there is no *feare of God*, there is no *belife*, that there is a *God*: for *feare is the betraying of the succours which reason offereth*; and when we have no *reason* to expect *succour*, our *reason* tells us, that we should *feare*, that is, the *punishment* which we deserved for those *evils*, which deprived us of our *succours*: and therefore this *feare* of the punishment, doth often times keep us from those *evils*: even as the Scripture saith, *timor Domini expellit peccatum*: and the *want* of this *feare* is the *cause* of all *mischief*, as the Prophet *David* sheweth, when after he enumerated, the most *horrible* sins of the wicked, that *their throat was an open sepulcher*, *the poyson of aspes under their lips*, *their mouth full of cursing and bitterness*, and *their feet swift to shed blood*, he addeth this as the *cause* of all, that *there was no feare of God before their eyes*: And truly this is the *cause* of all our calamities, that we *feare not our King*: for if we *feared him*, we durst not *Rebell* and *revile him* as we do.

But

But what is the reason that we do so little fear either God or the king? the son of Sirach sheweth, it is their great mercy and clemency: this, which worsheth love in all good natures, produceth boldnesse, impudency, and Rebellion in all froward dispositions, who therefore sin because God is merciful, and will Rebel against their king, because they know he is pitiful and milde, and will grant them pardon, as they beleive, if they cannot prevale, which is nothing else, but like spiders, to suck poyson out of those sweet flowers, from whence the bees do gather hony, but let them not deceive themselves, for *debet amor Iesu irasci*, love too much provoked will wax most angry, & *lata patientia fit furor*: and therefore the son of Syrach saith, concerning propitiation be not without fear, and say not, his mercy is great, for mercy and wrath come from him; and his indignation refresh upon sinners, so though our king be as the kings of Israel, a merciful minded man, most mild and clement, yet now when he seeth how these Rebels have abused his goodnessse and his patience, to the great sufferance of his best Subjects, he can draw his sword, and make it drunk in the bloud of the ungodly, that have so transcendently abused both the mercies of God, and the goodnessse of the King. When diverse people had Rebelled against Tarquin, and his son had surprised many of their chief leaders, he sent unto his father to know what he should do with them, the King being in his field, paused a while, and then *summa Papaver a carpis*, with his staffe chopt off the heads of diverse weeds and thistles, and gave the messenger none other answer, but go, and tell my son what I am doing; and his Son, understanding his meaning, did with them, as Tarquin did with the Poppies; so many Kings would have done with these Rebels, not out of any love to shed bloud, but out of a desire to preserve Peace, not for any natural inclination to diminish their Nobility by their decollation, but from an earnest endeavour to suppress the community from unnatural Rebellion, *ut poena in paucos, metus ad omnes*, that the punishment of some might have bred fear in the rest: and that fear of the King in them might keep his good Subjects from fear of being undone by them. But all the World seeth our King is more merciful, and hath sought all this while to draw them with *the cords of love*, which hath bred more troubles to himself, more afflictions to us and made them the more cruel, and by their Oaths and Protestations, Leagues and Covenants, to do their best to bring the King and all his loyal Subjects into fear, if they may not have their own desires. But we are not afraid of these Bug-beares; because we know this hath been the practice of all Rebels to linke themselves together with Leagues and Covenants, as in the conjuration of Catiline; and the holy league in France, and the like; and many such Covenants, and Leagues have been made with Hell, to the utter destruction of the makers; as when more then forty men vowed very solemnly (and they intended to do it *very cunningly*) that they would *neither eat nor drinke until they had killed Paul*; for so they might be without meat until the day of judgement, if they would keep their Oath: and so these Covenanters may undo themselves by such hardening their faces in their wickednesse; because this sheweth they are grown desperate, and are come to that pass, that they have little hope to preserve their lives but by the hazarding of their soules; as if they thought the Devil, for the good service they desire to do him, to overthrow the Church, to destroy thousand souls, may perchance do them this favour, to preserve their lives for a time, to bring to passe so great a worke; whereas we know, the Church is built upon a Rock, and God hath promised to defend his Anoynted, so that all the power of hell shall never prevail against any of these.

Wherefore to conclude this point, seeing God hath put a sword into the hand of the king, and the King bears not the sword in vain, but though it be long in the sheath, he can draw it out when He will, and recompence the abuse of His lenity with the sharpnesse of severity, let us fear; or if you would not fear, do well, saith the Apostle, return from your Rebellion, and frong all your wicked wayes, and you may yet finde grace, because you have both a merciful God, and a gracious King.

Why men do so little fear God and the King.
Ecclesi. 5. 6.

What Tarquin did to Rebels.

What effects the Kings clemency wrought.

Act. 23. 12.

The Rebels
Covenants
shew they are
grown despe-
rate.

The Rights of Kings, and

2. To have an high and good esteeme of our King, and to make others to have the like.
- ^{2 Sam. 15. 6.}
2. As we are to *fear*, so we are to *reverence* our King, that is, to have an high *esteeeme* of His Majesty, and to manifest the same in our *termes*, speeches, and communications accordingly, to gain the *love* of the rest of His Subjects towards Him; and not as *Absolon* did, by cunning and *sinister* expressions, to *steale away the hearts and affections of His People*; for, to make mention of him either in our *prayers*, or *Sermons*, or in any other *familiar talke*, so, as if he were a friend to *Papery*, an enemy to the *Gospell*, and carelesse of *Justice*, and the like, (as too many of our *Sectaries* most *falsely* and most *malitiously* have done) is rather to *vilifie* and disgrace him, to work an *odium* against him, and a *tediousnes* of him, then to procure an *honourable* *esteeme* and reverence of him.
- Cassiodorus* *faith*, *stipendium tyranno penditur, predicatione non nisi bono Principi*; *Tribute is due to Tyrants*, and ought to be paid unto them; but *honour* and *reverence* much more to a good Prince, and the spirit of God bids us, *bless them that perfecte us*, and our Saviour *faith*, *bless them that curse you*, that is, speak *well* of *Tyrants* that oppres us, and speak not ill of them that speak ill of you; especially if they be your *Magistrates*, or your King, whom *εστι η χάρα* you are commanded to *honour*, even with the *same word* *ημῶν* (therefore no doubt, but with the *same honour*) as we are commanded to honour our *Father*, and our *Mother*; because the King is our *Politicall Father*; and is therefore commanded to be *reverenced* by this precept, which (as the Divines observe) is of greater moment, and more *obliging*, then any of the rest of the Commandments of the second Table, not onely because it keepeth the *first place* of all these precepts, but is also the *first Commandment with promise*, as the Apostle observeth.

The fifth Commandment is the most obliging of all the Commandments of the second Table.

Ephes. 6. 2.

How the heathens honoured their kings.

C. Tacitus.
lib. 14.
Seneca de be-nefic. l. 30.

The reason of their reverence.

Raderus com-ment. in
Quint. Curi.

A Macedonian Law.

A Gentleman hanged for his thought.

seeing a Falcon killing an Eagle, commanded his head to be wrung off; saying, *let none presume above their Sovereigne*; and in the Raigne of Henry the fourth of England, one was hanged, drawn, and quartered, in Cheapside London, for jesting with his son, that if he did learne *well*, he would make him heire of the Crown, meaning his *owne house*, that had the *Signe* of the Crown, to prove the Proverbe true, *non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*, it is not safe jesting with Kings and Crowns, and it is lesse safe to resist them, if you will believe wise Solomon. And I have read of another King, that passing over a river, his Crown fell into the water, one of his water-men leapt in, and dived to the bottome, and taking

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 181

taking up the Crown, put it upon his head, that it might not hinder his swimming, and so brought it to the King again, who rewarded him well for his pains, but caused his head to be chop off for presuming to weare his Crown. And all this is but an insinuative argument to condemne our Rebels, that neither reverence the Majestie of their King, nor respect the commandment of their God.

3. Obedience is another principall part of that honour which we owe unto the king; and this obedience of the inferiours joyned with the direction of the superiors, doe make any state most successfull; but when these are divorced, then nothing goeth right in that Common-wealth; for so the Sages of Greece exprest it by the marriage that Jupiter made between *marsia* and *merculia*, whose child, brought forth betwixt them, was *anthonius*; to shew unto us, that when authority is married to obedience, and obedience proves a dutifull and good wife to authority, the fruit of that match will be happiness to the whole Kingdome.

And therefore if we would be happy, we must be obedient, and our obedience, must be universal, in all things in the Lord.

Fusca seguitam velle mibi quam posse necesse est.

Lucan, L. I.

So the people say unto Joshua, all that thou commandest us, we will do; and all trust. *Joh. 1. 16*

So the people say unto Joshua, all that thou commandest us, we will do, and all must do it, the greater as well as the lesser, the noble man as well as the meaner man, yea, rather than the meaner man; for though Rebellion in any one, is as the sin of witchcraft, yet in a vulgar man it may admit of vulgar apologies; but in a man of quality, in noble men, in *Courtiers*, bred in the King's house, in the King's service, and raised by the King's favour, it is *Morbus complicatus*, a decompounded sin, a transcendent ingratitude, and unexpressable iniquity, the example more spreading, and the infection more contagious, because more conspicuous; and the giddy attempts of an unguided multitude, are but, as Cardinal Farnese's faith, like the *Beech tree* without his top, soon withered and vanishing into nothing without leaders, when they become a burthen unto themselves, and a prey unto others; therefore the contradiction of *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*, that were so eminent in the congregation, was a sin so odious unto God, that he would have destroyed all *Israel* for their sake, as now he punisheth all *England* for the sins of those noble men, that have rebelled against their King, and were always like *Scipianus* as wayward, pleased as opposed. And therefore St. Paul saith, that *every soul must be subject to the higher power*, and he saith, *any man* *contrary*, you must needs be subject, or be obedient, and he presseth this *obedience* with many arguments, as

1. From God's ordinance, because God hath set them over us, and commanded us to be obedient unto them, and therefore whosoever resisteth them, warreth against God.

2. From mans Conscience, which telleth us, that he is the minister of God Rom. 13. 4.
is to do, for good, and therefore virtutis amore, if we have any love to
goodnesse, we ought to obey our King.

3. For fear of vengeance, because he beareth not the sword in vain, but is, v. 4.
Iudex est opifex tuus et rex tuorum, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill; therefore this obedience to our King, is not *disagreement*, a thing of indifference but of necessity; for be our King, for his Religion, *Impious*, for his wicked government, *unjust*, and for life, *licentious*, as cruell as *Nero*, as prophanie as *Julian*, and as wicked as *Heliogabulus*; yet the Subjects must obey him, the Bishops must admonish him, the counsell must advise him, and all must pray for him; but no mortall man, that is his Subject, hath either leave to resist him, or license to reject him: unless they reject the ordinance of God, and so fight against God, and you know, 'Αργαλέος τὸ τὸ διδεῖ βεστὸν ἀνδεῖ σταύρον, it is hard to vanquish God.

It is truly said by a learned Bishop, *si bona est Princeps, nutritio est tuus*, if thy King be good, he is thy *nurſing* Father, and it is a great happiness to his Subjects; *si malus est, tentator est tuus*, but if he be evill, he is either for the punishment of Ardens rei bo- mini est mortali vincere numerus. Why God sen- deth evil kings.

The Rights of Kings, and

ment of thy sins, or for the triall of thy faith ; and therefore receive thy punishment with patience, or thy triall without resistance ; and Aquin saith, tollenda est culpa & cessabit tyrannorum plaga, do thou take away thy sins, and God will soon take away thy punishment ; otherwise, as for our sins, we do often suffer droughts, floods, unseasonable weather, sicknesses, plagues, and many other evils of nature, ita luxum & avaritiam dominantium tolerare debemus ; so when God setteth up hypocrites, or tyrants to reigne over us, to be the scourges of his wrath, and the rods of his fury, we must not struggle against God, but rest contented to endure the vices of our rulers, as a just punishment of our wickednesse, saith Cornelius Tacitus *

But here you must observe, that there are diverse kinde of obedience ; especially,

* Et Michael
Palatinus
Hungariae, dice-
bat, regi coro-
nato, etiam si bus
cesset, nobis ob-
temperandum
est. Bonfin.
dec. 4. lib. 3.
Four kindes
of obedience.

1. Forced
obedience.
Rom. 12. 1.
1 Sam. 15. 22.

{ 1. *Coacta.* 3. *Simulata.* } { 1. *Forced.* 3. *Faigned.* }
{ 2. *Caca.* 4. *Ordinata.* } { 2. *Foolish.* 4. *Well ordered.* }

1. The first is a forced and compelled obedience, meerly for fear of wrath, as Children learne, or Slaves do their duty, for fear of the rod ; and this is better then resistance, though nothing like to that obedience, which S. Paul calleth τέλον αγαλματίων ; because this voluntary, and not extorted obedience, is that, which is better then sacrifice.

2. Blinde o-
bedience.

2. The second is a blinde obedience, such as the young youths, that being commanded by their Abbat, to carry a basket of figs, and other Juncates unto a solitary Menke, or Hermite, that lived in his cave, and loosing their way in that unrequent wilderness, chose rather to dye in the desert, then taste of those acates that they had in their Basket ; and such obedience is most frequent in the proselites of Rome, who will do whatsoever they are commanded by their superiors, though both they and their superiors do thereby commit never so great a wickednesse : where notwithstanding I must confess, that this blinde obedience is far better, both for Church and State, then a proud resistance, when as the one produceth nothing but some particular inconveniences, and the other proceedeth to an univerſall destruction.

3. Hypocri-
tical obe-
dience.

The obediance
of our Rebels.

3. The third is an hypocritical, and dissembled obedience : that is, an obedience for a time, till they see their time to do mischiefe, which is the worst of all obedience, and therefore most hatefull both to God and Man ; because it is but *caveatus, usque dum rires suppetat*, until they have the opportunity, and have gotten sufficient strength, to shake off their subjection, and to maintain their Rebellion ; and this was the obedience of all our Rebels, our Sectaries and Puritans here in England, who would also face us down, but most falsely, that it was the obedience of the Primitive Christians, for so the grand impostor John Goodwin, in his Anticavalierisme, saith, they were onely obedient to those persecuting Tyrants, because as yet they wanted strength, and were not able to resist them ; but O thou enemy of all goodness, that loapest to become a Martyr for thy God, that was martyred for thee, is it not enough for thee to play the dissembling hypocrite thy selfe, but thou must taxe those holy Martyrs, those true Saints, that raigne with Christ in Heaven of hypocritie, and disobedience in their hearts, to the Ordinance of God ? I could willingly beare with any aspersion thou shouldest cast in my face, but I am out of patience, though sorry that I am so transported, to see such false and scandalous imputations, so unjustly laid upon such holy Saints ; yet this you must do to countenance your Rebellion, to get the Rhetorick of the Divell to bely Heaven it selfe ; and therefore what wonder is it, that you should bely your King on earth, when you dare thus bely the martyrs that are in Heaven.

The Author
more out of
patience for
the wrong of-
fered to the
Martyrs, then
for his own a-
buse.

4. The obe-
dience of the
Saints two-
fold.

4. The fourth is a voluntary, hearty and well ordered obedience, which is, the obedience of the Saints, and is also

Two-fold, { 1. *Active.* } For,
{ 2. *Passive.* }

i. The,

1. The Saints knowing the will of God, that they should obey their King, and those that are sent of him, they do willingly yield obedience to their superiors, and no marvel, because there cannot be a surer argument of an evil man, then in a Church reformed, and a Kingdom lawfully governed, to resist authority, and to disobey them that should rule over us, especially him, whom God immediately hath appointed to be his vice-gerent, his substitute, and the supreme Monarch of his Dominions here on earth; for all other things, both in heaven and earth, do oblige that Law, which their maker hath appointed for them, when, as the Psalmist saith, *he hath given them a Law which shall not be broken*; therefore this must needs be a great reproof and a mighty shame to those men, that being Subjects unto their King, and to be ruled by his Lawes, will notwithstanding disobey the King, and transgresse those Lawes, that are made for their safety, and resist that authority, which they are bound to obey; only because their weak heads, or false hearts, do account the commandment of the King to be against right, and what themselves doe to be most holy and just.

But our City Prophets will say, that although the King be the supreme Monarch, whom we are commanded to obey; yet there are diverse kinds of Monarchies or Regal governments; as usurped, lawful, by conquest, by inheritance, by election; and these are either absolute, as were the Eastern Kings, and the Roman Emperours, or limited and mixed; which they term a Political Monarchy, where the King or Monarch can do nothing alone, but with the assistance and direction of his Nobility and Parliament; or if he doth attempt to bring any exorbitancies to the Commonwealth, or deny those things that are necessary for the preservation thereof, they may lawfully resist him in the one, and compel him to the other: to which I answer,

1. As God himself, which is most absolute, & liberrimum agens, may notwithstanding limit himself, and his own power, as he doth, when he promiseth and sweareth that he will not fail David, and that the unrepentant Rebels should never enter into his rest; so the Monarch may limit himself in some points of his administration; and yet this limitation neither transferreth any power of Sovereignty unto the Parliament, nor denieth the Monarch to be absolute, nor admitteth of any resistance against him: for

1. This is a mere gull to seduce the people, that cannot distinguish the point I cannot define; just like the Papist, that saith he is a Roman Catholick; that is, a wise words to particular universal, a black white, a *polumonarcha*, a many one governor, when expresse this we say he is a Monarch, joined in his government with the Parliament; for new devised he can be no Monarch or supreme King and Sovereign, that hath any sharers, with him or above him in the government.

2. There is no Monarch that can be said to be simply absolute, but onely God, yet where there is no superior, but the sovereignty residing in the King, he may be said to be an absolute Monarch *ipsa causa*. 1. Because there is none on earth, that can control him. 2. Because he is free and absolute in all such things, wherein he is not exprestly limited: and therefore

3. Seeing no Monarch or Sovereign is so absolute, but that he is some way limited either by the Law of God, or by the Rules of nature, or of his own so absolute concessions and grants unto his people, or else by the compact that he maketh but somewhat with them, if he be an elective King and so admitted unto his Kingdom: there is no reason they should resist their King, for transgressing the limitations of one kind more then the other: or if any, no doubt but he that transcendenteth the limits of God's Law, or goeth against the common rules of nature, ought rather to be resisted, then he that observeth not his own voluntary concessions: but themselves perceiving how peremptorily the Apostle speaketh against resistance of the Heathen Emperours that then ruled, do consel that absolute Monarchs ought not to be resisted; (wherein also they are mistaken, because the histories tell us, those Emperours were not so absolute as our Kings, till the time of Vespasian, when the *lex regia* transferred all the power of the People upon the Emperour

1. Active o-
bedience.

Ob.
Diverse kinds
of Monarchies

Sol.
Absolute Mo-
narchs may
limit them-

The Rights of Kings, and

No Monarch
ought to be
resisted.

Emperour, *Vlpian de constit. Principis*; therefore indeed, no Monarch ought to be resisted, whatsoever limitations he hath granted unto his Subjects.

Rebels should
well consider
these things.

1 Reg. 20. 38.

And the resistors of authority might understand, if their more malitious then blinde leaders wold give them leave, that this virtue of obedience to the supreme power maketh good things unlawful, when we are forbidden to do them, as the eating the forbidden tree was to *Adam*, and the holding up of the *Arke*, was to *Uzza*: and it maketh evil things to be good and lawful, when they are commanded to be done, as the killing of *Isaack* (if he had done it) had been commendable in *Abraham*, and the smiting of the *Prophet* was very laudable in him that smote him, when the *Prophet* commanded him to do it: and therefore *Adam* and *Uzza* were punished with death, because they did those lawful good things, which they were forbidden to do; and the others were recompenced with blessings, because they did and were ready to do those evill things, that they were commanded to do, when as he that refused to smite the *Prophet*, being commanded to do it, was destroyed by a *Lyon*, because he did it not; whereby you see, that things forbidden when they are commanded, & contraria, cannot be omitted without sin.

Ob.
*Mandatum
imperantis tol-
lit peccatum
obedientis.*
Aug.
Sol.

You will say it is true, when it is done by God, whose injunction or prohibition, his precept or his forbidding to do it, or not to do it, maketh all things lawful or unlawful.

I answer, that we cannot thinke our selves obedient to God, whilst we are disobedient to him, whom God hath commanded us to obey; and therefore, if we will obey God, we must obey the King; because God hath commanded us to obey him; and being to obey him, non attendit vernus obediens quale sit quod praecepitur, sed hoc solo contentas quia praecepitur, he that is truely obedient to him, whom God commanded us to obey, never regardeth, what it is that is commanded (so it be not simply evil, for then as the Apostle saith, it is better to obey God then man, were he the greatest Monarch in the World) but he considereth, and is therewith satisfied, that it is commanded, and therefore doth it, saith Saint *Bernard*, in *I. de precept. & dispensat.*

*Bernard. in I.
de precept.
& dispensat.*

C H A P. XVI.

Sheweth the answer to some objections against the obeying of our Sovereign Magistrate; all actions of three kinds; how our Consciences may be reformed; of our passive obedience to the Magistrates; and of the Kings concessions, how to be taken.

Ob.

But against this our Sectaries and Rebels will object, that their conscience, which is *vinculum, accusator, testis & index*, their bond, their accuser, their witness and their judge, against whom they can say nothing, and from whom they cannot appeal, unless it be to a severer Judge, will not give them leave to obey, to do many things, that the King requireth to be done; and who can blame them for obeying their conscience rather then any King?

Sol.

Thom. 2. Sent.
dist. 14. part. 4.
I confess that it is naturally ingrafted in the hearts of all men, that no evil is to be done, and *Reason*, according to that measure of *knowledge*, which every man hath, tells us, what is good, and what is evil; then conscience concludeth what is to be done, and what not to be done, quia *conscientia est applicatio nostria nostrae ad alium particularem*, because our conscience is the application of our knowledge to some particular act, saith *Aquinas*: And this application of our knowledge to that act considereth,

1. *De præteritis*, of things past, whether such a thing be done, or not done, Conscience a witness.

2. *De presentibus factis*, of our present actions, whether the fact done be good or evill, just or unjust, so our conscience is a Judge according to the measure of our knowledge.

3. *De futuris faciendis*, of future acts that are to be done, whether they ought to be done, or left undone.

But because our conscience springeth from our reason, and our reason may be blinded and obscured by a double error.

1. A false assumption, when we take those things to be good or true, which are indeed evill or false, as they that think they do God good service; when they kill his servants, even as the Rebels do at this very day, and that they please God when they disobey their King.

2. A false application, or a false conclusion from a true assumption; as, because I am commanded to love God above all things, therefore I am to hate all things but God; or because, it is better to obey God then man; therefore I must not obey the commands of any man.

So our conscience may be poysoned in like manner with the same errors; and being so misguided, they ought not to binde us, but we ought rather to reforme them; for that, which truely should binde the conscience, is not our judgment, but Gods precept, that either commandeth or forbiddeth such and such actions to be done, or not done.

And you know, that all actions are either,

{ 1. good.
2. evill.
3. indifferent.

All actions of three sorts.

1. The good, God commandeth us to do them.
2. The evill, he flatly forbiddeth them to be done: and
3. The indifferent he wholly leaveth to the power of the Magistrate, to make them either lawfull or unlawfull, good or bad, as he pleaseth.

And therefore, for the first two sorts of actions, because thy conscience hath Gods precept to direct thee, if thy reason, either through ignorance, or the strength of thine own fancy, (which often happeneth to proud Spirits) doth not mislead thee, to call good evill, and evill good, it is safer for thee to follow the dictamen of thine own conscience, then the command of the greatest potentate; for in all such cases, it is better to obey God then man.

But in all the other things, that are indifferent of themselves, the precept of the King, or any other our lawfull superior, maketh them to become necessary unto the Subject; because the command of the superior Magistrate doth binde more then the conscience of the inferiour Subject can do, for though the conscience, rightly guided by reason, is the Judge of those things, which are either directly forbidden, or commanded, yet in the other things, that are indifferent, the Magistrate is the more immediate Judge under God, which hath given him power, either to command them to be done, or to forbid them; and the immediate therefore the Subject, having the command of his King, (whom God commandeth us to obey) for his warrant in things of this nature, either to do such things, or to leave such things undone, his duty is not to examine the reason of the command, but to performe what he feeth commanded; for so S. Augustine faith, that although Julian was an Idolater, an Apostata, an Infidell; yet, milites fideles servierunt imperatori infideli; but when it came to the cause of Christ, they acknowledged none, but him that was in Heaven; when he would have them to worship Idolls, they preferred God before him; when he said, lead forth your Armies, and go against such a Nation, they presently obeyed him; they Psal. 124, distinguished betwixt their eternall, and their temporall Lord, & tamen subditi e- C. imperator. rant proper eternum etiam domino temporali: and they never examined the Jusitesse of the war; because in all such cases, mandatum imperantis tollit culpam

Our reason &
judgement
misguided se-
ven wayes.
How our con-
science may
be reformed.

1. From igno-
rance.

^{2 Chron 20.12}

2. From ne-
gligence.

^{John 3. 1.}

3. From
pride.

^{2 Cor 10. 18}

4. From in-
ordinate affe-
ction.

Seneca.

5. From saint-
nesse.

A heavy judg-
ment upon
this Nation by
it Popery to say,
God blesse you, and judge it *Idolatry* to see a *Crosse* in Cheap-
mistaking sins.

6. From per-
plexity.

^{A&G. 27. 38.}

When things
are to be judg-
ed inevitable.

*Hooker Eccles.
pol. I. 5. p. 15.*

7. From too
much humili-
ty.

*Multos in sum-
ma pericula mi-
fit, venturi ti-
mor ipse mali.*
Lucan. l. 7.

culpam servientis, the fault must only rest upon the commander. And therefore, as our reason and Judgement may be blinded in all actions, either with ignorance, negligence, pride, inordinate affection, faintness, perplexity, or self-love, so may our conscience too, when it erroneously concludeth upon what our reason falsely affirmeth: and then, as I said before, our conscience is rather to be reformed than obeyed, and if we be desirous, we may thus redress it.

1. If it be of ignorance, let us say with *Jebosopat*, *we know not what to do, but our eyes are towards thee*: and let us seek to them that can inform us, the Orthodox do not the *Sectaries*, which will rather corrupt us then direct us.

2. If it be of negligence, let us come without partiality or prejudice (as *Nicodemus* did to Christ) to those that for knowledge are well able, and for honesty are most willing, to instruct us.

3. If it be of pride, let us pray to God for humility, and submit our selves one to another, especially to them that have more learning then our selves, and have that charge over us; *for he that praiseth himself is not allowed*, but he whom the Lord praiseth; and singularity hath been the original of all heresies and not the least occasion of the troubles of these times, and the rebellion of our *Sectaries*.

4. If it be from inordinate affection, *quam id sanctum quod volumus*, when every one makes what he loves to be lawful, and his own wayes to be just, let us hearken to sound reason and prefer truth before our own affections; or otherwise *perit omnis iudicium, cum res transit in affectum*, there can be no true judgement of things, when we are transported with our partial affections.

5. If it be from faintnesse, let us be scrupulous where we have cause, lest we should think it lawfull to swallow a *Camel*, because we are able to straine a *gnat*; and let us not be afraid, *where no feare is*, and think those things sinfull that are most lawfull; which is a heavy judgment of God upon the wicked, and hath now lighted very sore upon many of the Inhabitants of this Land, who think this Nation by it Popery to say, *God blesse you*, and judge it *Idolatry* to see a *Crosse* in Cheap-mistaking sins.

6. If it be of perplexity, when a man is close, as he conceives, betwixt two sins; where he feeth himself unable, though never so willing, to avoid both, let him *peccare in tutiore partem*, which though it takes not away the sin, yet it will make the fault to be the *leffe* sin; as the casting away of the Corne, which is the gift of God, and the sustenance of mans life, is an unthankfull abuse of Gods creature; yet as *S. Paul* caused the same to be cast into the Sea for the safegard of their lives; so must we do the like, when occasion makes it necessary; as now, rather to kill our enemies the Rebels, though we should think it to be ill, then suffer them to wrong our King, and to destroy both Church and Kingdome; because that of two things, which we conceive evil, and are not both evitable, the choice of the *lesser*, to avoid the *greater*, is not evil; but they are then to be judged *inevitable*, when there is no apparent ordinary way to avoid them, because that where counsell and advice do bearre rule, we may not presume of Gods *extraordinary* power without extraordinary warrant, saith judicious Mr. *Hooker*.

7. If it be of too much humilitie, which is an error of *leffe* danger, yet by no meanes to be fostered, lest by gathering strength it proves most pernicious, they should pray to God to preserve them from too much fear; for though (as Saint Gregory saith) *bonarum mentium est, ibi culpa agnoscere, ubi culpa non est, ye* (as I said before) it is a heavy Judgement, and a want of God's grace, to be afraid *where no feare is*, and it makes men to commit many sins many times for fear of sin.

And thus having rectified our conscience in the understanding of all these things, we are bound by the commandment of God, to be obedient unto the commands of our King; for it is a paradox to say, *Christians are free from the Lawes of men*; because it was a humane law, touching things strangled and bloud: and

^{A&G. 15. 20.}

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament. 107

and the Apostles do exact our obedience unto *humane Lawes*, even the Laws of Rom. 13. 1, 2. ^{1 Peter 2. 13.}
Heathen and Idolatrous Emperours : and therefore, being bound to obey them, they cannot be freed in conscience, from the Religion of them : and so Dr. Whitaker saith, that as the Lawes of God must be *simply obeyed*, without any difference of time, place, and circumstance ; so must the Lawes of men be obeyed, as the circumstances do require ; for example, he that is a *Roman*, and liveth at *Rome*, must obey the *Roman Lawes* ; and he saith, that the authority of the Magistrate, which is *sacred* and *holy*, cannot with any good conscience be contemned ; because it is the commandment of God, that we should obey them ; ^{Whitaker contra Camp.} and this (saith he) doth bind the conscience, when, (as the Apostle saith) he is p. 238.
to be obeyed for conscience sake.

But you will say, what if the King forbids me to do what God commandeth, as the high Priest did to the Apostles ; or commandeth me to do what God forbiddeth, as *Julian* did unto the Christians, and *Nebuchadnezzar* to the three children ?

We have often answered, that in such a case, it is better to obey God than man ; for it is sometimes lawfull not to obey, but it is never lawfull to resist. ^{Sol. Act. 5. 25.}

What it he compells us by force and violence to do what God forbids us to do, if he playes the *Tyrant*, violates our *Laws*, and corrupts the true Religion with *dolatry* and *superstition* ? may we not then, as our fore-fathers did heretofore unto *Ghilperick* King of France, and to *Richard* the second of this Kingdome, and others, bridle them, and depose them too, if they will not be ruled by their Great Counsell, the *Parliament* ?

I answer, first, *Non spetandum quid factum sit, sed quid fieri debuerit*, we are not so much to regard what hath been done, as what ought to have been done, as *Arnisius* proveth at large, and sheweth most excellently, with a full answer to all the Articles, that were alledged against those Kings, how *unjust* ^{Heningus Ar-} ^{nlaus de au-} ^{thor. printi. in} ^{pop.} ly they were handled, and depos'd contrary to all right ; and I wish that book were translated into English. 2. I say, that when our *active* obedience cannot be yeilded, our *passive* obedience must be used ; for, were our *Kings* as *Ty- rannical* as *Nero*, as *Idolatrous* as *Manasses*, as wicked as *Ahab*, and as pro- phane as *Julian* ; yet we may not *resist*, when as *Arnisius* proveth by many examples, that the *Rebellion* of Subjects against their King doth overthrow the order of *nature* ; and *Justinian* saith, *quis est tanta autoritatis, ut nolentem prin- cipem possit coactare* ? but in such a case, we must do as all the Saints did before us : not as the *Heathens*, which thought them worthy of *divine honour*, which *cicero pro Mi- lone* did kill a *Tyrant*, and said with *Seneca*,

*victima band ubi amplior
Potest, magis que opima mactari Jovi
Quam Rex iniquus.* —

Seneca in Her-
cul. sur.

But, as Christ himselfe suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, a most wicked Magistrate, and registred in the breviary of our Faith, that we might never forget our duty, rather to *suffer*, then to *resist* the authority that is from Heaven ; and as Saint *Ambrose* answered the Emperour, that would have his Church delivered to the *Arians*, I shall never be willing to leave it, *coactus repugnare non novi*, if I be compelled I have not learned to *resist*. I can grieve and weep and sigh, and against the *Armes* and *Gotis* Souldiers, my teares are my weapons, for thofe are the *Bulwarkes* of the Priest, who in any other manner neither can, neither ought he to *resist* : so must all Christians rather by suffering death, then by *resisting* our King to enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.

But 'tis objected by our *Sectaries*, that His Majesty confesseth, *there is a power Legally placed in the two houses, more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny.*

Ob.
The Author
of the Tre-
atise of Mo-
narchy, p. 31.

The Rights of Kings, and

Sol.
The law provides that the King should not be circumvented and wronged.

The Kings concessions very large.

D Ferne in his reply to sever. treat. p. 32.

Roffensis de po-
test. Pape 291.
Ephesians Py-
thag. l. De Regno
apud Stobaeum.
fol. 335.

A principle tenet of the Esseni.
And some think, that the Commonwealth is happier under a Tyrant, than under too mild a Prince, upon whose Clemency, they will presume to Rebel. Jer. 27. 5. 6.

A memorable place against resiling Tyrants.

I answer, first, when it pleased the King of His grace, to restrain His own power of making Laws, to the consent of Peeres and Commons, that by this Regulating of the same, it might be purged from all destructive exorbitances, the very Law it self, being tender of the legitimate rights of the King, and considering the Person of the Sovereign to be single, and his power counterpoised by the opposite wisdome of the two Houses, allowed him to swear unto himself a body of Council of State, and Counsellors at Law, and the Judges also to advise him and informe him so, that as he should not do any wrong, by reason of the restraining Votes of the Houses, so he might not receive any wrong by the encroachment of the Parliament upon his right: and the King, being driven away from his learned Counsel, and forced to make the defence of his rights by writing, it is no wonder, if his concessions and promises, as well in this point, as in other things, especially in that, concerning the Act of excluding the Clergy, were more then was due to them, or then he needed to grant, or then he ought to observe, being to the dishonour of God, and the prejudice of his Church; when as nothing in Parliament, where the wrong may be perpetual, should be extracted from him, but what he should well consider of with the advice of his Counsel and what he should freely grant; and whatsoever is otherwise done, is ill done, to the great disadvantage of the King, and his posterity, and the unjust enlarging of their power more then is due unto them; yet

2. I say, if these words of His Majesties be rightly weighed, they give no colour of resisting Tyranny by any forcible arms; but as Doctor Ferne saith most truly of a Legal, Moral, and Parliamentary restraint; for the words are, there is a power legally placed in the Houses, that is, the Law hath placed a power in them, but you shall never find any Law, that any King hath granted, whereby himself might be resisted and subdued by open force and violence: for as Roffensis saith, *Reges suo solius iudicio reservavit Deus, qui stans in Synagoga deorum dis-
judicat eos*, God hath reserved Kings to his own judgement: and the Heathen man could say, as, *Stobaeus testifieth, primum Dei, deinde Regis est ut nulli subiciatur,* it is the privilege of God, next of the King, to be subject unto none, because the Regal power properly is unaccountable to any man, as Suidas saith: and Josephus saith, that the holiest men, that ever were among the Hebrews (called Essai, or Esseni, that is the true practisers of the Law of God,) maintained, that sovereign Princes, whatsoever they were, ought to be inviolable to their Subjects: for they saw there was scarce any thing more usual in holy Scripture, then the prohibition of resistance, or refusal of obedience to the Prince, whether he were Jew, or Pagan, milde or tyrannical, good or bad: as to instance one place for all, where the Lord saith, *I have made the earth, the man, and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and have given it to whom it seemed meet unto me; and now I have given all those Lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my servant, (and he was both a Heathen, an Idolater, and a mighty Tyrant) and all Nations shall serve him and his son, and his sons son; and it shall come to passe, that the Nation and Kingdome, which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon and that will not put their necks under the yoke of the King of Babylon, that Nation will I punish (saith the Lord) with the Sword, and with the Famine, and with the Pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hands: therefore hearken not ye unto your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, — which speak unto you, saying, you shall not serve the King of Babylon, for they prophesy a lie unto you; which he repeateth again and again, they prophesy a lie unto you, that you should perish; and may not I apply these words to our very time? God saith I have given this Kingdome unto King Charles (which is a mild, just and most pious king) and they that will say, *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, I will destroy them by his hand; therefore, o ye seduced Londoners, beleive not your false Prophets, nay, hearken not to your diviners, your Anabaptists and Brownists that preach lies, and lies upon lies, unto you, that you should perish; for God hath not sent them, though*

they

they multiply their lies in his name : therefore why will you dye, why will you destroy your selves, and your posterity, by refusing to submit your selves to mine ordinance ? and what should God say more unto you to hinder your destruction ? and it was concluded by a whole Council, that *si quis potest in regia, que non est (teste Apostolo) nisi a Deo, consumat & afflato spiritu obtemperare irrefragabiliter voluerit, anathematizetur.* Whosoever resisteth the Kings Power, and with a proud spirit will not obey him, let him be accursed.

But then you will say, this is strange doctrine, that wholly takes away the liberty of the Subject, if they may not resist regal tyranny.

I thinke there is no good Subject, that loves his Sovereign that will speake against a just and lawfull liberty, when it is a far greater honour unto any king, to rule over free and gentle Subjects, then over base and turkish slaves ; but as under the shadow and pretence of Christian liberty, many carnal men have rooted out of their hearts all Christianity, so many Rebellions, and aspiring mindes have, under these colourable titles of the liberty of the Subjects and suppressing tyranny, shaked of the yoke of all true Obedience, and dashed the rights of government all to pieces ; therefore, as the law of God and the rules of his own conscience, should keep every Christian King from exercising any unjust tyranny over his Subjects ; so, if men will transgres the rules of true obedience, the Kings Power and authority should keep them from transgressing the limits of their just liberty : but this unlawfulnessesse of resisting our lawful King, I have fully proved in my Grand Rebellion, and it is so excellently well done by many others, that I shall but alia agere, to say any more of it.

comil. Mel.
dens. apud
Roffea. l. 2. c. 5.
as puech. papæ.

Ob.

Sol.

Many eviles
luck under
fair shewes.

C H A P. XVII.

Showeth how tribute is due to the King ; for six special reasons to be paid ; the condition of a lawfull tribute ; that we should not be niggards to affit the King ; that we should defend the Kings Person ; the wealth and pride of London, the cause of all the miseries of this Kingdome ; and how we ought to pray for our King.

4. Tributum is another right and part of that honour, which we owe unto our King. *Negotia enim infinita sustinet, equabile jus omnibus administrat, periculum à republica, cum necessitas popularis, armis & virtute propulsat, bonis premia pro dignitate constituit, improbos supplicium acerbitate corrigit, patriam denique universam, & ab externis hostibus & ab intus suis fraudibus tutam vigilancia sua prestat : hec quidem munera aut opere tuetur, aut quocies opus fuerit, tuenda suscipit ; qui autem existimat hec tam multa munera sine maximis sumptibus sustineri posse, mentis expers est, atque vita communis ignorans : & idcirco hoc, quod & communis more receptum est, ut reges populi sumptibus alantur, non est humano tantum jure, sed etiam divino voluntum : faith eloquent Oſorius de rebus Emanuel lib. 3. v. p. 386.*

The great
charge of Prince
ces.

Oſorius de rebus
Emmanuel lib. 3. v.

p. 386.

taketh to his charge them as often as any need requireth; And he that thinketh that all these things, so many and so great assaires, can be discharged without great cost and charge, is void of understanding and ignorant of the common course of life; and therefore this thing, which is received by a common custom, that Kings should be assisted, and their royalty maintained, by the publick charge of the people, is not only allowed by humane law, but is also confirmed by the divine right.

Men should therefore consider that the occasions of Kings are very great; a broad, for intelligence, and correspondency with Foreign States, that we may reap the fruit of other Nations, vent our own commodities to our best advantage, and be guarded, secured, and preserved from all our outward enemies; and at home, to support a due State answerable to his place, to maintain the publick justice and judgements of the whole Kingdom, and an hundred such like occasions, that every private man cannot perceive; and think you that these things can be done without means, without money? If you still pour out and not pour in, your bottle will be soon empty, and the Ocean sea would be soon dried up, if the Rivers did not still supply the same: and therefore not only Darioes, that I speak of before, when he was elected King of the Medes, caused them to build him a most stately Palace, and the famous City of Ecbatana, and to give him a goodly band of select men for the safeguard of his Person, and to provide all other things fitting for the Majesty of a King, and all the other Kings of the Gentiles did the like, as well they might, if it be true, that some of them thought,

*Quicquid habet locuples, quicquid custodit avarus,
Tunc quidem nostrum est, populo concedimus nsum.*

Gunterus.

But also Solomon, and all the rest of the Kings of Israel required no small aid and tribute from their Subjects; for though Tertullian out of Deut. 23. 17. reads it, there shall not be *ridiculus, vestigia pendens*, a paver of tribute of the sons of Israel; yet Pamphilus well observes it, that these words are not in the original, but are taken by him out of the *Septuaginta*, which also saith not of the sons, but *deus suspirio*, of the daughters of Israel, that is, *ex impudicitia & luxuriaribus*, for their dishonesty, as it is said in the next verse, that the hire of a Whore and the price of a dog, are *an abomination unto the Lord*, and so S. Augustine useth the word *Telera*, for those unchaste sacrifices wherewith such women did oblige themselves: and so doth Theodore likewise: but that the Jews paid tribute, it is manifest out of 1 Sam. 17. 24. where this reward is promised to him that killed Goliath, that his father's house should be *absque tributo*, free from all tribute in Israel, therefore certainly they paid tribute, and to make it yet more plain, Solomon appointed Jeroboam, *super tributa universa domus Joseph*, saith the vulgar latine, over all the charge or burthen of the house of Joseph, (that is, of the tribe of Ephraim and Manasses) as our translation reads it: and he appointed Adoniram the Son of Abda over the tribute. 1. Reg.

4. 6.
Yea, though the Jews were the people of God, and thought themselves *free*, and no wayes obliged to be taxed by foreign Princes, that were Ethnicks: yet after Pompey took their City, they paid tribute to the Romans; and our Saviour bids us not only to obey, but also to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, that is, (not determining the *quota pars*, how much, as he doth the tenth unto the Priest) but *indefinitely*, some part of our goods, for subsidies, imposts, aids, loanes, or call it by what name you will; and rather then himself would omit this duty, though he never wrought any other miracle about money; yet herein, when he had never a penny, he would create money in the mouth of a fish, as S. Hierom and the interlin. glasse do think, and command the fish to pay tribute both for himself and his Apostle. Therefore we should render unto Caesar what

1. Reg. 12. 4.
Tertul. to 3.
de pudicit. c. 9.
Pamel. in Ter-
tul.

Deut. 23. 18.
Aug. de Civit.
dei. 10. c. 9.

1 Sam. 17.
25. in vulgata
editione.
2. reg. 11. 18.

Barrad to 2.
1. 5. c. 21.
p. 340.

Josephus.
1. 13. c. 18.

Barrad. to 2.
1. 10. c. 32.
p. 317.

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

11

what is *Cæsar's*: that is, φέρει, τίνει, καλύπτει, which the Greeks take promiscuously, though the Civilians distinguish them, *de solo & fundo, de bonis mobilibus, & de mercibus*, of our grounds, of our goods, of our merchandise, we ought to pay *subsidies*, aid, and tribute unto our King; and that not sparingly, nor by way of benevolence, as if it were in our power to do it, or not to do it, *sed ex debito*, but as his due, *jure divino, & regulâ iustitie*, as his proper importance annexed unto his Crown; for I take it infallibly true, which *Suarez* saith, *acceptationem populi non est conditionem necessariam tributi ex vi iuris naturalis a gentium, neque ex jure communis: quia obligatio pendet tributum, ita naturalis est principi & per se ortae ex ratione iustitie, ut non possit quis excusari propter apparentem injuriam vel nimium gravamen*; the consent of the people is not any necessary condition of tribute; because the obligation of paying it, is so natural, springing out of the reason of justice, that none can be excused for any apparent injustice or grievance: and therefore the Parliaments, that are the highest representations of any Kingdom, do not contribute any right unto Kings to challenge tribute, but do determine the *quota pars*, and to further the more equal imposing and collecting of that, which is due unto Kings by natural and original justice, as a part of that proper inheritance which is annexed unto their Crownes.

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Suarez de
leg. 1. 5. c. 17.
n. 3.
fol. 316.
Tribute due to
the King.

Matth. 3:1

*Latimer m
Mat. 33. 21.
Navar. apud A
Suarez de le-
gibas fol. 300.*

fol. 311.

Deut. 24. 15.

— 17 —

And therefore, our Saviour doth not say, give unto *Cesar*, but *imperiorum et
caesorum & ratione*, the same word which S. *Paul* useth, when he biddeth us to pay
our debts, and to owe nothing to any man, saying, *imperiorum et ratione, pay
to every man that which you owe*: and Father *Lutimer* saith, if we deny him
tribute, custome, subsidie, tallage, taxes, and the like aid and support, we
are no better then *Theevos*, and stcale the kings dues from him: because
the Law testifieth *tributia esse maxime naturalia, & praeferre iustitiam, quam
exiguntur de tribus propriis*: and *Suarus* saith, *penditur tributum ad sustentationem
principis, & ad satisfaciendum naturali obligationi in dando stipendium juri-
stum laboranti in nostram utilitatem*; tribute is most naturall and just to be paid
to the king for our own good: therefore Christ pleading for the right of *Cesar*,
that was a Tyrant, saith not, give unto him, *quia peti*, because he demands it,
but pay unto him, *qua illius iust*, the things that are his, and are due unto him,
even as due as the *hirelings* wages, which we are commanded not to detain for
one night; because this is a part of that reward and wages, which God alloweth
him for all his pains and cares, that he takes to see *Justice* administered in the time
of *Peace*, and to protect us from our *enemies* in the time of *War*; which makes the
life of kings to be but a kind of *splendid misery*, wearing many times with Christ,
a Crown of *Thornes*, a Crown full of cares, while we lap our heads in beds of
downe; and therefore it is not only *undutifulnesse* to deny him, or *unthankfulnessse*,
not to requite the great good that he doth unto us, but it is also a great
injustice, (especially if we consider that as *Ocham* saith, *Qui est dominus aliquarum
personarum, est Dominus rerum ad easdem personas spectantium; omnia que
sunt in regno, sunt regis quoad potestatem utendi ei: pro bono communis, Ocha tract.
2. l. 2. c. 22. & 25.*) to detain that right from him, which God commands us
to pay unto him, and that indeed for our own good; as *Menenius Agrippa* most
wittily shewed unto the People of *Rome* when they murmured and mutined for
these taxes, that whatsoever the stomach received, either from the hand or
mouth, it was all for the benefit of the whole body; so whatsoever the King
receiveth from the People, it is for the benefit of the people, and it is like the wa-
ters that the Sea receiveth from the Rivers, which is *visibly* seen passing into the
Ocean, but *invisibly* runneth through the *veines* of the earth, into the Rivers a-
gain; so doth all that the King receiveth from the People, return some way or
other unto the People again.

And there be six special reasons why, or to what end we should pay these dues unto the King.

The Rights of Kings, and

Six reasons
for which we
pay Tribute
unto the king.

1. For the Honour of his Majesty.
2. For the security of his Person.
3. For the protection of his Kingdom.
4. For the succour of his confederates.

5. For the securing of our 1. Goods.
2. Estates.
3. Lives.

6. For the propagating of the Gospel, and defence of our Religion.

But for the further clearing of this point, you must know that every just and Lawfull tribute must have these three essential conditions, that are proprietates constitutiva.

Three condi-
tions of every
lawfull Tri-
but.

1. *Legitima potestas*, that is, the Kings power to require it.
2. *Iusta causa*, an urgent necessity, or need of it.
3. *Debita portio*, a due proportion, according to the Kings necessities, and the peoples abilities, that he be not left in need, nor the people overcharged. For,

Kings should
not over-
charge their
Subjects.

As the Subjects are thus bound to supply the necessities of their King, so the King is not to over-charge his Subjects ; for the King should be the Shepherd of his People, as David calls himself, and Homer tearmeth all good Kings, and not the devourer of his people, as Achilles calleth Agamemnon for the unreasonable taxes that he laid upon them ; therefore good Kings have been very sparing in this point ; for Darini, inquiring of the Governors of his Provinces, whether the tributes imposed upon them were not too excessive, and they answering, that they thought them very moderate, he commanded that they should raise but the one half thereof, (which had Rehoboam bin so wise to do, he had not lost ten parts of his Kingdome ;) and Lewis the ninth of France, which they say was the first that raised a tax in that Kingdome, directing his speech to his Son Philip, and causing the words to be left in his Testament, which is yet to be found Registered in the chamber of accounts, said, be devout in the service of God, have a pitifull heart towards the poore, and comfort them with thy good deeds, observe the good Lawes of thy Kingdome, take no taxes nor benevolences of thy Subjects, unlesse urgent necessity, and evident commodity force thee to it, and then upon a just caule, and not usually ; if thou doest otherwise, thou shalt not be accounted a king, but a Tyrant ; and it is one of the gracious apothegmes of our late noble and never to be forgotten Soveraigne, worthy to be written in letters of gold, where speaking to his son, he saith, *inrich not your self with extactions from your Subjects, but think the riches of your Subjects, your best Treasures* : and Artaxerxes said, it was a great deale more seemlier for the Majestie of a King, to give, then to take by polling, to cloath, then to uncloath, which belongeth to Thieves, not to Princes, unlesse they will stain their names : for as Apollonius saith, that gold, which is taken by Tyranny, is far baser then any iron ; because it is wetted with the teares of the poor Subjects : and therefore Peter de la Primanday, saith, they are unworthy of the title of Prince, that lending their eares to such as invent new wayes to get monyes from their Subjects, and having against all humanity, spoyled them of their goods, do either miserably consume them upon their pleasures, or prodigally bellow them upon undeserving flatterers, that fat themselves by the overthrow of others.

King James
his golden a-
pothege,
Basilicon doron.
l. 2. p. 99.

Pet. de la Pri-
munday: cap. 60.
p. 670.

Gen. 47. 46.

And therefore it behoveth all kings to consider, that all mens goods are theirs only *quoad iustitionem, & defensionem*, and their Subjects, *quoad possessionem & proprietatem* ; as you may see, where Joseph bought all the Land of the Egyptians for king Pharaoh, and then let it them againe in Fee-farme, to give the King the fifth part of the fruit of it ; and as you may conclude it from the eighth Commandment, which saith, as well to the King as to the Subject, *thou shalt not steale* ; for if all be his, he cannot be said to steale it ; and if this precept concerns not kings, then have they but nine Commandments ; and therefore, be wise, O ye Kings, and remember what Saint Augustine saith, *remota iustitia quid sunt Regna*

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament.

113

Regna nisi Latrocinia? for though you may justly demand Tribute and Taxes, yet you must have just occasions to use them, and you must take but a just proportion, or else they may come unjustly unto you.

But who shall be the Judges of the Kings just occasions? in many Kingdomes his conscience; as the *Roman Consuls* imposed what taxes they thought meet upon the Provinces they subdued; so *Marcus Antonius* being in *Asia* doubled their Tax, and laid a second charge upon the People, which was very unreasonable, as *Hebreas* told him, saying, if thou wilt have power to lay upon us two taxes in one year, thou must have also power to give us two summers, and *Autumns*, two *Harvests*, and two *Vintages*: and yet if our king do thus unreasonably tax us with more then we are able to bear, we may reason with him, as *Hebreas* did with *Marke Antony*, refel his arguments, and repel his oppressions according to the course of Law, but we may not in any case with the Sword make any resistance, either actual or habitual, against him.

1 Because God hath not made us Judges of the Kings occasions, and we know not his necessities: and therefore we cannot determine what is just and unjust.

2. Were it granted, that the *superior* demanded without right, yet the *inferior* not onely may rightly render it without offence unto his conscience, but also ought to pay it without resistance unto the Magistrate: for if the *Jews* were not free: and the Romans had no right to demand Tribute of them, yet by our Saviours question unto Saint Peter, and his replication unto the Apostles answer, it is apparent, that our Saviour was most free, and was no way bound to pay any thing unto the *Romans*, not onely quia Deus, as *Hesselius* saith, but also as *Matth. 18.* he was a man, as *Barradini* more truely provereth: yet lest he should offend them, as he saith, tributum solvit quia voluit, he doth most willingly discharge *I. 19. c. 32.* it: to teach us, that we may and ought justly and without any scruple of conscience pay that, which may be unjustly demanded: and the best Authors, that I have read, are of the same judgement: we have no other remedy but to cry to God, who can judge them for their injustice: & non caret modis, quibus *Greg. Tholos.* posuit, quando volunt, *buijumodi* principes tollere vel emendare. *I. 26. de repub.* *c. 5. n. 25.*

But, though in most of the Eastern Countries, the Kings imposed upon their Subjects, what taxes and tributes pleased themselves, as *Augustus* taxed all the world, as much as he would, at his own pleasure, and *Charles the fifth* (*saith Ossorius*) *praeter pecunias quibus illum Hispani juvabant, immania tributa populus imperavit*, besides those monyes, wherewith the *Spaniard* affilid him, laid most heavy taxes upon the people; which is indeed a branch of the absolute right of Kings, and was originally practised by most of them; yet here with us, our Kings out of grace and favour unto their people granted such a priviledge unto their Subjects, and develid themselves of this right, to lay no impositions or taxes upon their Subjects, without the consent of their three States convened in the two Houses of Parliament; and this Princely concession, being truly observed, may procure a great deale of love and peace unto the king, and as much tranquility and happiness unto the people. Neither do I thinke that he loves his King, but am sure that he hates his Country, that would perfwade him for all the wealth of the kingdom, to violate his own grant and faith herein; but, as our king granted this favour, to impose no taxes without the consent of his Parliament, so his parliament in all duty, ought alwayes with all thankfulness, to acknowledge this special grace, and in requital thereof most fully to supply his wants and support his necessities, whensoever he acquaints them therewith.

And therefore we ought not to be like those hide-bound *Sectaries*, and close-fisted *Puritans* and *Brownists*, that are so miserably covetous, and extrem niggards, that when the king makes known his wants and demands his due, (for it is still his due, though he granted not to cesse it without their consent) for his royal *supportation* and the safety of his kingdom, they will finde a hundred excuses to deny him, but never a penny to give him out of all their wealth; and this is the cause of our misery, and may prove as fatal to us, as it

The saying of
Hebreas to *M.*
Antonius.

Kings herein
not to be re-
fisted.

1. Reason-

2. Reason.

Hesselius in
Matth. 18.
Barrad. to. 2.

I. 19. c. 32.

Greg. Tholos.
I. 26. de repub.
c. 5. n. 25.

Ossor. de rebus
Emanuel I. 12.
p. 386.
What the
Kings of
England pro-
mised to their
Subjects.

That we
should not be
niggards to
affit our king.

The Rights of Kings, and

How Constant.
was lost, and
what the Turk
then said.

hath been to the *Constantinopolitans*; whose churlishnesse and niggardlinesse towards their *Emperour*, was the chiefest cause of the losse of that great Empire and to make the *Turk* sit in Christ his Chaire, to have *Mahomet* adored where the *Gospel* was formerly published by as many famous Fathers, as now *England* hath Preachers; for the *Emperour* foreseeing the *Siege*, made many motions for contributions towards the repairing of the *Walls*, and continue the military charge; but the *Subjects* drew back, and pleaded *want*, until it was too late, and the City lost; for though the enemy having a long time besieged it, was intended to give over the *Siege*, and to be gone; yet *tydings* and intelligence being given him, that the *Souldiers* within the Town, were grown very thin and discontented for want of their pay, the enemy returned and in a short space took the City: and there found in private mens hands, such infinite store of gold and all manner of treasure, (the hundred part whereof would have paid all the *Souldiers*, kept out the enemy, and preserved them all) that the *Turk* seeing the baseness of the Citizens, so foolishly hiding their wealth, and denying just aid unto their *Emperour*, stood amazed, and lifting up his hands to heaven, lamented their folly, and asked what they meant, that having such a store of wealth, they would suffer themselves to be thus destroyed, only for want of wit or of grace to use it? and thence grew the Proverb among the *Turkes* unto this day, when one becommeth very rich, you have been at the *Siege* of *Constantinople*. And I pray God it may not so fall out with us for our covetousnesse, that we prove not *Lucans* speech to be true: *omnia dat, qui insta negat*, to lose all unjustly unto *Strangers*, unto rebels, because we deny what is just unto our King.

But I will conclude this point with the Poët,

*Astra Deo nil majus habent, nil Cesare terra,
 Sic Cesare terras, ut Deus astra regit.
 Imperium regis Caesar, Deus astra gubernat,
 Caesar honore suo dignus, amore Deus.
 Dignus amore Deus, dignus quoque Caesar honore est,
 Alter enim terras, alter & astra regit.
 Cum Deus in calis, Caesar regat omnia terris,
 Censum Cesariibus solvite, vota Deo.*

3. Defence of his Person is another principal part of that honour, which we owe unto our King. And the very heathens did think their lives well bestowed for their Gods, their family, and the father of the Country; how much more willing should the Christians be, to hazard their lives in defence of their King, which is, *quasi unus è decem milibns*, worth ten thousands of us, being,

^a Sam. 21. 17. as the Scripture termes him, the *Light of Israel*, and the *bread of our nostrils*, Lament. 2. 4. the *head* of his Subjects, the *shepherd* and *Pastor* of the people, and as the Pt. 78. 71. 72. word *Baion* importeth, *Baion τὸ λαοῦ*, the *foundation* of the people, without vide Hof. 3. 4. which they must all fall unto the ground; for where there is no *governour*, all c. 10. 3. and must perish, and there will be no *Priest*, no *Prince*, no *Religion*, no *Nobility*, no Lament. 2. 9. good, but *anarchy* and *confusion*, and the destruction of all things. And if we

^b Joh. 3. 16. ought to lay down our lives for the *bretbren*, as *S. John* saith, how much rather ought we to do it for our King? it is recorded in our annals, to his eternal praise, that Sir *Hubert Synder* at the *Seige* of *Bridge-north*, seeing an arrow that

Nulla gens iùd
solicita est cir-
ca regem suum,
sicut apes, unde
rege incolunt
omnibus mens u-
na est, & quan-
do nequit vola-
re, fersi ipsum
turba apum; &
si moritur, mori-
untur & ipse.

was shot at his Master, King *Henry* the second, stepped betwixt the shaft and his *Sovereign*, and receiving the arrow into his body, was therewith shot through to death, that he might preserve the *life* of his King, which otherwise had been slain in his stead. So *Turnbul* had his name for killing a *Bull*, that had otherwise slain one of the Kings of *Scotland*; and we read that when *David* was assailed by a mighty Giant, named *Ishibibebob*, which was of the sons of *Rapha*, the head of whose speare weighed three hundred shekels of brass, *Abisbai* the son of *Zervia*, with the danger of his owne life, runs in, succours the king, and kills the *Philistim*. ^c Sam. 21. 17. and so all other good Subjects have had a *speciall* care to preserve the *lives* of their Kings, whom they loved better than their own *Parents*, yea, then their *wives* or *children*, or their own *lives*, as it

it appeareth by the foresaid examples, and abundance of the like, that you may find in the Histories of the Heathens: for they had not learnt the new divinity of our time, to destroy the King for the good of his Subjects, but they thought, as it is most true, that *salus regis est salus populi*, and they believed, as all good Christians do, that

Una salus nobis, nullam sperare salutem,

Principe calcato, sublato jure corona;

because as S. Chrysostome saith, *νήπιον καρκίνη, οὐνον ἀκευσία*, their safety is our security, and as S. August. saith, *si tollis jura Imperatorum, quis audet dicere, mea est illa villa*, if you take away the government of Kings, who dares say, *hee mea sunt*, this or that is mine, as now, God knowes, since these Rebels have abused ^{Chrysost. in} ^{1 Tim. 2. 2.} ^{Aug. 10. 9.} ^{trad. 6. in} ^{johan.} our King, we can say nothing is our own; our houses, goods, lives and liberties, are at the disposing of them that are strongest; what then shall we say of those Subjects that strive with all their wit, wealth and strength to destroy their King? and if you ask me why? I must answer, as Aristedes was banished out of *Athens*, *justus, quia justus*, so must our King be killed, if these men could do it with their Cannon Bullets, because he is too good to reign over them; who deserved not a pious *David*, nor a wise *Solomon* to rule over them, but a foolish *Rehoboam*, that would whip them with *Scorpions*, or such a one as would rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel: for had our King been, not *Cesar Augustus*, but *Augustus Severus*, so severe as *Henry 8.* or some other more unmerciful Princes, these Rebels durst as well eat their own flesh, as thus to devour the flesh and bones of the Kings loyall Subjects, and seek the death of the King himself.

For it is most certaine of the vulgar people, and of ill bred natures, that *un-*
gentes pungunt, pungentes molliter angunt; and therefore though the manifold offers of *Peace*, and the unparalleled promising of *Pardons* to most obstinate Rebels, do infinitely commend the piety, and declare the *mildness* of a most clement Prince, and the refusall thereof betray the *ingratefull stubbornnesse* of *graceless* Subjects to all posterity; yet, when the hairy scalpe of such as still go on in their wickedness, will not so easily be rubbed off, I should say to every King, put your trust in Gods assistance; and as the Holy Ghost saith to the *King of Kings*, *Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty, ride on with thine honour, and let thy right hand teach thee terrible things*: and those thine enemies that would not thou shouldest reigne over them, cause them to be brought, and let them be slain before thee, so shalt thou be a ruler in the midst of thine enemies; and some ^{Psal. 45. 3.} think that it were but just, if our King, though he be never so loath, should now at last turn the *leafe*, and follow the example of God himself, (who when his children regard not his grace, and set at naught all his counsels, will laugh at their calamity, and mock when their destruction cometh as a whirl-winde) and should make *London* as *Hierusalem*, and as other the like rebellious Cities, (that the Lord in his just revenge of their iniquity hath suffered to be destroyed, and to be made an heape of stones:) because the *Londoners* have shewed themselves in many things worse then the *Jews*, and for *Rebellions* have justified all the *Cities* of the world: or if the King will not do this, though I dare not say of them, as *Antoninus*, after he had heard the confession of a miserable covetous wretch, said unto him, *Deus misereatur tui, si vult, & condonet tibi peccata tua, quod non credo & perdueat te in vitam eternam, quod est impossibile*; yet seeing their sins are so intolerable among men, and so abominable in the sight of God, it is much feared, that *et tu orangorum & iuraventor regis*, after their hard hearts; ^{Rom. 2. 5.} which cannot repent, they will still proceed to heape upon themselves the heavy wrath of God, till there be no remedy to preserve them from utter ruine and destruction; though from my heart I wish them more grace, and pray to Almighty God, that

Nullum sit in omni pondus;

Or if this cannot be, that they may escape that *damnation*, which the Apostle threatneth to all them that resist this *ordinance* of God.

6. The last but not the least part of that honour which is due to our King, is our King.

^{Rom. 13. 2.}
^{6. Prayers for}

^{Prov. 1. 16, 17.}
 The wealth &
 pride of the
 City of London
 have brought
 this misery and
 calamity upon
 all the kingdom
 of England.

The Rights of Kings, and

*Arniseus c. 2. p. 38
Tertul ad Scap.
Ita Marcus An-
relius Christia-
norum militum
orationibus ad
Deum factis, im-
bres & vi-
ctoriam in ex-
peditione Ger-
mania impe-
travimus.*

prayers to God for him: and as the other duty was to be performed by the practice of all good Subjects; so is this to be observed by the precept of the Apostle, who though the Kings were *Ethnicks* and *Tyrants*, yet commanded us to pray for them and that you may know what manner of prayer the Christians made for their persecuting Kings. *Tertullian* that lived under the Emperour *Severus*, saith in behalf of the Church, *Omnibus Imperatoribus precamur vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, popu- lum probum, orbem quietum, & quacunque hominis & Caesaris vota sunt;* and I fear me, our Rebels pray for none of these things to a most Christian King: *Nam orare pro aliquo & in exitium ejus machinari, nonne hac sunt sibi contraria?* for to pray for ones health and long life, and to do our best to worke his destruction.

Non bene convenienter. —

can never proceed from a true heart, but as the uncharitable Papists prayed for the successse of the *Gun-powder Plot* (which was a Treason sine exemplo, quia crudelis sine modo) saying

Gentem austero per fidam Credentiam de finibus, Ut Christo preces debitas Persolvamus alacriter. } So the practice of these Rebels makes us believe their prayer is,

*Regem austero per fidum Credentiam de finibus, &c. **

* I am ashamed to set down how the factious and malicious Preachers of the rebellious Cities, either neglect to pray at all, or pray most seditiously and unchristianly for their own Liege Lord, and gracious King: and therefore the curse of *Judas* lights upon them, that their prayer is turned into sin, which should make them pray, that *Judas* his end should not fall unto them.

C H A P. XVIII.

The persons that ought to honour the King; and the recapitulation of one and twenty Wickednesses of the Rebels, and the faction of the pretended Parliament.

3. The persons that must honour the King.

Rom. 13. 1.

*Gen. 46. 62.
27. Act. 3.*

*H*aving seen the Person that is to be honoured, and the honour that is due unto him, we are now to consider in the last place, Who are to honour him, included in this word *nām*, honour ye him, which being unlimited and indefinite, is equivalent to an universal; and so Saint Paul doth more plainly exprest it, saying, *τὰν πρὸς ἀριστεράς τοποθετεῖται, οὐκανέτω, Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;* which is an Hebrew Ideome, or Syncdochical speech, signifying the whole man; the word *πρὸς* being usually taken in Scripture *pro toto composite*, for the whole man composed of body and soul, as where it is said, that *Jacob went down into Egypt with 70 soules*, and S. Peter by one Sermon converted 3000 soules: and the abstract word *πρὸς* is here taken *ἐπορεύεσθαι*, to shew that our subjection, obedience, and honour, which we are to ascribe unto our King, must be not as hypocrites render it in *show*, from the teeth outward, but really and indeed, *ex animo*, from our soules and the botome of our hearts, as Aquinas glosseth it: and the concrete *πάντα* added unto it, makes it the more energetical, to shew that all mortal men, none excepted, are obliged, to do this honour, and to yield this subjection unto their King: for seeing every man, both spiritual and temporal; and every sex, both man and woman

woman; and every degree of men, young and old, rich and poor, one with another, hath an immortal soul, as well as a mortal body, it must needs follow, that all, *cujuscunque gradus, sexus, & conditionis*, are obliged both in soule and body to honour and obey their King.

And yet it is strange to see how many men can exempt themselves and grant a dispensation unto their soules for the performance of this duty; for the Pope will be freed, because he hath a power above all powers, to depose Kings and to dispose of their Kingdomes at his pleasure: and the Popish Clergy will perform no duty unto their King, because their Function is spiritual: but to all these I may truly say, as our Saviour doth to the lewd servant, *ex ore tuo, out of the* Fathers whom they acknowledge, and out of their own Authors they are confuted, for Saint Chrysostome faith, that whether he be an Apostle, or Evangelist, or Prophet, *Sed quisquis tandem fuerit*, or whosoever else he be, Pope, Cardinal, or Deacon, he is commanded to be subject to the higher power: and that you may see what power he meanes, he pointeth out the same by the symbol, that is, of him that carryeth the sword, which you know must be the secular Prince, and not the spiritual Pope: and so not onely Euthym. Theophylact Oecumenius, and other Greek Commentators do avouch, but also those Epistles, which are recorded by Binius, and quoted by the Bishop of Durhams, as Leo I. ep. 26. & 35. Simplicius I. ep. 4. Felix 3. ep. 2. Anastasius I. ep. 78. Pelagius I. ep. 16. Martinus I. ep. 3. Agatho I. ep. ad Herac. Hadrian I. ep. ad Constant. do make this most manifest unto vs: and therefore Espenensis, convinced by such a cloud of witnesses, confesseth very honestly, that the Apostle here, *Docet omnes credentes mundi potestatisibus esse subiectos, nempe, five Apostolos, five Evangelista, &c. ut scilicet Chrysost. Euthym. & qui non, Graci?*

The Pope and his Clergy would be freed from the subjection of Kings.

Espen in Tit. 3.
1. Digref. 10.
1568.

The wickednesses of the pretended Parliament shewed by their actions.

And as the Popelings will be free, so the Presbyterians, and the faction of this Parliament will be as free as they: and (because every wickedness laboureth to exceed that which preceeded) these do not agree with the Catholiques (as Herod and Pilate did, to crucifie Christ) in the same conclusion and tenet of exemption, but they will go a note beyond Elia, and surmount both Jesuite and Pope, and therefore they not onely dishonour and disobey their King, but they have violated and incroached upon all his rights, and assument the same into their own hands; for, to recapitulate some of their choyest wickednesses.

1. As the Church of Rome and the Jesuites teach, in Aphorismis confessariorum, ex Doctrorum sententiss collectis, p. 249. that *Rex potest per rem publicam privari ob tyrannidem, & si non faciat officium suum, & cum est causa aliqua iusta & eligi alius à majore parte populi*: which falsehood their own Divines confute, when Royard saith, *Rege constituto, non potest populus ingum subjectionis repellere*: Royard. in dom. 1 advent. so these men maintain that diabolical tenet, that the Regal power is primarily in the collective body, and derived to the king cumulative, not private; and therefore upon the kings neglect or male-administration, it comes back again to the collective body, in whom it resideth suppletive, to discharge the royal duty when the king faileth to do the same; and then the king so falling from his right, they may refuse obedience, and if they see cause (which they can soone do) they may depose him from his office, which impudent falsehood I have fully confuted in this Treatise.

2. They say the Regall Majesty is a humane creature, or the ordinance of men primarily, and therefore may be deposed by men; when as Cunerius could say, *Sive electione, sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli iure princeps fiat, principi tamen facto divinitus potest as adest*: and therefore they have no power to take away that which God hath given him.

3. They have with Nadab and Abihu adventured to offer strange fire upon Gods Altar, and with Uzza to lay their profane hands upon Gods holy Arke; they have rejected the Lawes that the King with the advice and consultation of all his learned Clergy hath made, * and they themselves sit in Moses chaire, and have undertaken to reforme the Church, to make Lawes, and compose Articles of our faith, with the advice of a few factious men, that were never esteemed otherwise nesses.

* Though now I reckon not this among their wickednesses.

The Rights of Kings, and

- otherwise then *sax Cleri*, not worthy to be the *Curates* of those *worthy* *Divines*, whose *feet* they hurt in the *flocks*, and send the *iron* into their *soules*.
4. How they persecute the *Bishops*, and the best of the *Clergy*.
4. They have cast out all the *Bishops*, and all the *fairfull Ministers* of Christ out of all offices, that might *further* the *Gospell*, and administer *justice* unto the people ; they do *rob* them of their meanes, and count *sacrilege* to be no sin ; and in very deed, they have *persecuted* the *worthiest Clergy*, in many particulars, far worse then ever *Julian*, that wicked *Apostata*, did ; the Lord of Heaven give us *patience* to indure it, and suffer us not for *feare* of any *villanie*, or *calamity*, to be *detected*, and so fall away from his *truth*.
5. They have *called* and continued an *Assembly*, which the *Pope* would not do without the *Emperours* leave, contrary to the *Kings* command ; which is a *meere* and *mighty usurpation* of the *Regall right*.
6. They have *seized* upon the *Kings Revenues*, *Castles*, *Forts*, *Townes*, *Ships*, and *all* that they could lay hand on, and do in a *hostile* manner, with all *violence*, *detaine* them from him, but what he gaines by his *sword*, to this very day.
7. They have *fought* against him, *shot* at His *sacred Person*, and sought most *Barbarously* to kill him, under the colour to preserve him ; which is the finest piece of *Logicke* that ever was read.
8. They have *rayled* at him ; *flandered* him, and most apparently and falsly *belyed* him, and laid to his *charge* the things which we his *Majesties Subjects* and *Servants* that *attend* Him do know, that He neither *did*, nor *knew*.
9. They *incongrued* and *countenanced* their *ignorant brazen-faced Chaplains* most *uncivily* to rayle at Gods *Anointed* in the *Pulpit* ; and so they brought the *abomination*, not of desolation, but of most *horrible transgression* into the *holie place*, and made *Moses chaire* the *seat* of *railers*.
10. They *taxe* the *Subjects* at their *pleasure*, and have raised infinite *summes* of money, and no man but themselves knowes *how* they have disposed, or *what* they have done therewith.
11. They discharged *Apprentices*, they send out their *Warrants* and their *Edicts*, *without* and *against* the *Kings* *authority*, which are but *huge*, and the *mismis* of their doings.
12. They averre, that the *King* hath no *negative voice* in making *Lawes*, but they may *conclude* them, and make them *obligatory* without the *Kings* *approbation* or *ratification* ; and that they may do *any* thing conducible to the *good* of the *Church* and *Commou-wealth*, any *Law*, *Statute*, or *provision* made to the *contrary notwithstanding*.
13. They are not ashamed to *teach* (as they do *practice*) that it is *lawfull* for them to make *Covenants*, *Combinations*, and *Confederacies* of *mutuall defence* and *offence* against any person whatsoever, whom themselves judge *malignant*, not excepting the *King* himselfe ; and they say, that it were *better* for them to renounce their *Baptisme*, then to forsake their *Covenant*, which they believe will be more *advantageous* to the *Kingdome*, then all the *Priviledges* that are granted in *Magna Charta*, or the *Statutes* that have been made ever since.
14. They jeered at the *Kings Proclamations*, trampled his *Declarations* under feet, and incurred the same with *rebellious Protestations*.
15. To what they liken the *Kings pardons*.
15. They perswade the people to give no *care* to any discourse of *Accommodation*, or conclusion for any *peace* ; and say, that the *King* is not to be *trusted* ; that he will performe no *promise* that he maketh, either in his *Proclamations* or *Declarations* ; and therefore that the *Kings Pardons* may be likened to a *buckler* of *glasse*, or a *stasse* of *reed*, on which there is no *trust*, no committing themselves to the *defence* of any such *pardon*. So we may say with the Poet,
- Nos iuvat alma quies, gens hac fra bella minatur,*
Et quoties pacem pscimus, arma crepat.
16. Whence they learned their *D.inity*.
16. They teach the *Doctrine* of *coercion*, *de dignifying*, *degrading*, and *decapitating* of *Kings*, when they deeme them *unworthy* of that *dignity* ; and their arguments and reasons they collect and produce out of *Dolman*, *Bellarum*, *Suarez*, and the *Magazine* of the most rigid *Jesuites*.

17. They

17. They have so barbarously, so irreverently, and so prophanely abused our Service-Book, that it would *loath* your *cares* to heare, transcend modestly to tell you how they have *dealt* with it; and they threatened, that if the Ministers would *read* it, they should never read book again.

18. They do agree with the *worst* of Papists, the *Jesuites*, in a great many of the worst points of doctrine that they teach; and yet being not well able to understand their tenets, they hate *Papists* so much, that they would *root* them out of their very being; they would destroy all the *Irish* that are Papists, and drive all *Papists* out of *England*, out of the *world*, that the name of *Papists* should be no more in *remembrance*; and contrary to all *reason, divinity, and humanity*, they would force and compell every man to profess the *Religion* that they are of, though some of them (as their *independents*) are far on the other side, would have every man to have liberty to profess what Religion himselfe liketh best.

19. They have most *ingratefully* and *disloyally* injured a most loving *wife*, and their owne most gracious Queen, for shewing Her love, and discharging Her duty to Her husband: They have *imprisoned*, and barbarously used some of the Nobility, *most* of the Clergy, and *abundance* of the Gentry, and *others* of the best account of the common Subjects of this Kingdom; they have *plundered* and robbed many thousands of men; they have *killed* and murdered as many; they have made our *Cities* dens of *theives*, our *Churches* prisons, and all the Land *Acheldama's*, fields of blood; they multiplyed the number of *Widowes*, *Orphanes*, and *Theives* without number, throughout the Land, and they filled the *whole* Kingdome with *miseries*, lamentations and woes; and they have done so many *mischiefes*, as if I should set them all down, would fill up another volume: And,

20. As if all this were not *enough*, to fill up the *measure* of their iniquity, they spared neither *pains* nor *cost* to call in the *Scots* to assist them, to perpetuate the War, to fill our Kingdome with *strangers*, and to make our calamities everlast-*ing*; so they fell from evil to *worse*, from discontent to *schisme*, from *schisme* to *open Rebellion*, and their *Rebellion* more *wicked* than any *Rebels* that we can reade of in any History; which is the *jnst* judgment of God upon them, that they which *rebelliously* run out of the Communion of Gods *Church*, should most desperately run out of their own wits; and refusing to be guarded by the *Heavenly Angels*, should give themselves to be guided by the *infernall Divels*, which made a *merry* fellow, at the enumeration of their abominable, and indeed innumerable wickednesses, to say, Hell was never *better* then it is now, because he thought the *Divels* were all in *London*, or otherwise it were impossible that the *Citizens* which have received so many gracious offers of pardons from His Ma-*jesty*, and promises of other favours, should still continue so *wicked* as they are, *panion*. So gulled and seduced by this Parliament *faction*, that *non suadebis, etiam si persuaseris*; because, as S. *Augustine* saith, *impia mens nolit intellectum*, and they love to *cozen* and cheat their own souls by new painting these old sins, and calling their faction *faith*, their madnesse *zeale*, and their *horrid Rebellion* fighting for *Religion*; but as the Poët saith,

Non tant est civilia bella movere.

Whatsoever pretences move them to it, this remedy will increase their *miseries*; for, if God be no more *merciful* to us then their *sin* deserves, it may end here in an *universal* destruction, and hereafter in their *eternal* damnation: for doth not all the *world* see how God scourgeth us with the rod of our own *furious* madnesse, and like as it befel the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, that fighting against the *Israelites*, did help to destroy *one another*: so we, striving not against *Israel*, but as we pretend, both against the *Edomites*, against *falsehood*, doe utterly destroy *our selves*.

*Exemplaque pari ruit Anglicat turba, suoque
Marte cadunt caesi per mutua vulnera fratres.*
And we that did keep our enemies in awe shall be now destroyed by the sons of
our

18.
How contrary
to Christ's do-
ctrine, Matth.
13. 29. they
would root
out all Papists

19.
How they
have wronged
the Queen, the
Nobility, Cler-
gy, Gentry,
and Commons
of this Land.

20.
How they la-
boured to call
in the *Scots*.

The speech of
a merry com-
panion.

2 Chron. 20.
23.

The Rights of Kings, and

our own mother, but I confess our Land abounds with sins, and our sins have justly deserved this heavy punishment to light upon us; yet I beseech our God to chaffise us with his own hands, and let us not fall under the swords of the uncircumcised Philistines, that are a people much more wicked then our selves; and if he will let our soules live, we shall praise his name.

How they intended to get all Ireland to themselves.

21. When they had most fraudulently gotten His Majesty to passe an *Act* (which though really intended, yet to many men seems a very strange *Act*) to refer the managing of the affaires of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, then they took that course to root out all the *Papists*, *Irish*, *English*, *Brittish*, and indeed all the *Inhabitants of Ireland*, except their own brotherhood, (for they could have soon descried the marke of the beast in all the rest) which they thought would be most effectual to further their designe, and to bring the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* to be inherited by their own faction; that is, to sell all the Lands of the *Rebels* to themselves, (for they knew none else would buy it at that time, and in that manner as they determined) and when they had thus locked the doore, and stopped the way of all relief unto the distressed Protestants of that Kingdom, they might sing,

Dimidium toti qui bene capis, habet;

How they blinded the people by their proceedings.

For they had settled *Scotland*, and they had now grapsed *Ireland*, and held it fast in *Vulcans* net; and therefore now it might stay, till they could reduce *England* (to make a perfect work in all the three Kingdome) to the same forme of government both in Church and State, as they projected for the other; and because they would have some places of entrance into *Ireland*, and hinder the Rebels to possesse the whole Kingdome, and also blind the eyes of the ignorant, not to perceive their plot, but to keep them still in some hope of redresse, they sent such a party over (and the *Scots* must be the most considerable part) as might keep their own design on foot, and yet yield not an inch of any comfort to the spoyle and expelled Protestant; for they left that party which they sent thither, rather as a prey to their enemies, (as having neither cloathes, meat, nor money) then inabled by these accoutrements to subdue the Rebels; as it is better and more fully declared by the Letter of the State of *Ireland* to the House of Commons, then I can relate unto you.

What the Author saw in Ireland.

How used as soon as ever he came to his House.

How a precise Church-warden would have hindred a Bishop to preach.

And I being in *Ireland*, seeing the deplorable state of that Kingdome, the miserable distress of the mangled, starved, and naked Protestants; the little children calling and crying for bread, and none to give it them; many worthy Ministers begging, or dying for want in the streets, and the poore bare-footed and hunger-bitten Souldier lamenting his hard fortune to be transplanted out of Gods blessing into the warme sun; from plenty and prosperity, to be left as the Traveller, betwixt *Hierusalem* and *Hierico*, halfe dead, betwixt merciless Rebels, and more unmerciful friends; neither wholly to be destroyed, nor yet to be rebived, was much troubled and perplexed at these sad aspects; and being intrusted by the Bishops my Brethren of that Kingdome, to agitate the cause of the Church for our relieve here in *England*; and to that end having a Letter unto his Majesty, and a Remontrance of our distressed condition, though with the great hazard of my life at Sea, yet I arrived by Gods great blessing in *England*, and before I had been two dayes at home, my houle was surrounded with a Troope of Armed Souldiers, they entred in, seized upon my person, searched every roome, and every corner with a candle, not leaving the bed straw whereon my children lay unsearched; they took all my papers, and all the money they found in my house, (even my servants money) to the sum of 40', and carried all with me their poor Prisoner to *Northampton*, and now I thought it was but an ill exchange, to escape the *Sea*, and to fall into the fire; to shun the *Lion*, and to meeet a *Bear*, to eschew the Rebels in *Ireland*, and to fall into the hands of Traitors in *England*; and I knew not why, but onely that I had often Preached at *Tewcester*, (where being requested by Master *Lockwood* to supply the place, the precise Church-wardens very peremptorily told me I should not do it, because I was a royalist, and spake against the Parliament, to whom I replied, that he had no such authority to hinder a Bishop to Preach, and bad him look to mend his

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament.

121

his glasse-windowes, that were all full of holes where the faces of the pictures were plucked out) and in other Churches thereabouts, that they should to honour and obey their King, as God commandeth us: for which refusal to be admonished, I believe they are now (and perhaps will be more) hereafter sufficiently punished.

But the Committee there finding in me no cause worthy of death or of bonds, (Gods providence so mercifully watching over me, that it stopped their eyes, that they looked not on my Grand Rebellion, which they had in their hands, and would no doubt have utterly undone me, had they but espied the Capitall title) that I was dismissed, and I confess courteously used by Sir John Norwich.

Then afterwards when time served, I repaired to His Majesty, and having delivered my Letters, I spake to Him and drew a Petition, (and I think I was the first that petitioned in this kind, I do not repent it, neither am I ashamed to confess it) and got some hands unto it, (as that worthy and noble Gentleman Colonel Oncale can beare witnesse, the sum whereof was, that the Parliament having betrayed the trust that was reposed in them, wholly deserted our relief, and giving us none other comfort then what I expressed in my Discourse of Mysterie, His c. 12. p. 34.) Majesty would be pleased to consider, that we were his Loyal Subjects, and that the care of us was committed by God to him, not to his Parliament, who had left us in a worse condition then the Rebels had made us: and therefore as he justly required our faith and allegiance, so we humbly besought him, that he would graciously vouchsafe unto us his princely care and assistance, some waies to relieve us otherwise then by leaving us still in their hands, till we aid our families, in the languishing expectation of our redresse, should finally and irrecoverably perish while these crafty Merchants, thus bought and sold us, and under the pretence of reformation used all their endeavours to bring both Kingdomes to destruction.

CHAP. XIX.

Sheretb, how the Rebellious faction have transgressed all the ten Commandments of the Law, and the new Commandment of the Gospel; how they have committed the seven deadly sins; and the four crying sins; and the three most destructive sins to the soul of man; and how their Ordinances are made against all Lawes, Equity and Conscience.

22. They have, in no small measure, transgressed all the Commandments of God, the ten Commandments of the Law, and the new Commandment and put their trust in that creature.

1. The factious Rebels have other gods besides the God of Israel, when they adore the creatures, and ascribe the incommunicable attributes of the creator unto their Parliament, by calling it omnipotent, infallible, invincible, and most blessed Parliament, as some of them have most blasphemously termed it; for which blasphemies, no doubt, but as we by their Declarations and Ordinances know they are not infallible, so God, I feare me, by their destruction will shew they are neither blessed nor invincible.

2. They not onely make an idol of their Parliament, but are so far from making to themselves any graven image, that they destroy all images, and are just such as the Prophet David speaks of, *which have done evil in Gods Sanctuary, and have broken down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers, that have set fire upon his holy places, and have defiled the dwelling place of Gods name, even unto the ground:* for it is almost incredible how barbarously, worse then any Turkes or Jewes, they haue broken down those rare and sweet instruments of Musick, the Organs of our Churches, and have defaced those excellent pieces of work, that, to the honour of God, were made and set up in the windowes of our Churches in Canterbury, Winchester, Lincoln, and the other Cathedrals, by the best Artists in Christendom: which is a most horrible fact, no wayes commanded in this precept, and an irreparable losse to us and our posterity, and therefore the Prophet David calleth these defacers of such carved and painted works, set up in his

The Rights of Kings, and

Ps. 74. v. 4.

his house the *adversaries* and *enemies* of God, v. 4, and 5. and v. 11. *foolish* people, vers. 19, and 23. the *haters* of God, vers. 24. and the *blasphemers* of his name, vers. 11. for none but such would have done such *Prophanations*, as is done in God's house : but let them take heed lest the Prophets prayer should light upon them, *Lift up thy feet O God, that thou mayest utterly destroy every one of these enemies, which hath done this evil in thy Sanctuary.*

3. How they
forswear them-
selves.

*Sibi diximus,
uius sit etiam
Sicut.*

Menam l. perju-

vium est, nequi-

ter decipere cre-

demus. Aug.

4. How they
prophaned the
Sabbath.

5. How they
curse their Fa-
thers and Mo-
thers.

Esay. 8. 21.

6. How many
they have
murdered.

7. How they
loosened the
reins to all lust

*hoc forte deri-
vata clades, in
pariam, popu-
lumque fixxit.*

Horat. car. l. 3.

8. How they
are like Argi-
vifures.

*Si molla rau-
cas, obisa
sunt, expedita-
tas.*

Pf. 94. 12.

9. How they
belyed all sorts
of good men.

*Quomodo Deus
pater genuit fi-
lium veritatem,
nempe sic diabo-
lus lapsus genuit
quasi filium
mendacium.*

Aug. super Job.

Habac. 2. 9.

Gildas de exi-

dio Britan.

3. For *swearing*, not vainly but *falsly*, most wickedly, and *forswearing* themselves over and over, again and again, and having more *dispensations* and *absolu-*
tions for their *perjuries* by their *holy Prophets* then ever the *Popes* gave for adulteries, it is *incredible* to think, and *impossible* to number the *heads* of these transgressions ; and therefore if you believe that God was in *earnest* when he gave this precept, you may be assured he will not hold them *guiltless* that are such *transgressors* of it.

4. For the day wherein we should *serves* our God in his Church most *rever-*
ently, some of them worship him more *unmanerly*, then some of those *blinde* Indians, that worship the *Devil* himself, and others of them *master* their men, *plunder* their neighbours, and *murder* their brethren, which they believe to be the *best* way to *sanctifie* the Sabbath : and for which *resting* from their work, thus *religiously* to serve the Lord, let them take heed, lest God should *swear* in his wrath, that *they shall never enter into his rest.*

5. They *curse* their *Father* and their *Mother* that their dayes may be *long* in the Land, which their pretended Parliament hath promised to give them ; for the *King* is the *Prince* and *Principal Father* of us all ; and the *Prophet* saith of such men, *they shall curse their King and their God* ; and the *Bishops* are their *Fathers* too, and they have *curſed* them long agone ; and I fear they will not *cease* to curse them, till their curses fall upon their own heads : and for all other bonds of duty, and relations of *Wives* unto their *Husbands* ; *Children* unto their *Parents* ; *Servants* unto their *Masters* : they are preached asunder, to make way for the *liberty* of the *Subject*, to rebel by *authority* against his *Sovereign*.

6. Whereas God saith, *thou shalt do no murder*, they gave that *first commis-*
sion, though they had not the least colour of any *authority* to give it, to *kill*, *slay*, and *destroy* ; and it is most *lamentable* to consider how many *thousands* they have *murdered*, and how they are thought worthy of the *greatest honour* and the *best* reward, that have killed most of God's *faithfull servants*, and the *King's* *loyal Subjects*.

7. For *adulteries*, *Fornications* and all *Uncleanness*, they may now *freely* do it, lust may flow like the *river*, whose *bankes* are broken down, when they have overthrown those courts of *justice*, and were never at *rest* till they had most violently suppressed the *power* and *execution* of all *Ecclesiastical* *tenures*, that were the *chiefest bars* and *hindrances* of these *unlawful lusts*.

8. For *stealing*, they have changed the *name* but not the *nature* of it : for under the pretence of *preserving* to us the *property* of our goods, they have not *stolen*, but *plundered away*, that is *robbed* us of all our goods, and carried them into those *Rebellious Townes*, that are now the *dens* of these *thieves*, and are stronger in their *wickednesse* then the *hil*s of the *robbers* : and that which makes this sin most *sinful*, is, that it is *established by a Law*.

9. They have *justified* the *Cretans*, and proved themselves the right *bastard* sons of the father of lies, filling all and every corner of this *Kingdome* with *pallable*, *intolerable*, and *incredible* lies, *slanders*, and *false witness*-bearing *against* God, *against* his *Anointed*, *against* the *Church*, and *against* all the *reverend governors* of the *Church*, all *religious Protestants*, & all the *loyal Subjects* of this *Nation*, that the *Angels* do now *blush*, and the *Devils* do *laugh* and *rejoyce*, to see they are so *fruitful* in *begetting* so many *Children* so *perfectly formed*, and so *completely perfected* in their own *image* and *likenesse* ; and if ever the saying of *Gildas* was true, they have proved it now : *Moris continuus gentis erat, si-
cuit & nunc est, ut infirma esset ad retundenda hostium tela, & fortis ad civilia bella:
infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis insignia, & fortis ad sceleris
& mendacis.*

10. They

The Wickednesses of the pretended Parliament.

122

10. They have covered an evil covetousnesse, when they coveted all evil unto themselves; not onely their neighbours houses, goods, and lands, and all that are theirs, but also the patrimony of the Church, the revenues of the Clergy, and all the rights and prerogatives of the King, to be entayled upon themselfes and their faction, that so they and theirs might be both Kings, and Priests, and all, not to God, but to themselves and their fellow Rebels in the government of this Kingdome.

10. The extent of their cove- tousness.

And as they have thus transgressed all the old Commandments of the Law, so they come no wayes short in transgressing the new Commandment of the Gospel: for their love to their brethren is now turned to perfect baser, when they say not with Cain, am I my brothers keeper? but with Apollyon, I will be the destroyer of my brethren; neither will I sell them, as the brethren of Joseph did him unto the Egyptians, but I will send them if I can possibly quick to hell; let those Loyal subjects, that have beene unexspectedly murdered, and those many thousands that have beeene plundered of all their Estates, tellis to the World the love of these men unto their brethren, who have felt more cruelty and baserity and les charity from these holy Saints, then could be expected from Jews, Turkes, and Pagans.

How they
transgressed the
new command-
ment of the
Gospel.
Gen. 4. 9.

23. Though every sin deserves the wrath of God, as the Apostle saith in general, *the reward of sin is death*, be it little or be it great: yet because some sins do more provoke the wrath of God, and do sooner produce this deadly fruit than other sins; the Divines have observed seaven special sins, which they terme the seaven deadly sins: and these also you may finde committed in the highest degree by these factious Rebels: For.

**How they have
committed the
7 deadly sins.
Rom. 6, 23.**

1. *Pride*, which is an high conceit of a mans own worth, far beyond his just deserts, and therefore, believing himself to be *inferior* to none, scorns to be subject unto any, is the *Father* that produceth, and the *nurse* that cherisheth all rebellion: and our *Parliamentary* *fallion*, together with the *Assembly*, of their Divines, thinking themselves *holier* then the *Saints*, and *wiser* then their Brethren, have therefore made this *unnatural* war to destroy us all, because we will not subscribe with them to destroy both *Church* and *State*: this is the fruit of *pride*, but the punishment is, to be resisted by God, who throweth *damnation* upon their heads, because they resist the *ordinance* of God.

I Their Pride.
Quid juvao
homines tanto
turgescere sañat
Nam ut sit Co-
mics, ἀλα-
ζονεῖς καὶ πε-
ικράγοι οἱ Α-
ἴνι.

2. *Pride* cannot subsist without *meanes*, therefore *covetousneſſe* must support it; and I shewed you before how covetous these Rebels are, not of any good, but of our goods, and of our *lives*, that they may enjoy our lands, even the lands of the *Church*, that they may take the houses of *God* in possession: which may prove to them like *Anurum Tholosanum*, or as *Midas gold*, that was the destruction of that covetous wretch.

2. Their Covetousness.
Sacrilegia minuta puniuntur,
magna jam in triumphis feruntur. Senec. ep. 87.

3. Their *Luxury* and *lust* must needs proceed from *falseesse* and *pride*: and I believe, it is not unknown to many how these Rebels spend their time in *revelling* and *feasting*, *chambering* and *wantonnesse*, which though never so *secretly* done by them in the night, yet are they publickly seene in the day, and seene to their shame, if they could be ashamed of any thing.

3. Their luxury
*Certa quidem
 tantis causa est
 manus est ruinis.
 Luxuria nimis
 libera facta
 via est. Propriet.
 eleg. 11. l. 3.*

4. Their envy.

4. How envy bath possest their souls, it is almost beyond all fence to consider it, they envy that any man should be king and themselves subjects, that any man should be a Bishop and themselves *Priests*, or that any man should be rich and themselves not so *wealthy*; therefore they will needs pull down what themselves cannot reach unto.

5. Their Gluttony and drunkenness.

5. If Epicurus were now living, or Sardanapalus came to these mens feasts, they might think themselves the teachers of sobriety, and the masters of abstinence, in comparison of these new gulists, who make a God of their bellies, and fare deliciously every day that they can get it, more deliciously then Dives; it is incredible to consider what they devoure in delicates, and how the Sisters teachers, eat more good meat, and drink better wines then the gravest Bishops.

6 Their wrath and malice.

6. They are, as the *Psalmtist* faith, wrathfully displeased at us, and I know not whether their envy at our happiness, or their wrath and anger that we do live, is the greater; yet thanks be to God, R 112 Viver

R 152 Vivero

*The Rights of Kings, and**Vivere nos dices, salvos tamen esse negamus.*

7. Their Sloath.

And God I hope will preserve us still, notwithstanding all their malice.

7. For their sloath, I was a while musing how these factions Rebels could any wayes be guilty of this lazie sin: for, as the Divel is never at rest, but goeth about continually like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devoure; and he saith, Job. 1. he compasseth the earth to and fro; so these children of this world, being wiser in their generation then the children of light, are as diligent as their Father, & they imagine mischiefe upon their beds, and are a great deale more watchfull, and more painfull to do evil, to serve the Divel, to goe to Hell, then the faisfull servants of God are to goe to Heaven; witnessse all the victories and successes that they had by this War, in the night, not by any manhood, but by taking the Kings Souldiers carelesse in their beds; yet, notwithstanding all this diligence to do wickednesse, they are as lazie as any sluggard, and as slow as the snayle to any goodnesse: they are asleep in evil, and are dead in trespasses and sins, and cannot be awakened to any service of God.

24. Howthey have grievously committed the foure crying sins.

1. How they have shed abundance of innocent bloud.

Psal. 9. 12.

Ob.

Sol.

Ezech. 16. 49.
2. The sins of Sodom among them.

3. Their oppression.

24. The Scripture maketh mention of foure crying sins that do continually cry to God for vengeance against the sinners;

Clamitat ad celum vox sanguinis, & Sodomorum,

Vox oppressorum, meritis recentia laborum.

And they are not free from any of these. For,

1. As the Psalmist speaketh, Psal. 79. 2. 3. so they have done; and the streames of bloud, that, since the beginning of this unnatural War, they have most unjustly caused to be spilt, and do flow like the Rivers of waters over the face of this now unhappy Land, do with Abels bloud continually cry against them, and cannot chuse but pull down vengeance upon their heads, when God shall come to make inquisition for bloud: and therefore though *Pacem nos poscimus omnes*, we all cry for peace, and the Kings clemency still proclaimeth pardon; yet seeing it is God that maketh Wars to cease, and the Prophet saith, how can the sword be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Askelon? Jer. 47. 7. as the bloudy sin of Saul upon the poor Gibeonites, never left crying for vengeance, untill it was expiated by bloud, even by the bloud of seven of his sons; so I feare me the much bloud that these Rebels spilt, and the bloud of so many innocents that they caused to be slain, can never be expiated, and the wrath of God appeased, untill an attonement be made by bloud, even a judicarie sentence of death against some of the head Rebels; for it is the voice of God, that whosoever sheddeth mans bloud, that is, without due authority, by man shall his bloud be shed, that is, by the due course of Law, and the power of the Magistrate, that beareth not the sword in vaine, but is bound to punish murders, and the unlawfull putting of innocents to death, with the sentence of a just death.

If you say, Why may not this Rebellion be concluded with the like peace by a generall pardon, as the other in Ireland is like to be?

I answer, the case is not alike, because they had some shew of reason, and were provoked by the faction and emissaries of this Parliament; but our Rebels had not the least colourable cause, nor were provoked by any, but their own bloudy desire to root out Gods service and servants, when they had almost all things that they desired. I am sure more then should have been granted unto them; and therefore in these, and in many other respects that I could, but am ashamed to set down, I deem this Rebellion of our English, and the invasion of the Scots, ten times more odious, then the insurrection of the Irish.

2. The iniquity of Sodome was Pride, fullnesse of bread, abundance of idlenes, and contempt of the poor; and I have already shewed how all these do rule and reign in them.

3. For oppression, let their ordinances to take away our goods, without any colour of justice, and their actions, to make good their ordinances, to take away our states, and deprive us of our liberties, be well examined, and the world shall then see whether they be oppressors, or I a transgressor for affirming it.

4. For retaining of wages, letting passe their Souldiers that deserve not pay for

The Wickednesses of the Pretended Parliament. 125

for fighting so *dishonourably* against their King, and transgressing so *audaciously* the 4. The detaining of the wages of God's servants.

Commandment of God, which so precisely biddeth them to honour the King, I would fain know by what authority, or law, excepting their own lawless Ordinances, have they detained and alienated the wages, means, and maintenance of those faithful *Pastors*, whom they sent away, and caused them to fly and wander like *Pilgrims*, from place to place, without any means or subsistence? O let them never think that these things can be buried in oblivion, but that the sighs and groans of those faithful servants of Christ do continually cry, and cry aloud in the ears of God for vengeance to be poured down upon the heads of these their persecutors, which cannot escape, *Cum surrexerit ad indicandum Deus.*

25. As there be three *Theological graces* that build up, and compleat a Christian soul, *Faith, Hope, and Charity*; so there be three main *vices* that do poison and kill every soul, *Infidelity, Presumption, Philanthropy*; and three others that are destructive to all Christianity, *Prophaneness, Impudency, and Sacrilegious*; The time will not give me leave to tell you how they are *chained about* with these links of sin, and how indeed they are, as the Apostle saith, *filled with all unrighteousness*. The works that they do, can sufficiently tellifie what they are. God *forgive* them the evil that they have done, and give them *grace to repent* in time, that they may not perish *everlastingly*, Amen.

2. Having treated a little of the wicked practices and abominable actions of the Puritan Faction of this Parliament; I should, according as I intended, set down some of their *unrighteous*, impious, and diabolical Ordinances; which I finde to be so many as would fill up a whole Volume, and the poison of their wickednesse having swelled my Book to such a bulk already, I must therefore, crave leave, to transmit the displaying of these dismal tragedies to some other scene; only I must remember, which I believe will never be forgotten, while any wickednesse can be remembred; and that is,

1. Their bloody Ordinance to kill and slay, while we were all in peace, and all praying for the Houses of Parliament.

2. Their sacrilegious Ordinance of taking away not the twentieth part, nor the tenth, nor yet nine parts of ten, but all and every part of the goods and revenues of the *Bishops, Deanes, and Prebends*; and let them now, in their old age, after they have wasted their strength, and consumed their years with toyle-some labours and indefatigable paines, in the Church of God, to save their souls, either dig for bread, or beg for almes, or like out-worn Jades, die in a ditch: their care for these men was to leave them not one penny to relieve themselves while they lived; and I believe the prophanest *Pagan*, (it may be) the Devil himself, could not shew greater malice, or inflict a severer censure upon the Clergy, then these zealous Christians have ordained; because such a miserable life must needs prove far worse then a glorious death, when as *Jeremiah saith*, *They that did feed delicately, must stand desolate in the streets, and they that were brought up in scarlet, must embrace dunghills, they must sigh and seek their bread, and give their pleasant things for meat to relieve their faints.* Jerem. Lament. 4. §. & C. I. v. II.

3. Their unrighteous Ordinance, and ordinances, to take away what part they pleased of their Neighbours goods, and all from them whom they deemed *Malignants*; and I had almost said, that God himself, which is *Lord* of all, could not more justly take them, then these men have unjustly decreed to take them from us.

4. Their impious, odious and abominable Ordinance, to compel men by oaths and Covenants to give themselves unto the Devil, and to go to Hell in despite of their teeth; and that which makes me wonder most of all is, that their Synod or Assembly hath prefixed an exhortation to perswade silly souls to take that wicked Covenant; and to cast a mist before their eyes, that they may not only let down little gnats, but also swallow this great camel, they would justifie the doing thereof by a twofold example.

The first of the *Jewes* in *Ezra's* time, that made a *Covenant* to serve the *Lord*, and to put away their strange *wives*, according to the Law.

Ezra. 10. 5.

& 8.

Nehem. 9. 38.

The 10. 1.

The Rights of Kings, and

The second of *Christians*, and indeed of *most Christian Kings*, and *Princes*; that is, of Queen Elizabeth's assisting the *Hollanders* against the King of Spain and of King Charles assisting the *Rochellers* against the King of France.

To both which examples, and all other things, that are contained either in the *Covenant* it selfe, or the *exhortation* of the *Asembly* thereunto annexed; I do understand, there shall be a *full* and a *perfect* answer made by one that hath undertaken the same *ex professo*; yet give me leave in the *interim* to say this much.

1. What vows
and covenants
are allowable

Gen. 24. 3.

Numb. 30.
per solium.

Ob.
Sol.

1.

2.
* See Ezra 7.
11. 22. &c.

3.
For so the text,
faith, *Let it be
done according
to the Law.*
Ezra 10. 3.

2. The exam-
ples of Queen
Elizabeth and
King Charles
answered.

1. By way of
Divinity.

2. By way of
Policy.

First, touching *Covenants* and *Vowes*, it is plain enough, that although the *superior* may with *Ezra* cause the *inferior* to *Vow* or *swear* the performance of his duty, that he is bound by the law of God and nature to performe; so *Abraham* caused his servant to swear *fidelity*, when he sent him for *Isaack's* Wife. And so the King may cause his *Subjects* to take the *Oath* of their *Allegiance*, and the lawful *General*, cause his *Souldiers* to swear their *fidelity* unto him; yet the *inferior* subject can not swear, or if he *swears*, he ought not to *observe* it, when he doth it contrary to the command of him, that hath command over him; as you may see in *Numb. 30.* throughout... Therefore, as *children* may not vow any thing, though it be never so *lawful*, contrary to their *Fathers* command, or if they do, they ought not to keepe it; so no more may any *Subject* *Vow*, or make a *Covenant*, contrary to their Kings command, or if they do, they ought not to *observe* it, and they are, as you see, absolved by God himself.

If you say *Ezra* and the *Jewes* did it, *contrary* to the command of *Artaxerxes*, that was then their King, I answer, that it is most false; for,

1. *Ezra* was the *Priest*, *Nehem. 8. 2.* and *9.* and the chief *Prince*, that was then over them, and *Nehemiah* had his authority from the King, and he was the *Tiribatha*, that is, their *governour*, saith the text, *Nehem. 10. 1.* and therefore they might *lawfully* cause them to take that *Covenant*.

2. They had the *leave*, and a *large commission* from *Artaxerxes* to do all that they did; as you may see*; neither can you finde any syllable that *Artaxerxes* forbade them to do this in any place.

3. This *Covenant* of *Ezra* and his people, and *Nehemiah's*, was to do those things that they had covenanted *before* to do, which God had *expressly* commanded them to do, and which they could not *omit*, though they had not covenanted to do it, without *great offence*; so if our *covenanters* *swear* they will *serve* God and be *loyal* unto their King, as they vowed in their *baptisme*, they shall never finde me to speak against them; but to propose a *lawfull Covenant*, to do those things that God *commandeth*, and is made with the *leave* and *commission* of the *supreme Prince*, to *justify* an *unlawfull Covenant*, to do those things that were *never done before*, *never commanded by God*, but *forbidden* both by God, and especially by the King, in the *expressest* termes, and most *energeticall* manner that might be, is such a piece of *Divinity* as I never read the like, and such an argument, a *dissimili*, that never *schollar* produced the like.

2. For the examples of Queen Elizabeth and King Charles, assisting Subjects for their Religion sake, against their *lawfull Princes*, two things may be said; the one in *Divinity*, the other in *Policy*,

First, for *Divinity*, I lay, *vivendum est praeceptis, non exemplis*, we have the *sure word of God* to teach us, what we should *do*, and no *examples*, unless they be either *commended*, or *allowed* in Gods word, ought to be any *infallible* *parte-* *terre* *for us to follow*;

Secondly, for *Policy*, which may be justified to be without *iniquity*, I doubt not, but *those men*, which knew the *secrets of State*, and were privy to the *causes* of their actions, are able to *justify* the proceedings of *these Princes* in their assistance, which perhaps they did not so much *simply* in respect of their Religion, as of some other *State Policy*, which we, that are so far from the *helme*, have no *reaso* *to prie unto*;

Besides, you may know that neither King Charles, nor Queen Elizabeth were Subjects to the *other Kings*, but were *every way* their *equall*, if not more, and *independent*

independent Princes. And to bring the actions of such *absolute Monarchs*, the one against the other, to justifie the actions of *Subjects* against their *Souveraine*, is such *Logick*, as the other example was *Divinity*; Queen *Elizabeth* did so against the King of *Spain*; ergo, any *Subject* may do so against his *king*; or rather Queen *Elizabeth* did that, which for ought we know, was most *lawfull* to be done against the King of *Spain*; ergo the Earl of *Essex* may do that, which we do know to be most *unlawfull* against King *Charles*: This is the *doctrine* that they teach their *Prosclyter*, but that they give this *poison* in a *golden cup*, and hide their *falsehood* under a *shew* of truth; but I hope ere long, you shall have these things more fully manifested unto you.

How wickedly
they deceive
the simple

C H A P. X X.

Sherweth, how the Rebellious Faction forswore them selves; what trust is to be given to them; how we may recover our peace and prosperity; how they have unking'd the Lords anointed: and for whom they have exchanged him; and the conclusion of the whole.

AND now, having committed all these things, and much more wickednesse then I, though I had the tongue of Angels, can expresse, I am perswaded many of them, seeing the *miraculous* mercies of our God in protecting and assisting His Majesty, far beyond their thoughts and imaginations, do begin to think on *peace* and *accommodation*, which they presuming on the Kings *lenity* made *sure* to themselves, whosoever they pleased; and indeed, *dulce nomen pacis*; and the *Ezay. 51. 7.* feet of them that bring *tydings of peace*, are more specious then the fairest *conuenience* of *Aurora*, then the sweet face of *Helen*; But seeing *righteousnesse* and *peace* have *kissed each other*, and the Apostle joyneth *grace* and *peace* alwayes together, as two deare friends saith S. *Aug.* so deare, that *si amicam pacis non a- maveris, neque te amabit pax ipsa*: and these men are filled with all *unrighteousnesse*, and have trampled the *grace* of God and their King under feet, and having *forsworne* and *forsworne* themselves over and over, as, at their *baptisme*, that they would keep Gods Commandments, whereof this is one, to be *obedient unto our Kings*; at their *admittance* to any office to *beare faith and true allegiance to His Majesty*; at the beginning of this *last Parliament*, to maintain the Kings *just rights* How the *Re-* and all the *priviledges* of Parliament, together with the *liberty* and *property* of bels *flewre and the Subjects*, and yet *immediately* to forget their *faith*, to break all these *oathes*, *forswore them-selves*. *Rom. 13. 1.* *1 Pet. 2. 13.*

and to make ship-wreck of their *conscience*, to drive the Bishops out of their *House*, which is one of the *first* and most *fundamentall* priviledges of the Parliament, they being the *first* of the three Estates of this Kingdome, to take away, not *some*, but *all* the Kings rights out of his hands, and to make him no King indeed, to take away all our *goods*, our *liberties*, and our *lives* at their pleasure, and then to assure the Devil they would be *faistfull* unto him, which were thus *faistleſſe* unto God, to *swear again*, and make a *solemne Covenant* with Hell, they would never repent them of their wickednesse, but continue *constant* in his service, till they have rooted out whom they deemed to be *Malignants*, though the King, who is wise as the Angel of God, that hath the Kings *heart in his hand*, *and turneth it like the Rivers of waters*, where he *pleaseth*, knoweth best what to do, as God directeth him; yet for mine own part, either in *Peace* or *War*, I *No trust to be given to liars.* I would never trust such *faistleſſe perjur'd creatures* for a straw, and seeing that to spare *transcendent wickednesse* is to encrease *wickednesse*, and to incourage others to the like Rebellion upon the like hope of *pardon*, if they failed of their intention, if our great *Metropolis* of *London* partake not rather of the wise spirit of the men of *Abel*, then of the *obstinacy* of the men of *Gibeah*, and delivered not unto the King the *chiefe* of those *Rebells* that rose up against him, I feare that Gods *wrath* will not be turned away, but his *hand* will be stretched out still, until *Judg. 20. 10. 16.* he

*Holland and
Bedford flew'd,
what trust is to
be given them.*

Proverb. 21.

*No trust to be
given to liars.
and perjurys.*

2 Sam. 20.

10. 16.

he

The Rights of Kings, and

How the King
desired the
good of the
Rebells.

he hath fullfilled his determined visitation upon this Land, and consummated all with their deplorable destruction, even as he did those obstinate men of Gibrah and Benjamin; for though the King, beyond the clemency of a man, and the expectation of any RebELL, hath most Christianly laboured, that they would accept of their pardon, and save themselves and their posterity; yet their wickednesse, (being so exceedingly great, beyond all that I can finde in any history, Rebellion it selfe being like the sin of witchcraft, the Rebellion of Christians far worse, and a Rebellion against a most Christian pious Prince worst of all; and such a Rebellion engendered by pride, fostered by lies, augmented by perjury,

The unspeakable greatness
of their sins.

continued by cruelty, refusing all clemency, despising all piety, and contemning God their Saviour, when they make him (with reverence be it spoken, which is so irreverently done by them) the very pack-horse to beare all their wickedness, being a degree beyond all degrees of comparison,) hath so provoked the wrath of God against this Nation, that I feare his justice will not suffer their hearts, that can not repent, accept and imbrace their own happiness, till they be purged with the floods of repentant teares, or destroyed with the stremes of Gods fearfull vengeance; which I heartily beseech Almighty God may (by the grace of Christ, working true repentance in them for themselves, and reducing them to the right way) be averted from them. And the best way that I conceive to avert it, to appease Gods wrath, and to turne away his judgements from us, is

How we may
recover the
peace and pro-
sperity of this
Land.

to returne back the same way as we proceeded hitherto; to make up the breaches of the Church, to restore the Liturgie, and the service of our God to its former purity, to repeale that Act, which is made to the prejudice of the Bishops and Servants of God, that they may be reduced to their pristine dignity, to recall all Ordinances that are made contrary to Law, and derogatory to the Kings right, and to be heartily sorry that these unjust Acts and Ordinances were ever done, and more sorry that they were not sooner undone; and then God will turne his face towards us, he will heale the bleeding wounds of our Land, and he will powre down his benefis upon us; but till we do these things, I do assure my selfe, and (I believe) you shall finde it, that his wrath shall not be turned away, but his hand will be stretched out still and still, untill we either do these things, or be destroyed for not doing them.

King James his
speech made
true by the
Rebells.

Thus it is manifest to all the World, that as it was often spoken by our sharpe and eagle-sighted Sovereigne, King James of ever blessed memory, no Bishop no King: so now (I hope) the dull-ey'd-owle, that lodgeth in the desart, seeth it verified by this Parliament; for they had no sooner got out the Bishops, but presently they laid violent hands upon the Crowne, seized upon the Kings Castles, shut him out of all his Townes, dispossess him of his owne houses, took away all his shippes, detained all his revenues, vilified all his Declarations, nullified his Proclamations, hindered his Commissions, imprisoned his faithfull Subjects, killed his servants, and at Edge-bill and Newbury did all that ever they could, to take away his life; and now by their last great ordinance for their counterfeit Seale they pronounce all honours, pardons, grants, commissions, and whatsoever else His Majestie passeth under his Seale, to be invalid, void, and of none effect; and if this be not to make King Charles no King, I know not what it is to be a King: so they have unking'd him sine scripto; and as the Prophet saith, they have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not; but whom have they made Kings? even themselves, who, in one word, do, and have now exercised all, or most of the regall power; and their Ordinances shall be as firm as any Statutes: and what are they, that have thus dis-robed King Charles, and exalted themselves like the Pope, as if they were & avixers of the great Antichrist, above all that are called Gods? truly none other then king Pym, king Say, king Falton; or to say the truth most truly, and to call a spade a spade, king perjurors, king murderers, king traitors; * and I am sorry that I should joyne so high an office, so sacred a thing as King to such wicked persons, as I have shewed them to be; And what a royal exchange would the Rebels of this kingdome make? just such as the Israelites made, when they turned their glory

How the Re-
bells have un-
king'd our
King.

Hof. 3. 4.

What kings
they would
have to rule
us.

* Which S. Peter never bade
us honour.
The Rebels
brave ex-
change.

Psal. 146. 20.

the great Antichrist, above all that are called Gods? truly none other then king Pym, king Say, king Falton; or to say the truth most truly, and to call a spade a spade, king perjurors, king murderers, king traitors; * and I am sorry that I should joyne so high an office, so sacred a thing as King to such wicked persons, as I have shewed them to be; And what a royal exchange would the Rebels of this kingdome make? just such as the Israelites made, when they turned their glory

The Wickedneses of the Pretended Parliament. 129

glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth hay, and said, these be thy Gods, O Psal. 146. 20.
Israel, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt; for now, after they have
changed their lawful King for unlawful Tyrants, and taken Joshua's bramble for
the cedar of Lebanon, the Devils instruments for Gods Anointed, they may justly say,
these be thy Kings O Londoners, O Rebels, that brought thee out of a
Land that flowed with milke and honyn, out of those houses that were filled with
all manner of store, into a land of misery, into houses of sorrow, that are filled
with wailings, lamentations, and woes, when we see the faithful City is become
an harlot, our gold drosse, and our happinesse turned to continual heavi-
nessse.

But, as the Rutilians, considering what fruit they should reap by that miser- *Virgil. Aeneid.*
able war, wherein they were so far ingaged, cried out at last, *I. 12.*

Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjux;
Nos anima viles, inhumata, infestaque turba
Sternamus campis. —

We undo our selves, our wives, and our children, to gain a wife for Turnus: so
our seduced men may say, we ingage our selves to dye like doggs, that these
rebels may live like Kings, who themselves sit at ease, while others endure all
woes, and do grow rich by making all the Kingdome poore: and therefore O
England,

— *qua ranta est licentia ferri?*
lugebit patria multos.

when as the Apostle saith, *evill men and seducers wax worse and worse, deceiving
and being deceived;* for God is not mocked, but *whatsoever a man soweth, that
shall be also reape;* for, though we for our sins may justly suffer these, and many
other more miseries; we do confess it: yet the whole world may be assured,
that these Rebels, the generation of vipers, being but the Rod of Gods fury, to
correct the offences of his children, such seeds of wickednes as they sow, can pro-
duce none other harvest, then *ruine and destruction to all these usurping Kings,*
and *Traytors,* who thinke to please God by doing good service unto the Devil,
and to go to Heaven for their good intention, after they are carried into Hell
for their horrid Rebellion.

God Almighty grant them more grace, and our King more care to beware
of them, and when God doth grant him rest with David, *on every side round
about him,* to restore his Bishops and Clergy to their pristine station, that when
these bramble rods are burnt, and these rebels fallen, the King and the Bishops
may still stand like *Moses* and *Aaron* to guide and governe Gods people com-
mitted to their charge.

And thus I have shewed thee O man, some of the sacred rights of royal Ma-
jesty, granted by God in his holy Scriptures, practised by Kings from the be-
ginning of the world, yeilded by all nations, that had none other guide, but the
light of nature to direct them; I have also shewed thee, how the people, greedy
of liberty and licentiousnesse, have like the true children of old *Adam*, that
could not long endure the sweet yoke of his Creator, strived and strugled to
withdraw their necks from that subjection (which their condition required, and
their forwardnesse necessitated to be imposed upon them) and thereby have
either graciously gained such love and fauour from many pious and most clement
Princes, as for the sweetening of their well merited subjection, to grant them ma-
ny immunitiess and priviledges, or have most rebelliously intracoached upon these
rights of Kings, wresting many liberties out of the hands of Government and
forcibly retaining them to their own advantage, sometimes to the overthrow of
the royal government (as *Junius Brutus* and his associates did the Kings of Rome)
sometimes to the diminution of the *dimidium*, if not more then halfe his right
(as the *Ephori* did to the kings of Lacedemon) but always to the great preju-
dice of the king, and the greater mischief to the Common-wealth; because both
reason and experience hath found it alwayes true, that the *regal Government*, or
Monarchical State, though it might sometimes happen to prove tyrannical, is

The Rights of Kings, and

far more acceptable unto God, as being his own prime and *proper ordinance*, most agreeable unto nature, and more profitable unto all men, then either the *Aristocratical* or *Popular Government*, either hath, or possibly can be; for, as it is most true, that *præstat sub malo principe esse, quam sub nullo*, it is better to live under an ill Governour, then where there is no Government; to *præstat sub uno tyranno vivere, quam sub millo*, it is better to be under the command of one tyrant then of a thousand, as we are now under these Rebels: who being not, *sex Romuli*, the worst of the *Nobility*, but *sex populi*, the dregs of the people, indigent Mechanicks, and their Wives captivated *Citizens*, together with the rabble of seduced *Sectaries*, have so disloyally incroached upon the rights of our King, and so rebelliously usurped the same, to the utter *subversion* both of Church and Kingdom, if God himself, who *bath the hearts of all Kings in his hand*, and turneth the same, *wheresoever he pleaseth*, had not most graciously strengthened his Majesty with a most singular and heroick resolution, assisted with perfect health from the beginning of their *insurrection* to this very day, to the *admiration* of his enemies, and the exceeding joy and comfort of his faithfull Subjects, and with the best *aid* and furtherance of his chiefeft *Nobility*, of all his learned and religious *Clergy*, his grave and honest *Lawyers*, and the truly worthy *Gentry* of his whole Kingdom, to withstand their most treacherous, impious, barbarous, and I know not how to expresse the *wickednesse* of their most horrid attempts: so thou hast before thee *life and death, fire and water, good and evil.*

And therefore, I hope that this will move us (which have our eyes open, to behold the great blessings, and the many almost miraculous deliverances and faours of God unto his Majesty, and to consider the most horrible destruction that this war hath brought upon us) to fear God and to honour our King, to hate the Rebels and to love all loyal Subjects; to do our uttermost endeavour to quench this devouring flame, and to that end, with hand and heart, and with our fortunes and with the hazard of our lives (which, as our Saviour saith, shall be *saved* if they be *lost*) to assist his Majesty to subdue these Rebels, to reduce the Kingdom to its pristine government, and the Church to her former dignity, that so we may have, through the *mercy* of God, peace and plenty, love and unity, faith and true religion, and all other *happinesse* remaining with us, to the *comfort* of our King, and the *glory* of our God, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord; To whom with his Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, thanks, praise, and dominion for ever and ever, *Amen, Amen.*

Luk. 9. 24.

Jehovæ liberatori.

E I N I S.

Errata.

P. 47 l. 35. date not. p. 5. l. 50. r. make, r. made. p. 9. l. 23. r. hand, r. had. p. 27. l. 53. date can. p. 39. l. 25. r. right to be. p. 51. l. 54. r. this day. p. 54. l. 27. date and. p. 61. l. 21. r. that denied repentance. p. 63. l. 38. r. the same hope. p. 95. l. 18. r. justice r. injustice. p. 126. l. 22. r. for ye r. yet.



The Contents of the severall Chapters contained in the RIGHTS OF KINGS.

CHAP. I. Sheweth who are the fittest to set down the Rights which God granted unto Kings: what causeth men to rebell: the parts considerable in S. Peter's words, 1 Pet. 2. 17. in fine. How Kings honoured the Clergy: the faire, but most false pretences of the refractory Faction, What they chiefly ayed at, and their malice to Episcopacy and Royalty. Pag. I

CHAP. II. Sheweth what Kings are to be honoured: the institution of Kings to be immediately from God: the first Kings: the three chiefest rights to kingdoms: the best of the three Rights: how Kings came to be elected: and how contrary to the opinion of Master Selden, Aristocracy and Democracy issued out of Monarchy. 7

CHAP. III. Sheweth the Monarchicall Government to be the best forme: the first Government that ever was: agreeable to Nature, wherein God founded it: consonant to Gods own Government: the most universally received throughout the world: the immediate and proper Ordinance of God, &c. II

CHAP. IV. Sheweth what we should not do, and what we should do for the King: the Rebels transgressing in all those: how the Israelites honoured their persecuting King in Egypt: how they behaved themselves under Artaxerxes, Ahasuerus, and under all their own Kings of Israel, &c. 17

CHAP. V. Sheweth how the Heathens honoured their Kings: how Christ exhibited all due honour unto Heathen and wicked Kings: how he carried himself before Pilate, and how all the good Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards their Heathen Persecuting Emperours. 23

CHAP. VI. Sheweth the two chiefest duties of all Christian Kings: so whom the charge and preservation of Religion is committed: three several opinions: the strange speeches of the Disciplinarians against Kings are shewed, and Viretus his scandalous reasons are answered: the double service of all Christian Kings: and how the Heathen Kings and Emperours had the charge of Religion. 27

CHAP. VII. Sheweth the three things necessary for all Kings that would preserve true Religion: how the King may attain to the knowledge of things that pertain to Religion; by His Bishops and Chaplains, and the calling of Synods, &c. 34

CHAP. VIII. Sheweth it is the right of Kings to make Ecclesiastical Lawes and Canons, proved by many authorities and examples: that the good Kings and Emperours made such Lawes by the advice of their Bishops and Clergy, and not of their Lay-Counsellors: how our late Canons, came to be annulled, &c. 40

CHAP. IX. Sheweth a full answer to four speciall Objections that are made against the Civill jurisdictions of Ecclesiastical persons: their abilities to discharge these offices, and desire to benefit the Common-wealth: why some Councils inhibited these Offices unto Bishops, &c. 47

CHAP. X. Sheweth that it is the Kings right to grant Dispensations for Pluralities and Non-residency: what Dispensation is: reasons for it: to tolerate divers Sects or sorts of Religions: the fourre speciall sorts of false Professors: S. Augustines reasons for the toleration of the Jewes: toleration of Papists, and of Puritans, and which of them deserve best to be tolerated among the Protestants; and how any Sect is to be tolerated. 56

CHAP. XI. Sheweth where the Protestants, Papists, and Puritans do place Sovereignty: who first taught the deposing of Kings: the Puritans tenet worse then the Jesuites: Kings authority immediately from God: the twofold royalty in a King

The C O N T E N T S.

a King : the words of the Apostle vindicated from false glosses, &c.	64
CHAP. XII. Sheweth the assistants of Kings in their Government ; to whom the choice of inferior Magistrates belongeth : the power of the subordinate officers : neither Peeres nor Parliament can have Supremacy : the Sctaries chiefest argument out of Bracton answered : our Lawes prove all Sovereignty to be in the King.	70
¶. The two chiefest parts of the Regall Government : the four properties of a just war : and how the Parliamentary Faction transgress in every property.	74
CHAP. XIII. Sheweth, how the first Government of Kings was arbitrary : the places of Moses, Deut. 17. and of Samuel, 1 Sam. 8. discussed : Whether Ahab offended in desiring Nabochs Vineyard, and wherein : why absolute power was granted unto Kings, and how the diversities of Government came up.	78
¶. The extent of the grants of Kings : what they may, and what they may not grant : what our Kings have not granted, in seven speciall prerogatives ; and what they have granted unto their people.	83
CHAP. XIV. Sheweth the Kings grants unto His People to be of three sorts, which ought to be observed : the Act of excluding the Bisbops out of Parliament discussed : the Kings Oath at His Coronation : how it obligeth him : and how Statutes have been procured and repealed.	88
¶. Certain queries discussed, but not resolved : the end for which God ordained Kings : the praise of a just rule : Kings ought to be more just then all others in three respects : and what should most especially move them to rule their people justly.	92
CHAP. XV. Sheweth the honour due to the king. 1. Feare. 2. An high esteem of our king : how highly the Heathens esteemed of their kings : the Marriage of obedience and authority : the Rebellion of the Nobility how haynous. 3. Obedience, four-fold : divers kindes of Monarchs : and how an absolute Monarch may limit himselfe.	98
CHAP. XVI. Sheweth the answer to some objections against the obeying of our Sovereigne Magistrate : all actions of three kindes : how our consciences may be reformed : of our passive obedience to the Magistrates : and of the kings concessions, how to be taken.	104
CHAP. XVII. Sheweth, how tribute is due to the king : for six speciall reasons to be paid : the condition of a lawfull tribute : that we should not be niggards to assist the king : that we should defend the Kings Person : the wealth and pride of London the cause of all the miseries of this Kingdome : and how we ought to pray for our king.	116
CHAP. XVIII. The persons that ought to honour the king ; and the recapitulation of 21 wickednesse of the Rebells, and the faction of the pretended Parliament.	122
CHAP. XIX. Sheweth, how the Rebellious faction have transgressed all the ten Commandments of the Law, and the new Commandment of the Gospell : how they have committed the seaven deadly sins ; and the fourte crying sins ; and the three most destructive sins to the soul of man : and how their Ordinances are made against all Lawes, equity, and conscience.	123
CHAP. XX. Sheweth, how the rebellious Faction forswore themselves : what trust is to be given to them : how we may recover our peace and prosperity : how they have un-king'd the Lords Anointed : and for whom they have exchanged him : and the conclusion of the whole.	127



P S A L. 39. 5.

Verily, every man living, or, in his best estate,
is altogether Vanity: Sela.

UR Blessed Lord and Saviour saith, the night cometh, when no man can work; wherefore I must work the works of him that sent me whilst it is day; and S. Paul tells us, the issue will come when men will not endure sound Doctrine, but after their own lusts they shall heap to themselves Teachers, that is, Teachers enough, in every place, and every time, to the word σημαντος signifieth; but what kind of Teachers shall they heap unto themselves? the Apostle tells you, they shall be teachers after their own lusts, that is, such Tub-teachers of the new Order, as will study rather to satisfie their lusts, and to preach what they please best, than to edifie their soules.

And I believe all wise men see, that time is now, and not till now, fully come; therefore it behoves all the true Teachers to bestir themselves to work the works of him that sent them while it is day, while they have any time, and while there is any true Light yet remaining, before the sad night and darksom clouds of Errours and Heresies be grown so far, and to prevail so much against the Truth, that you shall scarce find any place or person, where or by whom the new lights may be confronted, and the old Truth confirmed unto us.

So it behoveth me, and it is my duty, to employ my Talent to the uttermost of my power against these false Prophets of the Great Antichrist, that is now come into the world, and by these heaps of his Emisaries, laboureth quite to overthrow the Church of Christ.

And as Clement recordeth, that when Barnabas came to Rome, to preach the Gospel of Christ, and divers rejected it, he briefly said, *In vestra pristina est, vel recipere quia amissimus, vel spemere;* It is in your choice, either to receive what we teach, or to reject it; but we may not be silent, and not speak *quod vobis expedire nivis;* what we know to be expedient and necessary for you, *quia nisi facias, damnum est, & vobis, qua dicimus si non recipias, periculis est;* so Cum. Recdg. I. p. 6. say I.

And therefore, that you may be something, and so happy, I beseech you listen to these words, that testifie, that in your selves, you are nothing but Vanity. For verily, every man —

And the nearest way to exchange this Vanity for Eternity, and so to make us happy that are in misery, is to know our own vanity, and to understand our own misery: For Knowledge, saith Hugo Card. is the way to God, and understanding,

The Vanitie

Psal. 13. &c. saith the Prophet David, is that which distinguisheth and differenceth man from beast ; for man, though he be never so great in honour, never so powerful in place, and never so rich in wealth, yet, if he hath no understanding, he is compared to the beasts that perish.

And the two chiefest parts, which are like the Body and Soul of all the Knowledge that maketh us happy, are these two Precepts, so much commended, and so often urged unto us, even by the Heathens themselves, that yet notwithstanding were destitute of all true Knowledge, that could make them happy, because they knew rightly neither of those two things that they so much commended ; which were,

1. γνῶσιν τὸν Θεόν, Know God. 2. γνῶσιν ὑπαύτον, Know thy self. For,

John 17.3.
1. To know
God the only
way to make
us happy.

The reason
why we know
not so much of
God as should
make us happy

2. To know
our selves, the
best way to
know God.

1. Our Saviour tells us, *this is eternal Life to know God* (i.e.) to know the Father to be the only true God, and whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ : For the Heathens knew, that God alone is the *summum bonum*, and the only true and perfect Eternity, to which all men naturally have a propensity and desire to be united ; but yet cannot, because they know him not ; and therefore is that Precept, to know him, so often urged.

And the reason why we know not so much of God as we should, and which should make us happy, is, because we know not *our selves* ; we know not our own vanity and misery : for the nearest way to bring us to Eternity, is to understand our own vanity, and the first step to happiness is, to know our selves to be unhappy, and that this unhappiness was derived unto us by that sad accident of sin, which separated us from God, who is felicity and eternity, and made us wholly to become vanity, and replenished with all misery : and therefore,

2. The very Philosophers could tell us, that *to know our selves* is the ready way both to know God, and to enjoy God : For as he that knoweth God, will never relies on himself, so he that knoweth himself, will alwaies seek to rely on God, because he feeth his own vanity, his weakness, and his frailty to be such and so great, that he cannot subsist without God ; and therefore Socrates, seeing this sentence, γνῶσιν ὑπαύτον, Know thy self, engraven upon the Portal of the Temple of Apollo, and considering with himself that there could be no access unto God, but through his House, and no entrance into the House, but by the Door ; and then seriously musing with himself, why this Sentence should be set upon the door, he concluded, that the readiest way to come to God, was to know himself ; and therefore he left the course and practise of other Philosophers, that searched into the motions of the Heavens, and the influence of the Planets, and applied their studies *rerum cognoscere causas*, to understand the causes of all natural things, which they conceived was the only thing that could make them happy, and bring them to enjoy the *summum bonum* ; and he gave himself wholly to learn the knowledge of himself, and he conceived there was no folly comparable to this, to be painful and diligent to know all other things, and to be ignorant and know nothing of himself ; to study Arts and Sciences, and to forget himself ; and therefore *non se quaeritur extra*, but he employed all his time and his pains to know himself ; because he conceived that the knowledge of himself would be more beneficial to him than the knowledge of all other physical things whatsoever : For which cause and no other, the Oracle, seeing him preferring the moral Philosophy before the Natural, pronounced him the wisest man in Greece, not because his knowledge was more complete, or his sufficiency greater than others, but because his knowledge of himself was far better than the knowledge of others that studied other things, and neglected to understand themselves.

And no marvel, that the Oracle should proclaim him for the wⁱs^et man that doth best know himself ; because it is not only very good and profitable, but also a very hard and difficult thing for a man fully and truly to know himself ; that is, to know,

Not

of everie man.

3

Not only the *quiddities* and the *qualities* both of his body and of his soul, which notwithstanding in themselves are most admirable and excellent, if we consider,

1. The Parts and composition of the Body, which as the Prophet saith, are fearfully and wonderfully made, yea so admirably composed, that *Galen* saith, the true expression, or the right *Anatomization* of them, is as an *holocaust*, or *Sacrifice*, most acceptable to God, that hath by that excellent composure of this incomparable structure, shewed his own most incomprehensible wisdom ; as you see, the least finger, and the least Joynt of any Finger, hath his *use*, and cannot be spared by any means.

2. That far more noble part of man, that *Spark* of heavenly fire, and *immortal spirit*, which is his *Soul*, in the Original, Essence, Faculties, Operations, Use, End, and the like, almost infinite Points thereof, wherein and about which the best Philosophers have so puzzled themselves, that they rather bewrayed their own *Ignorance*, than truly expressed any point of the most necessary knowledge of this Substance, as learned *Suarez*, in his voluminous work *de Anima*, sheweth ; and *Aristotele* himself confesseth, when he saith, that the more knowledge a man hath of these things, the more occasion of doubting is offered unto him ; which made him as many men think, to define the Soul to be *irreducibilis, corporis phisici & organici vitam habentis potentia* ; which is *ignotum per ignotum*, a definition harder, or at least as hard to be understood, as the thing defined. Wheras *Cicero*, reading *irreducibilis* for *irreducibilis*, translatheth the same to signifie a *continued and perpetual motion*, which is far shott of the right definition of the Soul.

But especially to know mans *Original*, how he came into the world, his *duty*, what he should do, and how he should behave himself, while he continueth in the world ; his *state* and condition, how he standeth in *relation* to his *God* that made him, preserveth him, and giveth to him all that he hath, while he liveth in this world, and what shall become of him when he dieth, and departeth out of this world ; these, and the like Considerations concerning man, are hard to know, and few men do learn them, which is the reason that few do attain to *Eternal Life*.

Yet as the Poet saith,

Plage dam Amnum.

And as S. *Greg.* saith, *Oculos quos culpa claudit, pena apperit* ; the eyes which sin and transgressions have blinded, afflictions and punishments have opened ; because, as the Greek proverb saith, *μανιατα μανιατα*, Persecutions bring *Infirmities*, and suffering teacheth *understanding* ; as the Children of *Jacob*, being questioned and afflicted in *Egypt*, about their Brother, whom they had sold unto the *Iubaelites*, had their eyes opened, and their *sins*, which for so many years they had buried in the *Grave of Forgerfulness*, and in the *Pit*, where they had thrown their Brother, is now revived, and makes them to confess, and to say one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not bear ; therefore is this distress come upon us* ; and so Crosses and Afflictions do reduce our sins unto our remembrance, and extoll *Confession* of their Misdeeds from many others.

And therefore the Prophet *David*, either upon the consideration of *Abfolons* unnatural Rebellion and Persecution of him, that was both his *King* and his *Father* ; or of some other violent and virulent Temptation that had seized upon him, or else upon a Prophetical foresight of the Captivity of his people in *Babylon*, as he sheweth in another place, saying, *By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered thee O Sion*, or, as others think, upon the consideration of the sad state, and distressed condition of many good Christians labouring under the *Cross*, and Persecutions in this world, he composeth this most Excellent *Psalm* of the brevity and shortness of mans life, that he need not fear,

A a a 2

Galenus de usu partium.

1. The admirable structure of mans body.

2. The difficulties of understanding the particularities of the Soul.

Arist. de Anima, l. 2. c. 1. tex. 6.

Cicero, l. 1.

Tatian. q.

What man shold chiefly know concerning himself.

What effects Afflictions do work in us.

Gen. 43. 21.

What moved the Prophet David to compose this Psal.

Psal. 137. 1-4.

The Vanitie

he shall continue long in affliction ; and he directeth the same to *Jeduthim*, a chief Musician, because the *chiefest* Artist can give *most grace*, and the best life to any thing ; and *the best is best cheap*, Physician, Preacher, Lawyer, or whom you will.

A brief Theological description of man.

And here in this Verse which I have read unto you, the holy Prophet endeavouring to teach us how we may overcome all our maladies and perturbations, even as himself had done, with *patience*, he setteth down a brief definition, or rather a short description of man ; not Philosophically with *Attributes*, to teach us what he is in his *Essence*, *Animal rationale rifiable*, a reasonable and a sociable creature, but *Theologically*, by the light of Gods Spirit, to instruct us what he is in his *state* and condition, and that is, *Animal miserabila mortale*, a most miserable mortal wretch, a worm and no man, a vain thing, or *meervanity*, and that is to be understood while he liveth in *this world* ; for as all Divines conclude, there be three states of man.

That there be three states of man.

1. *Institutionis*. 2. *Defstitutionis*. 3. *Restitutionis*. That is, 1. Of his *Innocency*, in Paradise, where he was created in holiness and true righteousness, after the very Image of God himself.

2. Of his *sinfull condition*, and corruption, while he liveth here now in this world.

3. Of his *Restoration*, begun here by *grace* in this life, and perfected with *glory* in the life to come.

Of what state of man the Prophet speaketh.

And, as *Origen* well obserueth, the Prophet *David* describeth here, not what we were in our Creation, nor what we shall be in our Glorification, but what we are now in our *natural state* and corrupted condition of our peregrination, or pilgrimage here in this world, whereof he saith, *Verily, every man living, or every man in his best estate, is altogether vanity*.

Where summarily, you may see, that *Man* is the subject of the Discourse, and *Vanity* is the *Possession*, the *Inheritance*, and the definition of every man ; for though God made not *Death*, but made man for perpetuity to be united to him self in all *Eternity* ; yet *Sin* brought forth death into the world, and *Death went over all*, and so all are become nothing but *meer vanity*.

The differences betwixt Vanity and Eternity seen.

And truly, there cannot be a greater *contrarie* betwixt light and darkness, or a further *distance* betwixt East and West, Heaven and Hell, than is betwixt *Vanity* and *Eternity*, as you may see by the *Names* of the one, and the *Nature* of the other ; For,

1. *Vanity*, which the *Grecians* and the *Septuagint* here call *μανίας*, the *Hebreus*, to shew the *nature* of it, do express the same by *many* very significant words (as the Learned in that language do declare) and especially by these four words.

1. *By Eli*, which they say, signifieth *nothing*, or a thing of no moment ; in which sense, St. Paul saith, *That an Idol is nothing in the world* ; as if he had said, An *Idol* is *Al-el*, not *God* ; because the *Idols* are not *Elohim*, Gods that shall continue, but *Eli*, that is things of nothing, and things, which shall be reduced into nothing.

And the *Hebreians* say, that this word *Eli* hath great affinity with the verb *Ialal*, which signifieth to *bowl* ; because the following after *Vanities*, and the vain things of this world, or the serving of *Idols* and worshipping of Images, which is the vainest thing in the world, can bring nothing unto us, but *weeping* and *bawling*, which the *Latines* call *Mallum*, and *Mallum* is derived from the Greek word *μάλλω*, or *μάλλον*, that signifieth *Perire & in nihilum redigere*, to perish, and be utterly undone, or to be reduced into nothing ; even as the *Psalms* faith of all *Idolaters*, *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images, and that delight in vain gods* ; and as St. James faith of those rich *Worldlings*, that follow after the vanities of this world, *Weep and bawl, for your miseries that shall come upon you*.

2. *By Hebel*, which in *Eccles.1.1.* is written *Habel*, from the verb *Habal*, which

1. *Eli*.
1 Cor. 8.4.
εἰδούσις ὁ θεός
εἰ νοῦς
εἰ κύριος.

What the fol-
lowing after
Vanities doth
bring to us.

Psat.97.9.

James 5.1.
εὐδαιμονία
εὐλαύνεις.

2. *Hebel*.

of everie Man.

which signifieth to *vanish* as a thing, *Quae non est quidquam, aut quae cito definiuntur*; which either is not any thing at all, or which suddenly perisheth, like unto a blast; either is nothing, or is of such a short continuance, as though it were nothing at all; *Sic enim Infantes Hebrews balitum appellant*; for so the *Hebreos* do call their Infants blasts, saith *Sanctus Pagninus*; and such a blast was *Habel*, whose righteous soul by an unexpected death was suddenly blown up to heaven, to cry against the unnatural cruelty of his brother.

And accordingly to this signification of *Habel*, the *Grecs* express the same thing by *pauro*, of *paunica*, *vilesca*, to grow vile, and to be of no validity, or no worth in the world, as are all the things of this world, in comparison of the heavenly things, no better than dung and dross as the Apostle speaketh.

3. By *Caxa*, which signifieth a lie, and bath great affinity with the verb *Caxaph*, to bewitch, as they are, as it were bewitched, that are seduced to believe lies instead of truth; even as St. Paul saith unto the *Galatians*, *Who hath bewitched you?* That is, deceived and seduced you, from the truth of the Gospel, to believe the lies and false doctrine of the Hereticks, and the new-sprung Preachers that are amongst you? And so the Prophet David calleth all the vain things of this world, *Lying vanities*, saying, *O ye sons of men, how long will ye blaspheme mine honour, and have such pleasure in vanity, and seek after leasing?* That is, such lying things as do bewitch men, to love them, and to hunt after them, like those little children that run up and down all day long to catch *Amorphes* or *Feathers*, and when they have catched them, they have nothing but such truckles things as are of *no value*, but like the Spiders web, that will be *no garment* for them.

4. By *Rik*, which signifieth inanity or *Vanity*, from whence the word *Raka*, that our Saviour useth in the Gospel, and is taken for a fool, whose head is empty, and void of all understanding, is derived; for as when Kings are deprived of their Sovereignty, dislodged of their power, dis-joyned from their Royalty, they are as no bodies, I am sure no Kings; and as Bishops silenced from preaching, and secluded from their Offices, are no Bishops, but, as when *Cupids* are separated from their *Figures*, they do make *jost nothing* at all, though they should be never so many, even so the creature dis-joyned from God, and opposed to the Creator, and so likewise shadows opposed to the substance, darkness to the light, lies unto the truth, and all finite things to eternity; they are *inania mortalia*, vain, and nothing but *privations*, or things that do suddenly vanish into nothing.

Out of all which words, and the like, that are used to explain this *Vanity*, that Definition of Aristotle may well stand, *Vanum id est, quod ordinatum est ad aliiquid, sicut ad finem, & non perficit attinens*; that is vanity, which cannot attain unto the end for which it was appointed; for so the Prophet *Esay*, after he had preached a long time, and had made many Sermons for the amendment of the *Jews*, and yet could no more recall that stiff-necked people from their abominations, than we can reclaim our hearers from their transgressions, crieth out, *In vanum laboravi, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought*; and so man by his sins and disobedience unto his God, not attaining unto his end, that is, his *salvation* and communion with God, for which he was created, and by which he should have enjoyed an *everlasting happy Being*, is now become *vain*, and liable to be reduced to an *eternal miserable Being*, and to a far *worse* condition than an everlasting nothing. And so you see what is *Vanity*.

But 2. The opposite thereto, which is *Vanity*, and is derived *eternitas*, from that which is a thing real, and not fained, or else *a ure*, from the Spring-time, because the Truth is always fresh, and *springeth*, and is sufficient to subtilt of it self, and will prevail, as *Zoroabellus* saith, against all affaults; and such a thing is *Eternity*, which is diametrically opposed unto *Vanity*, and is called by the *Grecs* *dimus*, that is, *Impermeabilis vir eternalis et perfectus posse*, an infinite boundless gulph of time, which no man can fathom, no tongue can express, saith *Bonaventura*;

because

3. *Caxa*.

Psal. 43.

4. *Rik*.

Arist. Philos. 1.2.

Isa. 49. 4.

*And this word
is often used
in Theological
use of *Vanity*
and *Eternity*.*

*Bartius de con-
solar. Philosop. 1.5.*

cicero de Nat. shall find, that, as Cicero saith, *Fuit quedam ab infinito tempore aeternitas, quam nullum tempus metebatur*; there hath been a certain Eternity from an infinite space of time, which no circumscription of time could measure; *sed qualis ea spacio fuerit, intelligi non potest*, but what manner of space that should be, cannot be understood, *quod nec in cogitationem quidem cadit, ut fuerit tempus aliquid, nullum cum tempus esset*; neither can it fall into the thought of man to consider truly, how any time should be, when as yet there was no time: but also if you look forward, into the time to come, you shall find that when there shall be neither Sun nor Moon, which are appointed to be the *measure* of time, yet there will be an endless infinite space of time, that cannot be terminated.

What time is,
and how ex-
prefed.

*Apuleius de
doggm. Platonis.*

Eternity how
expressed.

And Apuleius, the Platomist, saith, that *time* is but the Image of *Eternity*, and that *time* moveth, but *Eternity* moveth not, being naturally fixed, and eternally immovable; and also that *time* passeth towards *Eternity*, and endeth in the Perfection thereof, the *time* being dissolved whensoever the Creator of this world pleaseth; but *Eternity* abiding for ever.

And in this respect the *Egyptians*, that taught all by Hieroglyphicks, represented *Eternity* by a Circle, which had neither beginning nor ending; and for the same cause, *Numa Pompilius*, that was unto the *Romans*, as *Moses* was unto the *Jews*, the *Author* of all their Religion and Religious Ceremonies, and others, the ancient *Pontifices* of the *Romans*, erected their Temples, which they dedicated unto their gods, whom they conceived to be *eternal*, in a circular form; and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, one of the most ancient Philosophers that we read of, exprested this *Eternity* by an intellectual Sphere, whose *Center* is every where, and *Cir-*
cumference no where; because *Eternity* cannot be bounded within any compass, nor terminated by any Limits.

The difference
betwixt Eter-
nity and Per-
petuity.

All men desire
perpetuity, and
to be united to
Eternity.

And the difference which these wise men assigned, betwixt *Eternity* and *Perpe-
tuity* is this, that *Eternity* is that which hath neither *beginning* of dayes, nor *end* of
time, as is God alone, and none else; but *perpetuity* is that, which though it
had a *beginning*, yet it shall never have an *end*, as are the Angels both good and
bad, and the Soules of all men, both the righteous and unrighteous.

And therefore it is naturally ingrafted in the Soul of every man to affect *perpe-
tuity*, and to desire to have an Union and Communion with God, which is *Eter-
nity*; because as S. August. saith, God made us for himself, that we might be per-
petually with him; & *ideo irrequietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in eo*; and
therefore, as no Element, no thing, can rest satisfied and contented, until it com-
eth to its own *proper place*, as the fire to be on high, and the stone to come to the
bottom; so our hearts can never attain to any *true rest*, until they do rest in God;
and nothing in the world can satisfy the mind of man, but that which is above
man; neither can all the Gold of *Ophir*, all the Sand of *Tagus*, all the Treasures
of *Egypt*, all the riches of the *World*, and all the allegetives under Heaven, make a
proportionable Object to satisfy the Soul of man; for seeing, as some Philoso-
phers have observed, the *heart* of man is after a sort made *triangle wise*, and the
world *circular*, therefore as a *Globe* can never fill a *triangular* figure, so no more
can the *whole world* replenish the *vast corners* and the *illimitated* desires of mans
heart.

Therefore the very *Hemibens*, that knew no more of God than what Nature
taught them, had an earnest desire to attain unto an *Union* with this *Eternity*; as
we read how *Cleombrotus*, hearing the Philosophers discoursing of the excellency
of *Eternity*, and the *Felicity* of the soul united unto the Deity, in an over-hasty
desire of this *Unitio*, tumbled himself voluntarily to death, that his soul might
presently enjoy that happy Life; and *Socrates* smiled upon his *Hemlock*, that his
Adversary gave him to dispatch his life, while he assured himself, that it would
send him from this *mortal* Frailty unto *eternal* felicity.

And not only these *particular* men, and the like learned Philosophers, and wi-
lest sort of men, but we read also, how those famous Nations of the *Brahmans*,
Indians,

Indians, Persians, and indeed all other Pagans whatsoever, had this desire of Immortality and Eternity imprinted in their hearts by the pen of Nature.

And no marvel; for as thou canst not like so well of the *longest Lease* of thy House or Lands, as of the *Free-hold* and Perpetuity; so there can be no *true rest*, ^{Why they desired perpetuity} nor any satisfying content, in any *transient* thing, but only in that which is *perpetual*; for when we have improved our *Ambition* to our own *content*, even to the height of our heart's desire, and have attained to so much happiness as this world can afford us, and are become the only men both in Court and Countrey, both in Church and State, and as able to do so much in the Ecclesiastical Affairs, as *Ensebius Bishop of Nicomedia* could do with *Constantius*, the *Arian Emperor*; and as much in the Political State, as *Haman* could do with *Ahasuerus, Sejanus with Tiberius*, or *Hebraem Bassus* with *Saladin the Great Turk*, who were the only *Favourites*, that were most powerful with these great Monarchs, and as dearly beloved of them, as *Ephestion* was of *Alexander*: or more than this, could we come to be the *Pope*, that challengeth to be the *Head of the Church*, or to be such a *Monarch* as was *Alexander, Nebuchadnezzar*, or the most *illustrious* of all the *Rom. Emperours*, yet then, we may be cut off with *Belshazzar*, in the midst of our dayes; or if we can be permitted to spin the *Thread* of our Lives, to the fulnes of years, yet at last, and that soon enough, time and age will take us down, and we shall bring our years to an end, even as a *Tale* that is told; and then as *Job* saith, *the eye that saw us, shall see us no more, and the men that feared us, shall fear us no more*; but seeing that, as *Solomon* saith, *a living Dog is better than a dead Lion*, the poor living Snakes, that are now trode upon by the Tyrants and Oppressors of this world, may then tread upon the Graves, and trample upon the necks of their greatest persecutors; even as *Diogenes* did upon thole buried Kings and Princes, amongst whom he sought for the bones of King *Philip*, but could not distinguish them from the bones of a Peasant.

But what of that? What matter of all this? when as the *Divinity* of the School of *Epicurus* is, that after death there remaineth nothing of us to be any waies prejudiced, not any thing any waies at all: and the Doctrine of the *Stoicks* is nothing different, when as *Seneca*, though he seemed to be a friend to that Principle of the *Immortality* of the Soul, yet this is one of his proper *Aphorisms*, that *non posset esse miser qui nullus est*; he cannot be a wretched man that is no man; and to shew that after death, there is no more tidings of any man, he writes unto *Marius*, *quod mors omnium est solatio, ultra quam mala nostra non excutit*, that death is the resolution and period of all things, beyond which our evils cannot extend; and *Cicero* tells us, that his friend *Atticus* was hardly perswaded to believe the *immortality* of the Soul; and before him *Cebes* in *Plato*, was of the same mind, and *Dicaearchus* that, as *Cicero* saith, wrote three Books of the *mortality* of the soul, and *Pannius*, whom *Cicero* in all his Offices doth so much commend, and so often imitate, and divers Philosophers, as *Epicurus* and *Democritus*, that lived in the time of *Alexander the Great*, were in like manner so blinded by the devil, as not only to doubt, but also to believe this damnable Doctrine; and *Pliny* judgeth this Doctrine to be *puerile deliramentum*, a childish simplicity; and so likewise *Cecilius*, as *Armatus* testifieth, calleth these Tenets of the Christians *Anniles Christianorum Fabulae*, old wives Fables; and *Nicophorus* writeth, that *Syeneius the Plauisit*, *quoad alia que Christiani proficiuntur, promptius se & faciliem prabit*, approved well of all other points that the Christians professed, sed *Resurrectionis doctrinam nefandam ac derostrandam* *judicavit*, but the Doctrine of the Resurrection he liked not; and the Poets cried out with *Theocritus*,

Non est Spes nulla sepultis.

But as *Carillus* faith, though *Soles occidere & redire possunt*, the Sun and Moon may *caruas ad lassum*, lie down and rise again, yet, *nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, nosc est perpetua una dormienda*; when once our short life is fallen down, we shall have one perpetual night

How many
mea deinceps
the immor-
tality of the soul,
and the life
that is to
come.

*Plin. Nat. Hist.
l. 2. c. 7.
Arnob. in Ost.*

*Nicophorus,
l. 14. c. 55.*

The Vanitie

night to sleep ; and so *Lucretius* and *Ennius*, and many more, were of the same faith.

And which is wonderfull, in the School of Christ, we finde some of the same minde, as of old time, *Hymenaeus* and *Philetes*, with whom joyted the *Va- lentinians*, *Carpocratians*, *Cerdonians*, *Gnosticks*, *Marcionites*, *Selucians*, *Mam- chaeas*, *Hieracities*, *Priscillianists*, and the rest of that litter, as *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Secondus*, *Marcus*, *Appelles*, and some of the Popes themselves, with *John* the 23, and *Leo* the 10, that as they were transcendently wicked, so they were wickedly tainted with this error, and liked not of this truth; and many more of their associates in these our own dayes, that following *Hobbs* his *Leviathan* have fallen away from the faith, and as if, *per turbas animarum*, the souls of these Hereticks had entred into their bodies, they will neither believe the resurrection of the body, nor the immortality of their souls, and therefore they labour not for their *union* with this Eternity.

— Yea, and that which is more to be admird, such is the *corruption* of our nature, and the madnes of our mindes, that although the continual fight, and most sensible apprehension of our *vanity*, and the shortnes of our lives in this world, wringles all our *best* *wine* with most bitter waters, and puts a *stop* unto our pleasures, and many *sad* thoughts into our heads, and perplexities into our hearts; yea, though it seemeth that there is in a man a kinde of inclination and disposition of nature, and an earnest desire to *continue* and *perpetuate* his being; and that it is a thing *universally*, *religiously* (because it is the principal foundation of all Religion) and *peaceably* received and concluded throughout all the *Christian* world, especially by an *outward* and *publick* profession, that the soul of man is *immortal*, and shall so continue for ever, and that there shall be a resurrection of the body, and another life after this; yet *seriously* and inwardly in their hearts, not onely the *Epicures*, and the Hereticks aforesaid, and the *Sadduces*, the greatest Lords of the *Jews*, that did not stick with open mouth to deny it, but also the greatest part of these our Christian Professours, as I fear, do believe neither the *immortality* of the soul, nor the *resurrection* of the dead, nor any *other life* after this, the short life of their vanity.

For is it *possible* that men should be so *haughty*, and so *proud*, so *covetous*, and such *oppressours* of their Neighbours, so *sacrilegious*, and such *robbers* and *spoylers* of God himself, as we see men are, so as the Poet saith,

Unde habent, cura est pannis, sed oportet habere.

Is it *possible*, I say, they should be such, if they did believe, that their souls are *immortal*, that after this *momentary* life of their vanity, their bodies shall *awake* and rise out of their graves, and that Christ shall come to *judge* them according to the *works* they have done in this life; and as he saith himself, *To render unto everyone as his deeds shall be?* No surely, it cannot be, that they do *believe* these things; but, as the Fool, whatsoever he protest with his *mouth* to deceive the world, yet said in his *heart*, *There is no God*; so they, whatsoever they say in *words*, yet *factis negant*, their deeds tell us to their faces, that they do but *dissemble*, and *deceive* themselves, but they cannot *deceive* God, nor all *wise* men, that will rather believe their *own eyes*, in what they *see them do*, than their *words*, in what they *say* they do *believe*.

And therefore as when *Carbo* swore any thing in the *Senate*, the *Senators* and the people of *Rome* presently sware they did not believe him: So, when these *sacrilegious* persons, and these grievous *oppressours* of the poor, and the rooters out of the innocent from their possessions, do protest that they believe these things, I do protest unto you, that *I believe them not*. But as *Apollodorus*, the Tyrant, dreamed, that he was taken and hlead by the *Scythians*, and his heart thrown into a boylng Caldron, should say unto him, *I am the cause of all this mischief*; so I say, The hearts of these men *deceive* them, for as the *Wise* man saith,

That many worldly professours of the Christian Religion, do belieue neither the immortality of the soul, nor the resurrection of their bodies, nor any other life after this life.

What a perfidious fellow *Carbo* was.

What *Apollo- dorus* dreamed

faith, *The heart is deceitfull above all things*; and for a man to deceive himself is the worse deceit in the world; for excepting the *worst* of thoughts, which is the thought of the *Fool*, that said in his heart, *There is no God*; there cannot be a more brutish and perverse thought than to imagine that the soul perisheth when the body is dissolved; for what need we care what *evil* we do, what need we fear what *Judge* condemn us, or why should we *abstain* from any of our desires, if our *souls* dye, when our *bodies* are dead?

But to shew you, that whatsoever they say, yet they do not believe in any *eternal* being, either of body or soul after the end of this their vanity: I pray you look into an excellent Book, though slighted by some Fanatick spirits where the Wise-man sheweth how the prophane worldlings, and the worldly Atheists do make this conclusion of their incredulity, to be the ground and foundation of all their impieties; for they say, but not aright, *Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy, neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave; for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been, for the breath in our nostrils is as smoak, which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air.* Sap. 2.1,2,3.
This is their faith, and therefore they make this conclusion, saying, Come let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth, cap. eod. v.6,7,
let us fill our selves with costly Wine and Oyntments, and let no flower of the Spring pass 8,9,10,11,12
by us, let us crown our selves with Rose-buds before they be withered; let none of us go without part of his voluptuousness, for this is our portion, and our lot is this, Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the aged; let our strength be the Law of Justice, and let us lye in wait for the righteous. And this was the very reasoning of Sardanapalus.

The former point proved.

Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas.

There is no felicity after death, therefore soul take thine ease, sit down and be merry; and I fear it is the occasion of so much wickedness in many men, and of such a deluge of sin in these dayes, that doth overflow both the Church and Commonwealth to the destruction and ruine of many thousand souls, that in their hearts they scarce believe their souls to be *immortal*, or that there shall be ever any resurrection of their bodies, or any account to be given for what they do, for so you see the reason why they *oppress* the poor, and *rob* both God and man, and *satisfie* themselves with all kinde of delights, because *their breath in their nostrils is as smoak, which being extinguished, their bodies shall be turned into ashes, and their spirit, as they suppose, shall vanish as the soft air.*

And truly, I think the *conclusion* very good, if there were any truth in the *promises*; for though *Plato* and *Socrates* and *Seneca*, and the like vertuous men did so much love virtue, for the very *beauty* of virtue, and did hate vice onely for the *ugliness* of vice; and *Anselimus* is reported to have said, he had rather to be vertuous, though *severely punished* for it, than be vicious, though never so *highly rewarded*; yet, because these *Ejaculations* spring from more than *ordinary* knowledge, no less than some *sparks* of the motions of Gods Spiriz, which God sometimes wrought in the hearts of the Heathens, and much more in *Anselimus* that was a Christian: It is *contrary* to all shew of reason, that a man, which believeth the *mortality* of the soul, should have *any desire* to be vertuous, or *any fear* to be most vicious, unles it be onely for fear of some *Temporal punishment*.

For if our time be but a *very shadow* that soon passeth away, and after that our end, there is no *returning*, why should I endure so much *labour*, and suffer so much *pain*, or want so much *pleasure*, as the reach of my *wit*, or the laws of my *strength* can any wayes afford me? or why should I abstain from any *vice*, from any *willany*, and fast, and weep, and mourn, and go in sackcloath and ashes, if after one *moment* of time, I shall be reduced to *nothing*, and be never more

The incredulity of the life to come, the cause that men commit much wickedness.

B b b questioned,

The Vanitie

questioned , and neither rewarded for my good deeds , nor punished for my evil doings.

Therefore I think that this *Atheistical* conceit of the *annihilation* of the soul , and the incredulous thought of the *immortality* thereof , is the main cause of so much wickedness , as is now raging in the world .

Heb. 11.25.

The necessity
of rooting out
this incredu-
lity.

Ovid. Metam.
Tibul. l.4.
Propertius.
Claud.
Mausilius l.4.
Plato in Tim.
Cicero de re-
pub. somno
Scip. & l.1.
Tusci. quest.

And on the other side , if men did but seriously think , and faithfully believe , that after this short time of a few dayes pilgrimage , our souls shall remain for ever , and receive either everlasting joyes , if they do well , or eternal punishments , if they do evil , I do assure my self , that men would have some care for the time to come , and like Moses , choose rather to suffer a momentary affliction with the people of God , than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season , and so engage themselves to endure the punishment of sin for ever .

And therefore to root out so pestilent an error , and to confirm so necessary a truth , as is the doctrine of the *immortality* of the soul for the perpetuating of man ; all wise men , that had any love of goodness in them , and all the holy men of God , both in the Old and New Testament , and all the Fathers of the primitive Church , and their successors , the Bishops , and other godly Preachers , to this very day , have been carefull to preach this truth , and have shewed themselves very punctual and plentifull in this point ; for to let pass what Ovid saith , *Mare carent anima* , and what Propertius saith , *Sunt aliquid mares , letum non omnia fuit* ; *turidaque evictos effugie umbra rogos* ; and what Claudian saith , *Hac sola manet , bustoque superflues evolat* ; and to pass over the testimony of Pherecides , that was Matter unto Pythagoras , and of Socrates and Plato and Cicero , and the rest of the Philosophers and Orators , that with unanswerable arguments have maintained the souls of men to be *immortal* ; and so likewise to pass by the unanimous consent of the Fathers that were so plain and so plentifull to prove the same , as you may see in S. Clement Recog. l. 1. Iren. l.2. c.63. &c 64. com. Valem. Tertul. de res. carnis. S. Aug. dogmat. Eccles. c.16. Arnobius de fide resur. and the rest of them almost in every place , I finde the Prophets , and our Saviour himself , and his Apostles be very exact and diligent to declare the same , and to prove it so fully that the most incredulous heart , if it were not filled with all blindness , could not conceive the least thought against it .

Yet because the Devil is still tempting men to incredulity , and to doubt of these things , and is still so powerfull with these worldlings , that he quite blindeth them , so that they cannot see the clearest light , nor understand the plainest truth .

Therefore to undeceive these silly souls that do so miserably deceive themselves , we are still bound to defend and vindicate these truths ; and in that respect , I likewise shall not think much to produce some few Reasons that the Devil himself cannot answer , to make it manifest , that although man in this life is altogether vanity , and but a blast , of no continuance , as hereafter I shall shew unto you , yet God made man to be *perennial* , for God made all things that they might have their being , and especially man , not to be reduced to nothing , and he made the soul of man *immortal* , and never to dye , but to live for ever ; For ,

Arguments
proving the
immortality of
the Soul , and
the life to
come.

Or surely dye.
Gen. 2.17.

1. Moses tells you , that when God had framed and made man of the dust of the earth , *He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life* , and so man became a living soul , and not a dying soul , or a soul that should dye ; but such a soul , as should live for ever , because the soul is the *cause* of our natural , spiritual and eternal life ; whence the Latines do call the soul , *Life* , *expirare* , *quia vivificat corpus dum adest* , & *seipsum cum abest à corpore* . And when God threatened Adam , that if he did eat of the forbidden fruit , *he should dye the death* ; that death signifieth not the death of the soul , or the *annihilation* of the body , but the dissolution or separation of the soul from the body ; that as it was made out of the dust , so it might return to the dust again , which while the soul remained in it , *unseparated* , it could not return ; and this St. Paul sheweth plainly , when he saith , *Ex n* e myri

*επειδὴ οὐκέτι σὺ σώμας αγνωστό, If our earthly house be dissolved, that is, dis- 2 Cor. 5. 1.
joyned, as a house that we pull down is separated one part from another, but not destroyed, so is the soul separated from the body, and neither of them de-
stroyed, and reduced into nothing; but the soul remaineth still immortal for
ever, and as God saith, the body returneth to the dust from whence it was
taken.* Gen. 3. 19.

2. It is said, that *Abel* being unnaturally murdered by his blood-thirsty Brother, *vox sanguinum clamabat ad deum;* and the Hebrew word, *faith* *Coterns,* signifieth, *ex ingenti animi dolore exclamare;* to cry out with a vehement grief of mind, & queritando vociferari, and to complain with a most lamentable voice; therefore surely his crying soul was still alive, though his slaughtered body was lain dead.

3. God saith unto *Moses*, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of your Fathers;* therefore *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and the rest of their *Fathers* were still alive, *καὶ δὲ, secundum aliquid,* and that is in respect of their *Souls*; because as our Saviour saith unto the *Sadduces*, *God is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living;* and the bodies of these men that were turned to dust, could not be said either to be *alive*, or to be *Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob*: therefore *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* were still alive in respect of their *Soules*.

4. *Moses* is said to have died in the Land of *Moab*, and to be buried in a *valley over against Beth-peor*, and yet *S. Math.* saith, that when Jesus was transfigured on the Mount, *Moses* and *Elias* appeared to the Apostles, talking with Christ; therefore *Moses* was dead, and not dead, and was buried, and not buried, *καὶ νὲ δὲ,* (*i. e.*) dead in respect of his body, and living in respect of his Soul; and so *Moses* and *Elias* were still alive, and they *themselves*, in respect of their *Souls*, and not their *shadows* or *phantasmes*, which can no waies be said to be *Moses* and *Elias*, did then appear unto the Apostles.

Deut. 34. 5, 6,
Mat. 17. 3.

5. *David* saith, *I will not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord;* and yet *David* is dead, and was buried, therefore it is his *Soul* that liveth.

6. The wise man saith, that when a man dieth, *then shall the dust, that is, his body, return to the Earth, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it;* and being with God, it cannot be dead, but remain *immortal* for ever.

Job 14. 7
Eccles. 12. 7
Lk. 16. 22.

7. When *Lazarus* died, he is said to be cartied up by the Angels into *Abraham's bosom* (*i. e.*) in respect of his *Soul*, for his *Body* was not carried up into his *Bosom*: And so *Dives* being in torments, must be understood in respect of his *Soul*; for it is said, that being dead, *he was buried, in respect of his Body;* and therefore the *Souls* both of the good and of the bad do still remain *immortal*.

8. Our Saviour saith, *Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul;* therefore the *Soul* is *immortal*, wheras all the strength of man, and all the power of Hell is not able to kill it.

Mar. 10. 38.

9. The hope of *Glory* and *Reputation*, and the desire that every man hath of the *continuance* and *perpetuity* thereof, how vain soever it be, yet doth it carry a great evidence of the *Immortality* of our *Soules*.

10. The impression of that vice which robbeth a man of the knowledge of *humane Justice*, and is alwaies opposite to the *Justice* of God, and *indelibly imprinted* in every mans *Conscience*, doth *infallibly conclude*; that the *Justice* of God requireth the same should be chastised after death, and therefore that our *Soules* must needs be *immortal*.

11. In the Book of *Wisdom* it is most plainly said, *the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch them; in the sight of the unwise they seemed to die, but they are in peace.* A place so plain, that sense can desire no plainer.

Sap. 3. 1, 2, 3.

And many more Reasons might be produced to confirm this Truth, but these are sufficient demonstrations to shew unto you, that although man in respect of his being in this life, is altogether *Vanity*, yet simply considered, he is to be *eternal*,

The Vanitie

and to have a *perpetual* Being ; because God never made man to have an end, and to be reduced to nothing ; but as the wise man saith, *he created all things, and much rather man, that they might have their being.*

Sap. 1.14.

And what *madness* is it therefore, that men will *not believe* this Truth ? especially considering, it is most certain, that the remembrance of their *end*, and the *shortness* of their time here, how their dayes do pass away like a *Weavers shuttle*, or like a *Poet* that tarrieth not, will alwaies be such a *corractive* to their Souls, as will put an end to all their *earthly* Comforts, wheras *nothing* in the world is left us to rejoice in, but in *that* thing only which is *perpetual* and remaineth ours for ever.

But then here you must understand, that besides the *prime Eternity*, which is God, there is a twofold perpetuity of men.

1. The one, by our *Union* with God, which is perfect felicity.
2. The other, in our *Separation* from God, which is the Extremest Misery ;

And,

Seeing the Souls of men are *immortal*, and do naturally affect *Eternity*, as not only *Divinity* sheweth, but also the *soundest Philosophers* have sufficiently attested, and every mans *Conscience*, in the expectation of his reward for his Actions, be they good or bad, perwadeth him to believe, it is most certain, that those *wicked worldlings* which desire nothing but the Honours and the *Prosperity* of this present Life, and those *incredulous Heretics*, both of the former times, and of this present *Age*, which against their Consciences do withstand this Truth, shall notwithstanding be *perpetual*, either in their *Union* with God, or in their *Separation* from God ; and as it is the *greatest* Comfort of a Christian man to believe that he shall be *everlastingly* with God in all happiness, so it is not the *least* torment unto a damned soul, to consider, that he shall be *for ever and ever* in *Torments*, separated from God.

And therefore the *Error* is not, that men do seek for *perpetuity*, which they shall *before* to have, but that they seek the same amiss.

Either not that which is with their *Union* and *Fruition* of God ; or if that, then either not as they should, or not where they should seek it, that is, either not in the *due time*, or not in the *right place*, where it may be found ; as,

1. For the *time*, many seek it, but *too late* ; and so they miss it, because that *now is the time acceptable*, & *ex hoc momento pondet eternitas*, and our *perpetuity* either with God, or without God, either in Joy or in *Torments*, dependeth upon our *demeanour* in this *present*, and little short time, that we have here to live.

2. For the *Place*, you may see how *most men* purchase Lands, build Castles, gather Riches, heap up Treasures, and so lay down such *Foundations* of *perpetuity* here on earth, as if they were to *live here for ever*; and they do so rely upon these transient things, and *mortal* men, as if they were *immortal Gods* ; and so they seek for their *perpetuity* in the *Regions of Vanity*, and they would find *perfect Felicity* in this *Valley of Misery*, but as the *Israelites*, by joyning themselves to *Baal-peor*, separated themselves from *El-shaddai*, the Almighty God ; so these men, by seeking *Eternity* in these vanities, shall never be able to find it, and to be united with it, because *Eternity* and *Felicity* are not to be found here on *earth* : For as the Apostle saith, *we have here no continuing City*, and we are but as *Pilgrims* and *strangers* here in this *world*, and our *perpetuity* is to be expected, not in this life, but in the *life to come*.

And so by this *large* Introduction that I have made, you see that these words of the Prophet are not to be understood of man *simply considered*, but of man *considered* in respect of his *State* and *Condition* in this life ; for though man be to abide *for ever*, yet as he is in this life, *verily every man*,

: And to prove this unto you, you shall find the wisest King and the most learned Preacher that ever *Israel* had, assuring you, that there is *nothing* here in this *world* but *vanity* and *vexation* of *Spirit* ; and that you might the sooner believe this

That all men
both good and
bad shall re-
main and be
perpetually.

The twofold
error of men
in seeking
perpetuity.
1. Seeking it
too late.

2. Seeking it
in the wrong
place.

of everie Man.

13

this Truth, he doubleth and trebleth his words, saying, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*, that is, nothing else but mere vanity.

And lest proud man should think, that this is meant of Gold and Silver, and the like inanimate things of this world, or of the irrational Creatures, whose Souls do perish with their bodies, and not of man, which is the Prince and Lord of all Gods Creatures, the Glory of all Gods works, and the Image of God himself, the Prophet *David*, that was both a great King and a great Prophet, tells you plainly, that you need not doubt of it; *Verily, every man living is altogether Vanity, Sola.*

Touching which words, I beseech you to consider,

1. The various Lections,
2. The chiefest Observations

of this Text.

1. For the diversity of Reading it.

The first word, according to the *Septuaginta*, is *αντι*, which *S. Hieron.* translateth *Emiss*; For as the *Cause* of the brevity and shortness of mans life, that it should be but a span long, as the phrase signifieth, *palmatus scipisti dies noster*, because every man is *vanity*: therefore my life is so *short*.

Others, as *Tromelius*, do render it *profecto* or *cert*, surely or *verity*, that we might assure our selves, and make no *doubt* of the truth and certainty of this point, that *every man*, be he what he will, never so *strong*, never so *wise*, and never so *weakly*, yet is he but *vanity*.

But others would have both the Hebrew word, and the Greek Particle *αντι* to signify, *solum vivere tantum & dominare*, only, as if the Prophet meant, that, of all Gods Creatures, *only* man, or man alone, is the receptacle of *all vanity*; and besides man, there is *nothing* else, wherein the signs of *all vanity* are to be found so *evidently* as they are in man; because *nothing* in the world hath so far deviated and started away from the end for which it was appointed as *man* hath done; Whereas *all other creatures stand according to Gods Ordinance*; the Stars keep their *motions*, the Moon obserueth her *Seasons*, and the Sun knoweth his *going down*, only man knoweth not his duty, and so *Egypt* testifieth, *The Oxe knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Masters Crib*, but *Israel hath not known, thy people doth not consider*, *Ex. 1.3.* and therefore *only* man deservedly and signally is *vanity*.

The second word which is used in the Original is *Chos*, and it is a word of both Numbers, and of all Genders, and the *Septuaginta* read it *obscures*, which *S. Jerome* translateth *omnia*, all; the vulgar Latine renders it *universa*, and *Tromelius* reads it *animimoda*; and if I rightly understand them, they all mean, that man is *all manner* of *vanity*, and that there is *no vanity* in the world, and *no foolery* in the world, but you shall find the same in man.

The third word after the *Septuaginta*, is *υαποντες* which *S. Hieron.*, and the vulgar Latine, and *Tromelius* translate *vapores*; but *Syntaxis* reads it *αντινε*, a *Vapour*, to which thing *S. Faustus* compareth the life of man, and useth the same word, saying *ατηνε γαρ εστι ζωη*, for our life is a *vapour*, that is, such a thing as soon riseth, and as suddenly perisheth.

The fourth word, that the *Septuaginta* read, is, *αντινεσθαι*; and *Tromelius* reads it *omnis homo*, and our English reads it *every man*; but others, to whom I rather assent, do understand it to signifie *versus homo*, that is, *all or whole man*; or, a *man compleat*, *soul and body*, and accumulated with all the *perfections* that man can have, and with all the goods either of Nature or of Fortune that he may find under the Sun, yet is he but *vanity*.

The fifth word is *ζωη*, living, *every man living*, the whiche word *Aquila* reads, *ισχουντες*, *erectis*, lifted up, and *Syntaxis* reads it *εστι*, standing or subsisting, and *Tromel.* translates it *quoniamvis conscientia nostra*, how excellently soever he be settled, and the sense is, as most Interpreters will have the Hebrew word *nisan*, to signifie, that *every* *state* of man, or, *man in every state*, and in what condition

Two things
be considered
about these
words.

1. The diversi-
ty of reading
them.
1 Word.

2. Word.

3 Word.

James 4.14.

4 Word.

5 Word.

The Vanitie

condition soever he is, King, Priest, Prophet, Honourable, wealthy, or what you will, yet is he all vanity ; and though such a one seems to stand, and to be something, existing firm in his strength and vigour, yet in *very deed* and in truth, the greatest, the strongest, the best and most powerful of them, is nothing else, but mere Vanity.

And I would
that all men
would well
consider it how
vain they are.
3. The special
Points confi-
derable in this
Text.

And so you have the words of this Text explained unto you, *Verily every man, or, all man, living, or standing in his best estate and condition, is altogether vanity*, and all the vanity that can be found under the Sun.

3. For the Observations that may be collected out of this Text, I desire you to note with me these six principal Points.

1. That *man* is nothing else but vanity.

2. That *whole man* is vanity.

3. That *every man* is vanity.

4. That *every man in his best estate* is vanity.

5. That *every man in his best estate* is *altogether vanity*.

6. What Lessons of Instructions you may collect to your selves, from these Observations of mans Vanity ; or what Application you may make of this Expression of the Prophet.

And so, as *Solomon* ascended to the *Throne* of his Majesty, *per sex gradus*, by six special steps, so we shall descend to the *nothing* of our Mortality by these six special Considerations ; and then I hope, it will appear unto you all, what a *nothing* they are, that seem now to be so *very great*, and what *little reason* we have to be so much afraid as we are, of such *great nothings*.

But though the *Application* of the whole was the *chiefest Point* that I aimed at, when I first began to treat of this Text, yet mine allowance of time, not abusing your patience, will not permit me now to proceed any further than the first Point at this time ; That *Man is nothing else but Vanity*. And,

1. You may remember, that the holy Scripture saith, *God resisteth the proud, but giveth Grace unto the lowly* ; and yet such is the *pride* of mans heart, that *Alexander* would be no less than the Son of *Jupiter*, *Xerxes* would correct the *Hellenes*, and write Letters of great threatenings to Mount *Athos*, that deemed his words no more than the *wind* : *Sapor* King of *Persia* would needs be stiled Brother unto the *Sun* and *Moon* : and *Caligula* would raise *Bornes* and *Citopartas*, counterthunder God, and would needs be no less than *Jupiter Latialis*, the very God of the *Latines*, and of all *Italy*.

And so the rest of the *Cesars* were so transported with such palpable pride, that all the Monarchs of the year must be shared amongst them : and as of old *Janus* that looked backward and forward, to the old year and the new, like unto *Noah*, that had seen the world before the Floud, and that which was after the Floud, had the Moneth of *January* dedicated unto him ; so *Mars* the great Warriour, must have *March* ; *Nero* must have *April*, *Claudius* shall have *Maii*, *Germanicus* *Juno*, *Julius* *July*, *Augustus*, *August*, *Ammonius* *September*, *Domitian* *October*, *Tiburinus* *November*, and he wittily demanded of the Senate, when they dedicated this Moneth unto him, what they would do, when they should have more than 12 *Cesars* ? as *Xiphilinus* saith.

1 Point.
That man is
Vanity.
James 4. 6.

The palpable
pride of men.

The Monarchs
shared among
the *Cesars*.

Ebd. 5. 2.

11a. 14. 13, 14.

The pride of
many base fel-
lows.

So *Pharaoh* demands, *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go out of my Service, to serve the Lord ? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go*. And the King of *Babylon* said in his heart, *I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God ; I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, and I will be like the Most High*.

And not only these great Kings and Emperors, that had some small kind of greatness in them, had such aspiring thoughts, and seed of Pride in them, but we find also that *Clearchus*, a base Fellow of *Pontus*, would needs be worshipped as a God, and his Son must be called *Lightning*, as *Suidas* testifieth ; So *Menecrates*, a mean Physician, would fain be taken for *Jupiter*, and *Empedocles* the Philosopher, would

would in like manner have been deemed for ~~immortal~~.

And so many more the like ~~unlike~~ fellows would fain challenge to themselves Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, and other services proper and peculiar to the Eternal God: And if we our selves ascend not so high to be such prodigies of pride, as these Heathens were, yet I am afraid, there are but very few of us that are not some wayes blasted with a ~~van~~ conceit of their own worth; as you may see some Drifing their own persons, and as it were adoring either their fair faces, or their lovely eyes, or their godly hair, now adayes idolized by many daughters, as ~~all~~ felowes in former time seemed to do, or their magnifie hond, or some other part or parcel of their *well-shaped* bodies.

Others, as the Prophet saith, *do sacrifice unto their own*, and admire their own *me*, whereby they have drawn to much wealth into the same, and yet preferre it from *breaking*, as the Apostles Net was preserved unbroken, when it drew to land an hundred fifty and three great Fishes.

Job.21.11.

A third sort of men make their strength to become the *law of Justice*, and they that are weak are just nothing.

A fourth sort are *bubled* up with an high conceit of their *power*, and with *Harmes*, they are ready to burst if every *law* doth not bend, and every *hand* be hot bare to them; and the *golden* Asses that have their *purses* full of *angels*, and their coffers replenished with such *Devils*, do think they should be adored above all other creatures. And as

Fasces inest pulchris sequiturque superbis formam,

Beauty maketh many proud, so likewise

Fasces inest sanctis, sequiturque superbis clavis;

The Scholar is often proud of his Learning, and the *Holy Sain* is not alwayes free from too high a conceit of his Sanctity. And then as St. Aug. saith, *Superbia deformat quicquid iustitia adiscit.*

And in brief, as the Devil told *Adam* and *Eve*, that *they should be like gods*; so there is not scarce any one of all the sons of *Adam*, but for some one thing or other, though he will not say it with his tongue, yet will his heart conceive, that he is *similis abissimo*, as good as the best. And such are the *thoughts* of men. And holy *Job* saith, that these men are so impudent and so graceless, that they say to God, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways*; what is the *Almighty* that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?

The vain con-
ceit of all the
sons of *Adam*:

Job 21.14,15.

But the Prophet *David*, that knew what is man better than all these men, to pull down those *high looks of the proud*, and to batter the cruddy walls of flesh and blood, saith, *Man is like a shew of vapour, his time passeth away, my flight away like a shadow*; and here he saith, *Verily, every man in his best estate is altogether vanity*: So you see, man is but a *vain* thing, my more, he is *vain* it self, yea and more than that, which is a *note* above *Els*, he is *whinger* vanity.

im vnam snt
et a v. 1.15.
fut. 1.15.
1.15.
1.15.

And because, as St. *Ambros* saith, *Amariuntur scrupuli*, the bittternesse of words, and the sharpnes of our reproofs is oftentimes *medicina amaritatis*, the salve of our souls, I must crave leave, *deprecari carnae habe*, as *Tertullianus* speaketh, that is, to batter down the lofty towers of proud flesh, and to visitie those that overprise themselves, like *Simeon Magnus*, that gave it out he was *no man*, some *great one*, and to shew unto you what a *vanity* or *vain* thing is man, and that

Act.8.9.
1.15.
1.15.
1.15.

1. In his *ingress*, or coming into the world.
2. In his *progress*, or continuance in the world.
3. In his *egress*, or going out of the world.

1. I will

1. His ingred.

1. I will not go about to *shame* you with the narration of your conception any further, then what the Prophet saith, *In sin hath your mother conceived you*. The *purest* Embrio was impure; and how many sins the Mother doth commit, while the childe is in her womb, her self and God onely knoweth: but when the *Infant* comes forth, out of the *narrow* prison of his Mothers womb into the large field of this wide world, you may consider, that the *first act* of his Tragedy is to salute his *distressed* Mother, for all her *pains* to get him out of prison, with *cries* and lamentations; and much more he would cry, if he knew, or could know the *many* miseries, that he is to pass through, and *must* pass through them, if he liveth.

2. His progress.
Ezek. 16, 6.

2. The Infant being born, and as the Prophet saith *polluted in his own blood*; and the Lord saying unto it, *Live*, he hath his *progress* and journey to pass, into which he could *never* proceed any further, but make *faces and noyses*, and lye and then dye, if he were left alone, and not *tended* by his Mother, or some other Nurse, that must look unto him, and that for *no few dayes*, or months neither, but some certain years at least.

And as soon as ever *age* hath brought him to *any wit*, he falls to his *shifts*, to delude his *teachers*, and to decline his own *good*; and when by his Parents *care* and his Tutors *pains*, he is become ripe in his profession, a learned Lawyer, a skilfull Physician, a deep Politician, a great Artist, or a valiant Souldier, what doth he then, but use all his endeavours to *supplant* others, to *advance* himself? and he cares not *how*, nor *how many others* he maketh poor, to make himself onely rich.

*Aug. de verb.
Dom. Ser. 17.*

Augustinus.

*Non aliud nisi
militia loquuntur
militia loquitur*

And yet, this is not all, for you may remember what St. *Augustine* saith, *Quid est diu vivere nisi diu torqueri? nam vita presens est armonia, quam humores tumidant dolores extenuant, ardore exsiccant, aera morbidam, esca inflant, jejunia maccrant, joci dissolvunt, tristitia consumunt, sollicitudo coarctat, securitas bebetat, divitiae fastitant, pauperitas deficit, juventus excollit, senectus incurvat, infirmitas frangit, maror deprimit, & post haec omnia mors intermis & universis gaudis finem imponit, ita cum esse desideris nec fuisse putetur*. And you may remember also that *Job* tells you, and *Seneca* tells his friend *Lacilius* the very same, that *vivere est militare*, the life of man is a *warfare* here upon earth; and *Lucan* saith,

Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

*The many mi-
serable Wars
of these last
centuries of
years even in
Christendome.*

Whether this be true or no, let the Warrior himself, and not I, be the Judge; but for what *Job* saith, you may see it *literally* verified throughout all the world and all Christendome now to become the shambles of Christian blood.

The which men, if you consider their *Civil breeding*, and their *much* teaching in the School of Christ, that doth so straitly forbid all *ambition*, and all *revenge*, and so earnestly enjoyn all men to *love one another*; you may admire that as *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so the pretended Christian should justify the *bloody* Turks, or men-eating Canibals, that glut themselves upon *buried carcases*, and do use as the Poet saith, *Pinguiscore corpore corpus*; and are therefore deemed by the *more civill* Nations to be but the *remote prodigies* of lost humanity. For,

If you now let your thoughts to *consider*, and your eyes to *wander* throughout all the Christian Kingdomes of *Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Italy*, and the rest of the neighbouring Nations that profess to believe in the *same Jesus Christ*, and do hope to be coheirs of the *same Kingdome* of heaven, they shall see *most of these men* striving to be, not *homicide encurbitarum*, the cutters down of Cucumbers, as St. *Aug.* stiled the *Muricains*; but *Homicida Christianorum*, the bloody killers of many good Christians, and so make Rivers of blood, and Hills of Christian carcases: And how he, that shed his blood to *redeem* those carcases, will judge of this, I am afraid to speak, and tremble to think of it.

And yet, you must not think that I say this to *reard* the courage, or to *blame* the

the Swords of our gallant Souldiers, that have *just causes* to make War; for when wickednes groweth so *wilfull*, as to seek our *lives*, that desire to live in peace, or to rob us of our *livelihood*, lands or goods that God hath *justly* given us, then you must know, that our God is the God of War, as well as the God of Peace, and his name is the Lord of Hosts, and he will make his sword drunk with blood, and will strengthen our hands, if we trust in him, to scatter all those people that delight in War, and to destroy those Enemies that maliciously labour for our destruction.

But I blame all *shedding* of Christian blood in any War, either to *plant Religion* which should be done by *preaching*, and not by fighting, which in seeking to make them *Christian men*, will make them *no men*, or dissembling hypocrites, instead of faithfull believers, or else to satisfy the ambition of any man that desires to *inlarge* his Dominion, and so unjustly to wrong his neighbours, when as every man, from the King unto the beggar, should be contented with what God hath justly given him; and that policy can never be justified, which is not every way consonant to equity, or especially for any subjects out of a *rebellious* discontent, or *ambitious* desire to *wup* the Power and Authority of their *Sovereign*, to turn the sweet waters of *Peace* to become rivers of *Christian blood*. This is that warfare which I *chiefly* discommend, as the greatest of all vanities. But,

3. If the *Sword* or *Bullet* in this warfare, taketh not man away, yet *Age* and *Sickness* will soon summon him to his death and dissolution; and till then his whole life is spent *inter suspria & lachrymas*, betwixt sighs and tears, troubles of minde, and distempers of body, and a thousand such *sad accidents*, that will soon bring *hoc virium corpusculum*, this our frail and brittle body, and our distressed life to a miserable *death*; and when we dye, or, as the Psalmist saith, *When the breath of man goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts, and all his high designs, and vain conceits perish*; and then it will appear, which till then proud man will not believe, that the life of man is but a *flower* that soon withereth, a *smoke* that soon vanisheth, and a *bubble* that suddenly falleth; or as others say, a *shadow*, a *dream*, a *nothing*.

3. *Hiregredia**Psal. 146.3.*

And it were well for many men, if, as their *great thoughts*, either on some deep plots of state, or how to hook unto themselves their neighbours inheritance, or to wreak their malice on their poor brethren, or the like *espouscours*, Castles in the air, as *Aristophanes* calleth them, do vanish into nothing, when their soules part with their bodies, so likewise their *bodies* and their *soules* should then, with their *Thoughts*, return to nothing.

But that cannot be, for that now mans soul must pay for all his *evil thoughts*, and suffer for all the wicked works, and the great wrongs that he hath done; and though *a corpore vermis, & a verminibus factur*, his body turnes to *worms*, and those wormes yield such *Sent*, as all the Spices of *Arabia* cannot keep away, yet the *living spirit* of every wicked man, that cannot, and shall not die, must now for his *unrepened evil*, be hurried into the *dreadful* Regions of all horror, where it must live and lie for ever and ever, to suffer *insufferable* and *unconceivable* torments, a life that lives not, and a death that dies not.

And so you see, that man is *Vanity*, and a *wicked man* in misery, *worse than vanity*.

And therefore *Reason* should perswade you all to labour to become *more* than men, that is, more than *meir* men; and to desire to be *born again*, not of flesh and bloud, but of *water and of the Spirit of God*, that you may be brought again to that *Union* and *Communion* with God, which you had when we were *first* made by God.

2. The Prophet saith, that *totus homo vanitas*, all the *whole man*, that is, both his *Body* and his *Soul* is *vanity*; for what is this *body* of ours, but a piece of earth, which we tread upon, *Sacculus terrae*, saith S. *Bernard*, a sack full of dust, to say no worse, and a *Magazine* of all *Diseases*, *Coughes*, *Agues*, *Feavers*, *Gouts*,

What Wars
the Author
blamest.2 Point. That
whole man is
vanity.

1. The Body,

The Vanitie

and what not? and when these have satisfied and feasted themselves upon our bodies, what are our bodies but a feast for Worms?

a. The Soul.

And the *Soul*, though it be a pure Spirit, as it proceeded from God, yet as it is now, traduced from our Parents, as many Divines think it is, or as it is infused into our flesh, as others do believe, and remaineth in our bodies; all the Faculties thereof are corrupted; the Understanding is darkned with ignorance, the Memory dullled with forgetfulness, and the Will defiled with Misce-affections.

And so as Earth is good, and Water is good, yet being mingled together, they do make a dirty Puddle, and neither of them can be said to be then a pure Element; so the body and soul of man, though both were good in their Originals, and good in their own kind, yet now being both coupled together, as *Marcenius* coupled the dead bodies to the living, they are both marred, and become so deformed by corrupting one another, and associating themselves in their desires, that now the eyes are the burning-glasses of Concupiscence, and lusting after our neighbours Wives, Lands and Goods; the Tongue is a Razor of detraction, to defame and slander our own Mothers Sons; the Throat is an open Sepulchre; the Hands, Engines of violence, to rub, wound and kill; the Heart a Mint of all Villanies; the Feet swift to thied blood; and the whole man is become a Beast, saith the Psalmist, and a Devil, saith our Saviour, for ~~one~~ of you is a Devil.

*Psal. 74.
John 6. 70.*

And so you see that all the *whole man*, if he be but *meer man*, as he is begotten of flesh and blood, in his best, is but *vanity*, in his next, *iniquity*, and in his worst consideration, a *meer misery*; and so miserable, that being but *meer man*, he hath *little cause*, with the Philosopher, to thank God that he was made a *man*, when it had been *better* for him, as our Saviour saith of *Judas*, that he had never been made, and never born.

Mark 14. 21.

That we
should labour
to become
more than
meer men.

And therefore if we labour not to become *more* than men, that is, to be like *Bacchus*, his *genius*, as the Poets faign of him, to be *born again*, of another Mother, the spouse of Christ, and so to become *double men*, and to consist of the *old man*, begotten of mortal Seed, and of the *new man*, that is, begotten by the *immortal Seed* of Gods Spirit, we shall never be *happy*, and never otherwise, than, as I said, *vanity* and *misery*; for though the *old man* be never so *Glorious*, and never so honourable, the Off-spring of Kings and Princes, and though outwardly it appears never so *beautiful*, without blemish; yet if the *new man* of the heart, that is begotten by Gods Spirit, be not found out, the other is but *empty*, flesh, as the Apostle termeth it; and *flesh* is an *Epicure* given to *Beasts* by the Prophet, and that by way of *disparagement* too, where he saith, *their bones are but flesh*, and which is viler, *all flesh is graft*, that soon withereth and rotteith, and becometh the *Dung* of the earth: and the Apostle saith, that *flesh and blood shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, because that, as I shewed you before, *flesh and blood* being but *meer vanity*, which is the *most opposite* to *Eternity*, they can inherit nothing but *eternal misery*.

1 Cor. 3. 3.

Esa. 3. 13.

1 Cor. 15.

3 Point.

Eccl. 2. 15, 16.

3. As *tunc homo*, so *omnis homo vanitas*, every man is vanity, that is, not only the Fool, but also the wise man; for there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; but as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man; therefore the wise man concluded, that *this also is vanity*.

And so likewise the young man as well as the old man, the rich as well as the poor, and the strong as well as the weak, the heroick *Achilles*, as well as base *Theristes*; they soon die, and vanish away to nothing.

How all the world is round
and all things
in the world in
a perpetual
motion. *not a
station* *station*

And to be brief, you see, how the *gallant* Courtier, and the *Royal* Majesty are no more exempted from *vanity* than the poorest *Clown* and meanest Subject; for *Eternity* is said to be an *intelligible sphere*, whose *Center* is *every where*, and his circumference *nowhere*, but in it self, as I shewed to you before out of *Trismegistus*, so the form of the *whole world* is *spherical*, and the *unporous* or *little world*, which is *man*, in *state and condition* is also *spherical* and *round*, even as round as a hoop, or rather indeed a *meer circular center*, without any circumference at all; and as the *primum mobile*, the *first wheel* of all the *Spheres* of this whole

whole frame, is ever in motion, and by that motion we see that part which is now the highest, within a dozen hours to become the lowermost; so suddenly is the change of the highest things; even so it is in all things that are under the Sun; there is a perpetual motion, and that motion changeth all things; which made holy Job to say, a Saying worthy to be remembred, that although man is but of few dayes, few indeed, God knoweth, and those few dayes are full of troubles, and that we all know; yet in those few dayes he cometh forth like a flower, that is, by little and little, and he is cut down, that is, in a moment, he flieth also as a shadow, that is, very swiftly, and never continueth in one stay, but is still divolved from one condition to another: For our blessed Lord God and loving Father, out of his wise Providence, and secret love to man, hath so tempered all the Accidents, and the whole course of mans life, with such proportion and equal counterpoize of occurrents, that ever and anon Joyes and Sorrows are mixt together, good haps and sad tidings succeed one another; as for example, David, as it were to day, is a poor Shepherd, keeping his Fathers Flock, and pulling away his sheep out of the Lions Claws; and as it were to morrow, he is magnified in the Court of Saul, he is matched with the Kings Daughter, and saluted for the Kings Son in Law, and his epibalmus is, *Saul killed his thousands and David his ten thousands;* yet presently he fleeth as a banished man, and he is prosecuted and persecuted, as a Partridge is hunted upon the Mountains; but within a while he is crowned King, and reigneth in a short space over all Israel, even from Dan to Beersheba, and as a gallant Conqueror overcometh all his enemies round about him; yet that Glory must not last long, but his own, not only unmeifull Subjects, but also his ungracious and unnatural Son Absalon must drive him once again to flee, not to preserve his Kingdom, but to save his Life; and because the Wheel turns round, this Cloud suddenly vanisheth, Absalon is hanged and the King is joyfully received, and honourably restored to his Royal Throne; and after all this, he had many the like changes, of sundry kinds of Accidents, somtimes gladsum, and somtimes doleful, while he lived.

So the Son of David, and the Son of God, Jesus Christ, in the second of Mat. is presented with Gifts, and worshipped as a God, by the Kings and wise men of the East, and in the same Chapter he is persecuted by King Herod, that he was fain to flee into Egypt to save his life; yet afterwards, he was so magnified by the people, that he was fain to bide himself, to prevent his being crowned King, and upon Mount Tabor he was so transfigured in Glory, that his Face did shine as the Sun; and not long after, upon Mount Calvary, he was so disfigured with sorrow, that confusion went over his face, so far, that as the Prophet saith, in him there was neither form nor beauty; so upon Mount Olivet, even now, there was an Angel comforting him, and by and by, an Agony affrighting him: and so upon the Cross, even now, he crieth as one destitute of all help, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? and by and by after, as a man full of comfort, and confidence in Gods favour, he saith, Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.

And if the time, and your patience would give me leave, I could amplifie to you this Point, in the like revolution of this wheel, I dare not call it of Fortune, as the Heathens did, but of Gods Providence, as the Scripture sheweth it is, in Abraham, in Joseph, in Moses, in C. Marcius, in Alcibiades, and in abundance more of those Worthies, whose lives you may read in the holy Scripture, in Plutarch, and in many other Authors; and which were variarum fortunorum viri, men that had tasted of all conditions, and had experience of all kind of Life, being tossed up and down, and up again, and so still turn, and turn again and again, from a good condition to a bad, and from a bad to a good again.

But I had rather perswade you all to make that use of this variable vanity which Sesostris King of Egypt did of the sad condition of those Kings, that horse-like he compelled to draw about his Caroach: for he having four captive Kings, set them like horses to draw his Caroach (even as King Edgar is reported to have Kennedy, King of Scots, Malcolm King of Cumberland, Duffual and Gruffiue Kings of Wales

Job 14.1.1.

The vicissitude
of King Davids
condition.And of the
condition of
Jesus Christ.

The Vanitie

Wales, Maxentius the Arch-Pyrat, and Haval a great Prince, to row his Barge upon the River Dee, and Sesostris marking how one of his caroached Kings, still as he drew, looked back upon the Wheels of his Chariot, demanded of him what he meant, so often to look behind him? the poor King, unaccustomed to such a trade, submissively answered, it was to see how that part of the Wheel which is now highest, becomes presently the lowest, and then again immediatly the lowest becometh highest, and so still wheelles his round, and never continueth in one stay.

*Turkis Hisf. in
the life of Ba-
jazet, p. 220.*

As now blessed be God he hath most graciously done to our most Gracious King

What the former Doctrine should teach us.

1 Lesson.

Eccl. 10.7.

These Servants were first preached in the time of the usurping Rebels.

Ex. 3.13.

Psal. 36.37.

2 Lesson.

Whereupon, the wise Sesostris, rightly apprehending that serious Embleme, presently commanded the Kings to be set at liberty, as well weighing with himself, how suddenly God can change the course, and turn the wheel of all mortal things; and as he can loose the bonds of Kings, and cast them down with Nebuchadnezzar from their stately Palaces to dwell among the Beasts of the field, as he did great Bajazet from his Royal Empire, to be carried about with Tamerlane in an iron cage; so he can bring them again out of prison, as he did Joseph, Manasse, and Henry the Third, of this Kingdom; he can raise them again out of the dust, as he did Job, to his former dignity, and Nebuchadnezzar from the fields, to be re-established in his Royal Throne; and he can if he please, add more Glory unto them than ever they had before.

This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and this he can easily do, and he can suddenly do; and we are not worthy to know how soon he will turn our wheel, and make the poor men rich, and the mean men Lords, as he hath lately made the rich men poor, and the great Lords to be without their Lordships; for there is nothing biding, but as my Text saith, *omnis homo vanitas*, as well the commanding Lords, that do now reign as Kings in the great Babylon of this world, as the poor ejected Bishops and other Servants of Christ, that are wandering, and perhaps wanting bread in the wilderness of this world.

And this Revolution of all men, and of all earthly things, should teach us all these two special Lessons.

1. Never to be exalted or puffed up with pride when we are lifted up to honour and greatness, nor to be troubled and discontented when we see them that were Servants, ride upon horses, as the wise man speaketh, that is, when we see such as were Vassals, made Lords, and many wicked mean men magnified as Princes; which now you may behold in many Kingdoms of the world: For though as the Poor

Affiorius nibil est humili cum surgit in altum.

None is more insolent than the Beggar when he is on horseback; none more tyrannical than Servants or women, that were made to obey, and not to rule, when they become to be the Masters of their Masters; of which thing the Prophet complaineth, that Children and such as should be ruled, are the Oppressors of the people, and women do rule over them.

Yet they may remember, that the wheel of such prosperity hath often turned; and the Horse hath many times cast his Rider; and you know what the Prophet David saith, *I my self have seen them in great power, ruling and domineering over their brethren, and flourishing like a green Bay-tree: and I went by, and perhaps durst say nothing to them, but lo, within a little while they were gone, and I sought after them, but they could no where be found;* and we may chance live to see the like Changes, and tumbling down of many of such wicked men, as the Prophet David hath seen.

2. The former Point should teach us never to be dejected, or cast down with grief and despair, when we see our selves, or our friends, that were Lords and Companions of Princes, walking alone as servants upon the earth, or when we see the Prelates of the Church jeered at with the good Prophet, or abused with the holy Apostles.

For

For as the *prosperous* wheel of the wicked may soon turn, and their great *honours*, be quickly brought down to the *dust*; so the *adversity* of Gods Servants may likewise *turn*, and these *poor nothings* may soon be raised to *great honours*; when as the Poet saith,

Noste pluia tota, redunt Spectacula nostra.

And as the Prophet saith, *heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the Morning.*

So we may be to day *sick*, and at the point of death; and to morrow *sound* and well again: and to night, with *Joseph*, clapt up in prison, and perhaps with *Mardonius*, condemned to die, and yet before the next night be exalted as they were, to *great honour*; for God who is just and Omnipotent, can *turn man to destruction*, and immediately say *come again ye children of men*; and you know what the Prophet saith, *For a little moment have I hid my face from thee, that is, for thy trial, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer*, that is, out of prison, and out of all other troubles whatsoever.

And therefore whosoever thy troubles be, and how *low* soever thou art *dejected*, yet as the Poet saith,

Tu m'cede malis, sed com'q' audierior sit.

Let no *Misery prevail* against thy *Manhood*, but to strengthen thy *heart*, and to rowze up thy *Courage*, remember, not only what the Scripture saith, but what also the very *Heathen* could tell thee, saying,

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam.
Fortior ille facio, qui miseri esse posse.*

*Martial, in
Epig.*

It is the property of a poor spirit to be *wearied* of life, and to wish for *death*, when we are *cast down* with miseries and *contempt*; *qua dulce mori miseris*; because death is a sweet Guest to all miserable Hosts; but the true *Christian Fortitude*, yea and true *Manhood* is *courageously* and *pleasantly*, with no dejected countenance to pass, and *pass through* all adversities, and to deem himself never the *better* when he is clad like *Herod* in his royal Robes, nor one *for the worse*, when he is cloathed like *John Baptist* in Hair-cloath, with a girdle of *Lambs abus his hyms*, because the *accessions* of these vanities, silks, velvets, or gold laces, do make no man *better*, nor the want of them any man the *worse*. But he that goeth like *Hercules*, in the Lions skin may prove as brave a Souldier, as any of them that like the Commanders of *Darius*, do glister in their *Gold* and *Scarlet*; and yet many times to save their *heads*, betake themselves like *Dromedaries*, unto their *heels*, and the poor ejected Bishop, in his bare Coat, may make as heavenly a Sermon, and convert many more souls, than the hundredth pound Independent, or the false Presbyterian tone, in his long Cloak, and velvet Jacket.

Which makes me never to be much troubled or moved at the *revolution* of this *Wheel*, or the *loss* of these vanities, but to say with that *Heroick Pompey*, when after he had been crowned with the *greatest* honours of *Rome*, and now fallen into the greatest *calamities*, he cheerfully said, as *Lucus wimselfeth*,

*Non sis videre superbum
Prospera fatorum, nec fractum adversa videbum.*

*Vanities do
make no man
better.*

His prosperity never made him *proud*, and adversity should never cast down his courage; and my *witness* is in Heaven, that I am a thousand times more grieved, to see the *prophanation* of Gods service, and the *poor worship* of him, now used in very many places; that is, how meanly, fluttishly, negligently and disorderly our

The Vanitie

our good God is served , than of mine own losses , how great soever they are For we bringe nothing with us into the world , neither shall we carry any thing out of this world ; and I know not whether I shall live till to morrow , when , as the Tragedian saith :

*Quem veniens dies vidit superbium,
Hunc fugiens dies vidit jacentem.*

Whom the Sun rising hath seen strong and lusty, the Sun setting , saw him dead upon the ground, because as my Text saith, *Every man is vanity* : Yes,

4. Point.

A twofold
state of man.

4. *was despans Zor*, Every man living , or every man in his best estate is vanity : And you know there be but two states of every man,

1. *Living.*

2. *Dead.*

And when a man is dead , he soon becometh vanity indeed, he is reduced to nothing, he knoweth nothing and he can do nothing: And therefore let us have but a little patience, and within a very little little while , those mighty men , that now oppress their neighbours , and tyrannize over Gods servants , shall return to nothing , and be able to do just nothing against us ; and then as *Solomon* saith , *A living Dog is better and can do more, then these dead Lions.*

I, but you will say, *Interim ego ringor* , and we may suffer very much before these Lions become dead ; therefore , it were well for us that they were dead before we suffer, and that, as *Caracalla* said of his brother *Geta* , *Sint divi modo non sint vivi*, they were *Saints* in heaven , so they might not be such Devils as they are here now on earth.

Hab. 2. 2.

I answer 1. To thee, that art thus troubled, as the Prophet saith unto the Jews , *The Vision is yet for an appointed time , but at the end it shall speak and not lie* ; and though it tarry, yet wait thou for it, because it will surely come, and not tarry ; that is, any long time, or longer than the appointed time, so tarry thou the Lords leisure , and thy deliverance will come in his appointed time ; and if thou thinkest, it tarrieth long , then pray thou to God , that it may come the sooner ; and though the young teachers of the new way to heaven , have obliserte it , yet do not thou forget that good old Prayer of our Liturgy , but say , *O God make speed to save us , O Lord make haste to help us* ; and God will hear thy prayers, and will help thee, because as the Poet saith ,

How powerfull
prayer is.

*Offendit nunquam thura prece quo Jovem
Sed dominum mundi, flectere vota valent.*

Prayers and Supplications are the most powerfull prevailers to obtain any thing at the hands of God.

2. For those that wrong thee , and trouble thee , I pray thee remember but what my Text saith, *Every man living* , or in his best estate while he liveth is also-*gather vanity*.

And therefore , the greatest men can never be able to do what they would do, either for themselves, or against others : And this will the more plainly appear, if we take but a little view of all the estates that are accounted the best estates of men ; for though there be many states and kindes of life , that are deemed very good , yet there be four Estates of men , that I finde, by the worldly wise, to be judged best ; and

The four states
of men that
are accounted
the best.

- 1. Is of them that excel all others, *et sura sunt*, in health and strength of body.
- 2. Is of them that abound in wealth, in riches in prosperity.
- 3. Is of them that are *alta deas*, most eminent in fame, glory and honour.
- 4. Is of them that have *plenitudinem potestas*, the fulness of Power and Authority to rule and govern the rest of the people.

These

These are accounted the best estates of men; and yet man in all, and in every one of these four estates, is a poor vain thing, and altogether vanity; For,

1. Health and strength of body are but vanity; and though the Tyrants and Oppressours say, come, *Let our strength be the law of Justice*; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth, therefore let us crush the righteous, and banish all those *newf* men that are not for our turn, but do upbraid us with our offending the Law, and do abstain from *our ways* as from filthiness; yet we see that a little sickness can bring down the greatest strength, and waste the health of the strongest and the stoutest men.

And besides, we know that, as the Lion which is the strongest upon earth, and the Whale, which is strongest in the Sea, and the Serpent or the Eagle which are the strongest in the Air, are of *more strength* than is in any man, were he as strong as Hercules; or were they as strong as all these, yet their *great strength* cannot preserve them from *death*, nor keep them without sickness. And if you will compare them unto other creatures, you shall finde that the *Pearcoks train* is *more beautifull*, than all the trimmings of the *proudest* Gallant; and as the *Dromedary* is swifter than any Foot-post, so the *Nightingal* hath a *sweeter* voice than the best Musician.

And in a word, the basest creatures have been found able enough to be the death of the strongest men, for a little Steelero killed *Eglo* King of *Mash*, *Goliab* the great Giant, was stricken down with a pebble stone. *Anaxor* was choaked with the stone of a Raison, *Fabius* strangled with a hair, *Herod* the Proud eaten with Lice, and *Amisches* the Cruel, destroyed with Worms, and *Hatto* the Traytor, pursued to death by an Army of Rats: These were but poor things and weak instruments to destroy strong men, and to dispatch great Monarchs, and yet we see how they have done it.

And therefore, thou, that thinkest thy self a brave, strong and stout Souldier, remember what good counsel the Prophet gives thee, laying, *Let not the strong man glory in his strength*; so let not the healthfull man promise any long life unto himself, whereas our life and fortune, and all that we have, are as the Poet saith, — *Tenui pendens filo*, hanging upon a weak, feeble Spiders thread, *Quod aetropos occat*, which the least blast of Gods displeasure can break all to pieces.

2. Wealth and riches are more vain, and of less value than our health and strength, when as all the wealth in the world yelds but small comfort to him that is full of sickness, and wants his health; therefore the Prophet David speaking of those wealthy worldlings, that do relye, and are so proud of their riches saith, *Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain, he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them*. And we know, saith *Holcar*, that in a shadow there is a threefold consideration:

- 1. *Indigentia luminis*, And that is, 1. A want of Light,
- 2. *Afflisteria frigoris*, 2. A threefold want, 2. A want of Heat,
- 3. *Apparentia corporis*, want, 3. A want of Substance.

Which are easily seen and perceived in every shadow.

And so all the greedy worldlings, and the covetous hunters after wealth are invironed with these three main indigences and wants; For,

1. They have no light in their understanding, but their heads and brains are empty, when their barns and their shops and coffers are full; and so at last, they themselves do most wofully confess it, saying, *We have errred from the way of truth, and the light of understanding hath not shined unto us*; for if men had but the least understanding in the truth of things, they might soon perceive, that riches are neither simply ours, nor very precious, or of much value in themselves; but they do, as *Bottius* saith, make a fairer shew, and bring more benefit unto us, when they are spent, than when they are kept, because liberality makes men famous, *Boettius de con-*
sal. Philos. 1.2. c. 5.

lous;

1. State.

Sep. 2. 11.

Vers. 12. & 16.

Judg. 3. 21.

1 Sam.

Jer. 9. 23.

Psal. 39. 7.

Eccl. 5.13.

Ious ; and *Solomon* saith, this is a sore evil which he saw under the Sun , namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt ; when it had been better for them to have been without them than to have them. For as the rich Citizen of *Rome* that never offended the Commonwealth, nor meddled with either of the two opposite factions of *Sylla* and *Marius*, yet being desirous to know who were proscribed for the Enemies of the State, and running to see their names, he finds himself among the first, and then he cries out, *wo is me, that my wealth and my fair house at *Nola* do cause me to lose my head :* so the riches of many a man have begot him enemies, and those enemies, for none other cause or crime, but to get his Lands or his wealth, have brought him to his end ; as perhaps the riches of many a Protestant will conclude them to be *Roman Catholicks* ; as we read the like in the case of the *Guelphes* and the *Gibelines*, when the *Gibelines* proving themselves to be no *Guelphes*, yet was their riches and their treasures seized upon, as the wealth of the *Guelphes*.

And I wish the
Lands and fair
houses of ma-
ny innocent
Papists may
not be proved
to be the lands
of Irish Rebels,

And yet as the hoarding up of riches, and the growing great and wealthy in the world makes us miserable and hared, so the dispersing of them abroad , and the profuse wasting of our wealth, makes us poor, and to be despised, yea and to be neglected of our friends, and scorned of our enemies.

And therefore surely riches are but very poor things, when we can neither possess them without envy, nor below them without penury, neither have them without danger, nor want them without contempt.

2. The wealth and riches of the worldlings can yield them but cold comfort , when God turneth away his face from them, and they are left to the counsels of their own hearts ; for though the glittering of the Jewels may draw thine eyes after them, the pleasant prospect of the Fields may delight thine heart, thy gay apparel may make thee shew very fair and beautiful to the beholders, and the multitude of thy servants may seem to prove thee very happy among thy neighbours ; yet we all do or may know, that there is none of these things but at some time or other hath proved to be the destruction of their possessors : For, as when the poor Passenger may rejoice and sing before the most ravenous Robber , and in the sight of the most barbarous Plunderers, so thy wealth and thy Jewels, thy pockets full of Gold, and thy back full of bravery, may make thy heart sad, and thy head full of perturbations, and in every moment to be afraid to be assailed and slain in all the paths that thou shalt walk.

Speed, 19.c.19.
P. 927.

And whereas the man that hath none but himself to serve himself, need not fear to be betrayed by his Servants : the rich man that needeth more, and the noble man that keepeth many Servants, may well fear there may be a *Judas* among twelve, and a Traitor in his own house ; and as *Humphrey Banister* betrayed his Lord and Master, *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, that had been too good a Master to him ; so may one of thy chiefest Servants sell thee and betray thee too, into the hands of thy greatest Enemies, even as we read in Stories of many Kings that have been so likewise dealt withal.

Mat. 13.22.

1 Tim 6.17.

Aug. Confes.
1.6.

And therefore Wealth and Riches can afford us no true comfort , nor yield us any certain assistance, even in this life ; when by getting them, we do oftentimes lose our selves, or at least hazard our safety by saving them.

3. Our Saviour Christ speaking of the deceitfulness of Riches, and *S. Paul* calling them uncertain riches, do sufficiently shew unto us, that the wealth and riches of this world do but promise fulnes, when they intend to bring us nothing but emptiness ; for you see, all our Money is, as it is called, currant, and all our riches transient, like a torrent stream that flowereth apace, or as the summer snow, that presently melteth, sometimes before it falleth ; and all the wealth in the world is but contingent, with one man to day, and with another man to morrow ; as your selves may see, how within these few years, many men scarce worth a Groat, became worth thousands ; and as many others that were worth thousands, became not worth a Groat.

And therefore *S. Aug.* speaking of the things of this world, saith, *Si quid arri-
fisset*

*sicut prospers tandem apprehendere, quia prius quam pene tandem, revulnatur; if any worldly prosperity smil'd upon me, and seemed to offer some happiness unto me, yet I was loath to accept it and to lay hold upon it, because comfounding all the pleasure of this world is fled from us before we can scarce fasten on it; and as the wise man saith, *extrema gaudis luctus occupat*: Sorrow and sadness do follow both our Profits and our Pleasures hard at the very heels: For as the Player appeareth upon the Stage, and then presently after few words, *exit*, he is gone; so the wealth & prosperity of this world do but salute us, and then immediately depart from us, even while we are most busie about them, and when they seem to smile most of all upon us.*

¶ And I could make this plain unto you by more examples than I have time to express: For we read of *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, that was a Roman Consul, and had laid Feters upon many *Africans*, yet being unhappliy taken by the *Carthaginians*, he found himself presently environed, and then miserably tied in the Conquerors Chains; and it is written of *Cheops King of Egypt*, that erected the *Pyramids*, which were all built of *Tobian* Marble, and were of that huge height, and monstrous Magnitude, that one of them was 20 years in building, though it is reported there were *circiter decem hominum mirades*, about 10 Myriades of men, as *Herodotus* saith, or 100000 men, as others write that did continually work upon it (the same containing, as *Sandy* affirmeth, eight Acres of ground at the bottom, and ascending by 255 steps to the top, and every step being of three foot in height, and of a proportionable breadth) and yet this great King that was of this great power, before his death, became so poor, that he was compelled to prostitute his own Daughter to relieve his wants.

So *Belisarius*, that in the dayes of *Justinian* I. was one of the bravest Soulidiers and of the greatest Commanders of the world, to whom the Lady and Empress of the world, *Rome* it self owed her self thrice at the least; and who took two mighty Kings, *Gilimer* King of *Africa*, and *Vigis* King of the *Goths*, to be his Prisoners, yet within a little while this great man, as some writers do report, came to that poor pass, as he was fain to cry, *Dare obnam Belisarij, quoniam viras exaltavit, malitia depresso, & fortuna cecavit*; O give one half-peny to *Belisarius*, whom vertue hath honoured, envy hated, and fortune spoyl'd and made him now a poor blind Beggar.,

And *Pedro Mexia* setteth down the miserable ends and other strange traversies endured by divers Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, whereof he accounteth no less than 13. besides 2 Popes, 2 Bishops, 4 Cardinals and 10 Abbots, that within one hundred and fifty years, were thrown down from the *Princele* of Prosperity, to the lowest Gulf of Adversity; as *George* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*; *Uladiislans* King of *Poland*, *Constantinus Paleologus* Emperor of the East, *Charles* 8. King of *France*, *Fannes* 4. King of *Sens*, *John de Albret* King of *Navarre*, *Lewes Sforza* Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Milane*, *Francis* I. King of *France*, that was the Patron of all Learning; and those three great Kings, *Muley Mahomet* King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, *Abdemelech* his Uncle, and *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* that came to a miserable end, and died all three in one day, being *Munday* the 4th. of *August*, 1578. and which is worthy to be remembred above all, *John Justinius* that trayterous Villain, who covenanted with *Mahomet* to betray *Constantinople*, so he would make him King, which the great Turk promised, and accordingly performed; but after three daies struck off his head, as his Treason well deserved; and so I wish may be the reward of all disloyal Traytors.

¶ And therefore seeing not only wicked Potentates, but also most famous Kings and Princes and most excellent Prelates have been reduced to such ends, what wonder is it that many great Scholars, and many reverend Bishops (whom their worth and learning raised to some height of dignity) should be thrown down, as they were of late by envy and hatred, into the depth of misery. The time would be too short for me to tell you of *Cresus* the rich King of *Lydia*, *Darius* the great Monarch

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The Vanitie

Monarch of Persia, *Manius Acilinus* the proud Consul of Rome, holy Job, the rich-
est in the Land of Hus, and warlike *Caius Marius*, when he had bid himself in the
Fens or Bogs of *Mymmeres*, and of many thousands more, that were exceeding
rich, and most honourable, and in a moment of time became extream poor and
miserable.

Rich Creslus
may suddenly
become as
poor as *Irus*.

Prov. 23. 5.

Plutarch in vita
Pyrrhi, p.
404.

But you may see it every day, that as the Poet saith,

Irus & est subito qui modo Creslus erat.

And there is nofe of us but he may consider how many great and honourable persons have been suddenly disgrac'd, and how many well left. Heirs and wealthy men have in an instant consumed all their wealth, and waſhed their Patrimony like a Snow-bal, and then came to be pitied by their Friends, and scorned by ſome others, whom formerly they despifed, and thought them not worthy to eat with the dogs of their Flocks; ſuch is the nature of wealth, and ſo great is the vanity of all worldly riches, that the wife man faſh, *They bekeſt them unto their wings, and flee away like an Eagle (i.e.) very ſwiftly.*

And yet for all this, it is a wonder to ſee the folly of moft men ſhewed in the purſuit of this idle vanity; for it is reported how *Cynæus*, a moft excellent Orator, endeavouring to diſſuade King *Pyrrhus* a brave Souldier from his expedition againſt the *Romans*, asked him, what he would do when he had subdued them? and he anſwered, that he would bring *Cicily* into his ſubjection; and what will your grace do then, ſaid the Orator? the King replied, then we haue a fair paſſage to go to bring in *Carthage*, and to conquer *Africa*: And when you haue conquered them, what will you do, ſaid *Cynæus*? We will then, ſaid the King, bring all *Macedon* under the yoke of our Obedience. And when both *Rome* and *Cicily* and *Carthage* and all *Macedon* haue ſelt the ſtroke of your Majesties Sword, what will you do then I pray you? ſaid the Orator; then the King perceiving what he meant, ſmilingly anſwered, we will then take our eaſe, and begin to make Feaſts, and continue ſo every day, and be as merry together as poſſibly we can be. And what letteth us now, my good Lord, ſaid *Cynæus*, but that we may be now as merry and more quiet, ſith we enjoy enough to effect all that preſently, without any further travel, or more trouble, which we are about to go to ſeek with ſuch ſhedding of humane blood of others, with ſo much maniſt danger unto our ſelves.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Learned Orator could not diſſuade that ambi-
tious Prince from this his high attempt, he could no waies prevail to make
him defit from that uncertain Enterprize; but he would rather hazard all that
happy estate which he did now enjoy, than leave off the deceiptful hope of those
things which he did ſo much deſire.

And indeed ſuch is the condition of all the ſons of men, moft dangerously ſick
of the ſame desperate disease; for though as the Poet faith, and he faith the
truth, that man is but,

Somnum, Bullam, Varrum, Glacie, Flos, Fabula, Fannum,

Umbra, Cinis, Punctum, Vox, Sonus, Anra, Nibil.

That is in few words, a dream, a shadow, a thought, a nothing; yet all or moft of
this little time that we do enjoy, we expend in following after the vain wealth, and
deceiptful riches of this world, that we ſhall find to be but empty clouds, without
water, or like the Apples of *Sodom*, that being greedily grasper, will ſoon turn to
ſmoak, and then ſpeedily vaniſh into nothing; and we ſhall find our ſelves at
laſt juſt like the Mill-wheel, that turneſt ſtill, and turneſt round from day to day,
and yet at the years end is in the ſame place where it was at the beginning.

So we tumble and totte and turne to gathet wealth, and to grow great in this
world, and yet in the end we ſhall find our ſelves juſt in the fame condition as
we were at the beginning; for naked we came into the world, and naked we ſhall re-
turn again.

What

What need we then be so unjust, and shame our selves, either unduly to seek what we ought not to have, or un honestly to deny what we ought to pay? Truly I am ashamed, that should be verified among Christians, which was complained of by the heathens, *Terras Astres religiose*; that Justice could not be found in any Court on earth; or what Solomon said of the *Jews*, Should be found amongst us, *I saw the place of Judgment* (the highest Courte he meant) *and wickednesse was there, and the place of Righteousnesse, and iniquity was there.*

But though neither shame of men, nor fear of God can make us leave this iniquity, but that we will continue still like *Jews* and Pagans, yet the truth is, that man in this rich estate, that is yet so palpably vain, When it is so unlawfully procured, can be nothing else but mere vanity.

3. Honour, Glory, and a high esteem, to be famous among men, are accounted great in this world, and so they are indeed; but I mean great vanities, and the greatest of all vanities: For health is a happiness, especially while it lasteth; and Riches have some substance in them; and we may do good with them, as others do much evil with them; but honour and fame are nothing else but a vain blast of a poor mans breath, or a little bending of a Beggars knee, an idle Ceremony, least I am sure (therefore a great vanity) and it may be but some far shew of some outward reverence, when perhaps there is indeed much inward hate; because the Tongue oftentimes praiseth those most highly, whom the heart detesteth most deadly. Or were it not so, yet all honour is accounted, but

1. Of a short continuance, *and therefore a great Vanity:* For,

2. Of a small Extent, *S*o

1. Behold how great was the honour of *Hastor*, and how suddenly was he hanged: Look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, how he is to day saluted with *Haste*, Glory of the world; and to morrow scorned like a Beast: and consider how glorious were *Pharao*, *Sneacherib*, *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and others; and yet, behold how speedily they were vanished into nothing; and how many great men and most honourable Personages have you lately seen to highly honoured and magnified both in Court and Countrey, as the only Emblemes of all honour, and how suddenly have they been either killed or headed, and their Glory buried in the dust, if not turned into worse? For the Scourge of Envy from below, and the Twigs of Ambition from above, do hunt and whip all honour unto death: And we know that many men while they lived, have been so unhappy, as to see their own honour buried: Or, if some have left a glorious Name behind them, as *Josias* did, when they left the world; yet we find that many famous men while they lived, have been quite forgotten, for want of Writers, when they were dead: For how should we have known the valour of *Hector* and *Achilles*, and the wisdom of *Nestor* and *Ulysses*, if *Homer* had not recorded the same unto posterity? Or how should we have understood the Piety of *Constantine*, and the Clemency of *Theodosius*, if *Eusebius*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers had not declared the same unto us? And of those that have been as happy in the Trumpeters of their Fame, as themselves have been Famous in the Actions of their Lives: We see, that as Death took away the Authors, so time hath wasted away their Writings; and (as the Poor

faith)

What wonder me that Writings fail, and that they have, as good as none to answer them.

When stately Tombes do wear, and when they bres, as good as none to answer them.

The very Stones consume to naught, and when they bres, as good as none to answer them.

With Titles they did bear, and when they bres, as good as none to answer them.

Or be it granted that a man might truly say, I shall live when I am dead; and as Ovid saith,

If haply death be of one good on me, yet living am well contented.

D d d z

Numenij

The Vanitie

*Perg. omnia /t-
cula FAMA
Si quid habent
veri vatum pre-
sagia, vivam,
Ovid. Metr.
morp. l. 11. in
fine.*

*Boetius de con-
sol. Phil. l. 2. c. 8*

— *Nomenq; erit indeleibile nostrum.*

My name shall remain indelible among the Posterities ; yet if you do attentively weigh the most infinite spaces of Eternity, you shall find that the prolonging of our Names on earth can yield us no great Felicity ; for if we compare the stay of one moment with ten thousand years, they have some proportion, though it be but very small ; but this number of years how oft soever it be multiplied, yet it is noway comparable to Eternity, because limited things may in some sort be compared among themselves, but that which is infinite admitteth no comparison at all, saith *Berinus* ; And therefore the longest Fame, be it as long as you can imagine, yet it is but of a very short continuance. And,

It is of a very small Extent ; For you may learn by Astronomical Demonstrations, that the compass of the whole earth in comparison of the Heaven, is no bigger than a Pins Point ; and of this earth, not above the fourth part is known to be inhabited, saith *Proclus*, and that which is inhabited, is distinguished by many Nations of different Languages, Fashions, and Conversations, whereby it happeneth, that the same Fact which in some Countrey is laudable, in another place is punishable : therefore our Fame and Glory must be peanned up in a very narrow bound, commonly within the compass of one Nation : For if it should go further, yet the difficulty of travel over many Seas, the diversity of Speeches, so hard to be understood, and the scarcity of Traffick to be generally transported, will never permit our Fame to spread it self very far : For if the Glory of the *Roman* People, in the time of *Cicero*, when it was most flourishing, and they were *Terrarum Domini*, Masters of most places that they knew, yet did not passe beyond Mount *Caucasus*, that lieth betwixt *Scythia* and the *Indians*, as the Orator confesseth, then certainly the Glory and Fame of any particular man can never penetrate, where the Glory and Trophies of such a Glorious Nation could not pass.

And therefore all the Honour of this world, and the greatest Fame of the Noblest men, whether it be for Birth, Wealth, Valour, Learning, or what you will, yet can it neither last long, nor extend it self very far ; and therefore must it needs be a very great Vanity. And so you see that every man in his most Honourable Estate is Vanity. Nay more than that,

The *most excellens fons* is thought to be *the*, which is most powerful in Authority to rule and command all others ; but the *Vanities* that are incident and attendant on this state, would require a Volume to display them : I will only say what *Homer* bath most truly, and you may daily see, how that,

*Sepius ventis agitatur ingens Pinus,
bloudi ventis Et decidunt Turges, feruusq; summos
Est qd; V. lo mobilis qd; qd; qd; Fulmine Momes.*

And so you see that every man in his best estate, let his state be what you will, yet he is but *Vanity* : Nay that is not all ; For, Every man living is *universa vanitas, omnimoda Vanitas*, altogether vanity, and this is one degree of Calamity further than all the rest : For to consider that every man's vanity, is bad enough ; but to be vanity in our best estate, is worse, and in that estate to be altogether vanity, is worst of all : because this sheweth unto us that man is but meer Vanity, and nothing else but vanity, or vain in all that he is, and vain in all that he doth ;

1. Vain *within*, and vain *without* ; vain in his Body, and vain in his Soul.
2. Vain in his thoughts, vain in his words, and vain in all his works ; And,
3. Not only *totaliter vanitas*, wholly vanity, but also *univerfa vanitas*, all vanity ; so that there is no vanity in the world that can be named or found out, but you may find the same in man ; as, Pride is vanity, and you may find enough of that in man ; lies are vanities, and most men are so addicted and delighted either

4 Point.

5 Point.

to invent lies, to hear lies, or to relate lies, that you shall almost finde nothing in most men but lies; and so of all other vanities whatsoever they be, they are to be found in man; *Antonius* for methods sake, ranketh them into three special Series;

1. *Instabilitas*, of instability, which the Preacher handlith from the first Chapter unto the fourth Chapter.
2. *Iniquitatis*, of iniquity, whereof the Preacher treateth from the fourth Chapter unto the twelfth Chapter.
3. *Penalitatis*, of penalty, which the said Preacher setteth down in the last verse of the twelfth Chapter. *For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

Antonius
part. i. tit. 2.
c. 3. Sect. 3.

Others terme the first degree of Vanities, to be the vanity of our *Creation*.

The second degree they call the vanity of our *Condition*.

The third is the vanity of our *Dissolution*.

1. Touching the vanity of our *Creation*, *God put no trust in his creatures*, saith holy *Job*; that is, he trusted them not with such a stability, or he made them not so absolute that they should be independent, and free from all possibility of failing; and therefore seeing that *nihil est omnia quod ex nihilo est*, all in themselves are nothing, which are made of nothing, as *Origen* saith, this possibility to vary, and to be reduced to their first privation and non-entity, is nothing else but an innate vanity, or a momentary nothing, if they be not still upheld and sustained by their Creator, who as the Apostle saith, *Beareth up all things with his mighty word*, or *Heb. 1.* with the word of his power, that is, Jesus Christ; Yet,

Job 4.18.

2. The vanity of our *Creation* was but comparative, as the creature stood in collation with Gods infinite purity; but when *Adam* sinned, he made himself the destroyer of his own stability, the deface of his own excellency, and to be come nothing but meer vanity; so that every creature now, the worst of all the creatures, and all creatures might insult over his Apostacie, and say tinto him, *Art thou become like one of us, art thou become as vain as we?*

And because all of us were then in the loyns of *Adam*, as *Lovi* was in *Abraham* when he met with *Melchisedech*, therefore his calamity was not personal, but specifical; and his iniquity brought a vanity upon us all, which is the vanity of our condition; so that now every man is nothing else but vanity, the Saint as well as the sinner, the rich as well as the poor, and the Noble man as well as the beggar; for as soon as the noblest of men is inobled with the name of a man, so soon doth he inherit the title of a vain man, or a man of vanity, that is replenished with all vanity, because filled with all unrighteousness. But

3. The vanity of our *Dissolution* is the last and the worst of all vanities. And this is,

1. When they see that they themselves are Beasts (these are the very words of the Scriptures) *For that which befalleth the sons of men, befallath beasts, even one thing befalleth them; as the one dyeth, so dyeth the other, yea they have all one breath*; *Eccles. 3.18.* *so that a man hath no preheminence above a beast, for all is vanity, all go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.*

2. When they finde that they themselves are worse than beasts, when the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth, vanisheth, and is reduced to nothing; but the spirit of the man that should go upward, and be united to Eternity, shall descend to be chained in everlasting misery; *Ubi nec tortures deficientur, nec miseri torti moriantur, sed per mille milia annorum cruciandi nec sumen in secula liberandi.* Where they shall have torments without ease, and be tormented without end; and this is a vanity indeed, *Vanitas vanitatum*, the greatest

greatest

The Vanitie

greatest of all vanities, because the bond of our union with God is here dissolved, and we are divorced from all the happy Eternity.

And thus I hope you see that man, be he never so excellent in condition, so eminent in place, or so powerfull in authority, yet here is no exception, no exemption, no limitation, but he is altogether vanity.

And, though the time will not give me leave to amplifie all the particulars that might be shewed you out of this Text; yet I desire your patience to give me leave to apply all briefly unto our selves, and to learn from hence this fivefold Lesson, which may serve as a fivefold shield to preserve us from all iniq[ui]ty here, and from all misery hereafter.

1. To eradicate and root up that stinking weed of pride and haughtiness that Lucifer laboureth to spread so far, and to stick so fast in the heart of every man; for why shouldest thou be proud, thou vain thing, that art but dust and ashes, and altogether vanity? what hast thou to be proud of? the Lion may boast of his strength, the Bezar of his precious stone, the Panther of his colours, and all other creatures of some singular excellency that is in them; but what hast thou, that standest there with a stiffe neck and proud looks, but what thou hast received, and art just like the Jay decked about with borrowed ornaments, and hast nothing of thine own to animate thy pride but what thou robbeſt from the bruit beasts? and yet the fair Lady is proud of her white hands and pleated hair, & *lumina que possunt sollicitare Deos*; but alas two or three fits of an Ague will spoil all, or else *Age* will make fair *Helen* to become as wrinkled as *Hecuba*.

Nay more than this, I have seen too much pride and arrogancy in some, that of all others should be most humble, and teach others to be meek and lowly, which is a great shame, that thou, which teachest another, teachest not thy self, and considerest not what a vain thing thou art, and what little reason thou hast to look so big, and to lift up thy head so high.

*AUG 10. 2.
Epist. 58.*
Yea, the Saint-like Separatist, like the boasting Pharisee, will be proud of his holines; but as St. Aug. saith, *Quod iustitia adificaverat Pharisaus, superbia destruebat, sive ideo non placuit Deo, quia placebat sibi*; this pride spoyleth and polloneth all our goodness, because that as *humility* maketh men like unto Angels, so *pride* maketh the Angels Devils, and men to be like Devils.

Psal. 146. 3,4.
2. The consideration of our vanity should ever put us in minde of what the Prophet saith, *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in any childe of man*; relye not on them, for there is no help in them, and the best of them, and greatest, is not able to do the good he would do, because he is altogether vanity, and when his breath goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth; and then all his thoughts perish; and as *Syrigelius* saith, *Omnis sum hominum tenui pendens fil*.

And many times the greatest friends, that we relye upon will shew themselves like *Theogines*, that was fyrnated w^trie, smoak, *Quia magnifice pollicebatur, cum esset pauper*, because he promised great and mighty things when he was but a poor scoundrel. And therefore it is but a great vanity to relye upon vain man that is altogether vanity, and will let thee fall, when thou hast most need of helpe.

*3. This may encourage us not to fear what man can do against us; let men threaten and fret and storm as much as they will, and do as much as they can, yet fearing God, we need not fear any of them, because the greatest and most powerfull man is but vanity, and altogether vanity; and if God be with us, who can be against us? *Quia non plus valet ad dejiciendum terra p[er]ca, quam ad erigendum divinam uicu*.*

4. This very point should reach us wholly to relye on God, that never faileth them that put their trust in him; but is, as the Prophet saith, *D[omi]n[u]s in opportunitatis, a present help in trouble, and helpeth us always in the most needfull time of trouble, holding us up by his hand*, as he did St. Peter, when we are ready to sink.

5. And

of everie Man.

31

5. And lastly; this oily lesson of mans vanity, should ever put us in mindes,
to waste and triffl away our time in the pursuit of vain pleasures and
to a hooke via vaine when as the bending of mannes armes and the strapping of weak
and nimbles togidher is more or lesse a burthen like as if a bullocke running up and down
to fetch sumtyme stings or as the Prophete saith Vnde the Spanglerell, that will make
no garmentes for them, or rather like the Cockatrice Eyes that have for a fury
Serpent to be the destruction of him that hangeth it, and so are the vanities of this
world.

And here I should shew the folly and vanity of those vain men, that to purchase unto themselves the reward of their iniquity, and the wages of their wrong, are so greedy to rob the Church of Christ, and to snatch away the lands and houses of God into their possessions; but that I intend, if God lend me life and health, to set forth a full and ample Declaration, to be exhibited to the High Court of Justice before Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, against heretics, and all irreligious persons, to shew what little reason vain man, and proud vanity hath to sway his God, to rob the Church, and to destroy himself.

And therefore this much shall serve at this time so shew unto you, that it is most certain, That every man in his best estate is altogether vanity. And God grant that all my hearers may make the righteousnes of what I have said. Amen.

* Which I
have now
published in
the beginning
of this Book.

Dlast not thou save me, and deliver me from my ~~and~~ ^{most} malicious enemies that sought
my life, and before thou hast snatched me out of the jaws of death? And did not I then
promise and vow, * to do my best endeavour to serve thee, and to honour thee without the
faltering of any man? And hast thou not since many times delivered me from
the mouth and teeth of that dragon, the Beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit, the
great Antichrist that was so wretchedly established against the world?

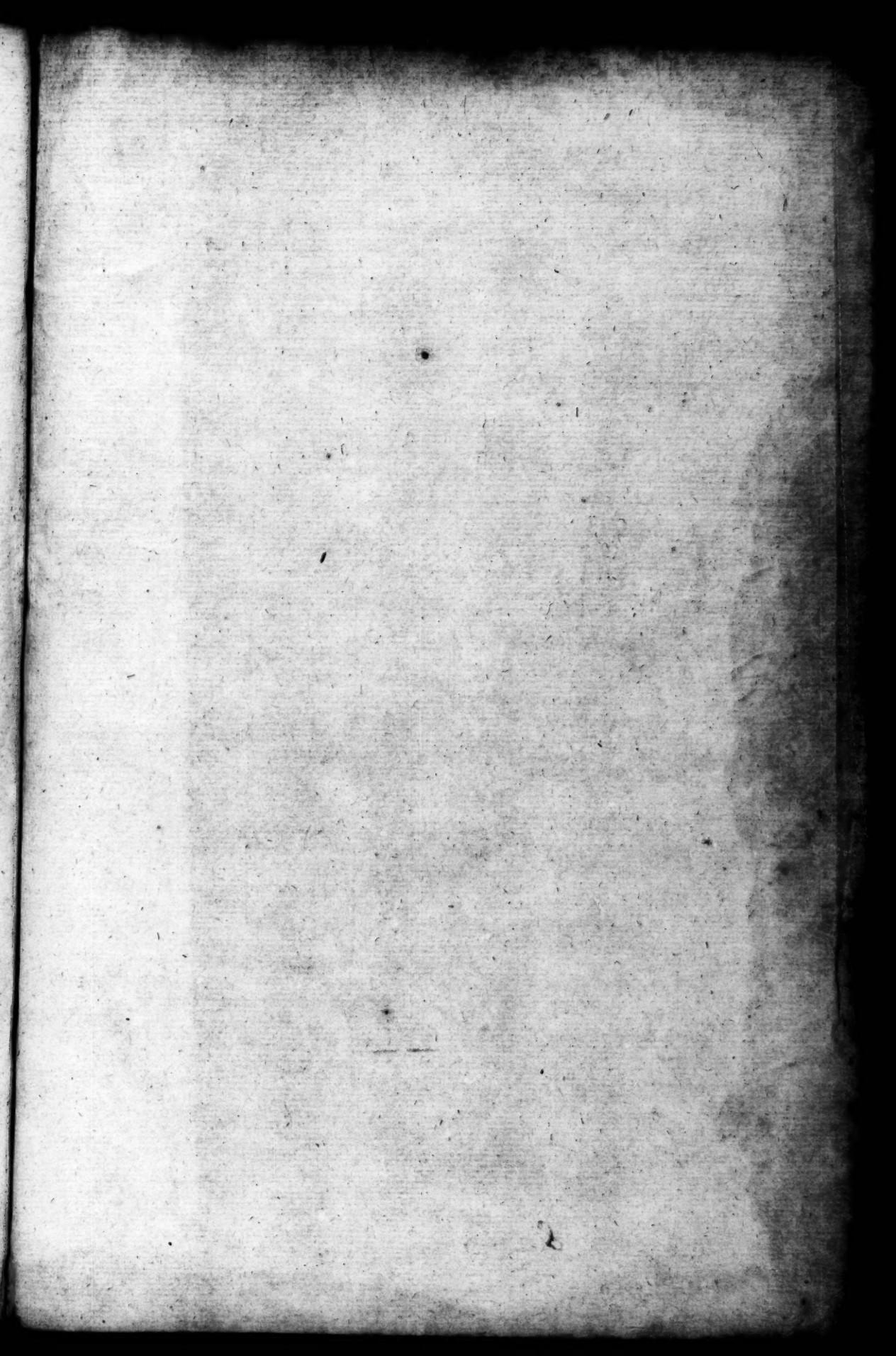
*In the Epistle before the seven Golden Candlesticks.'

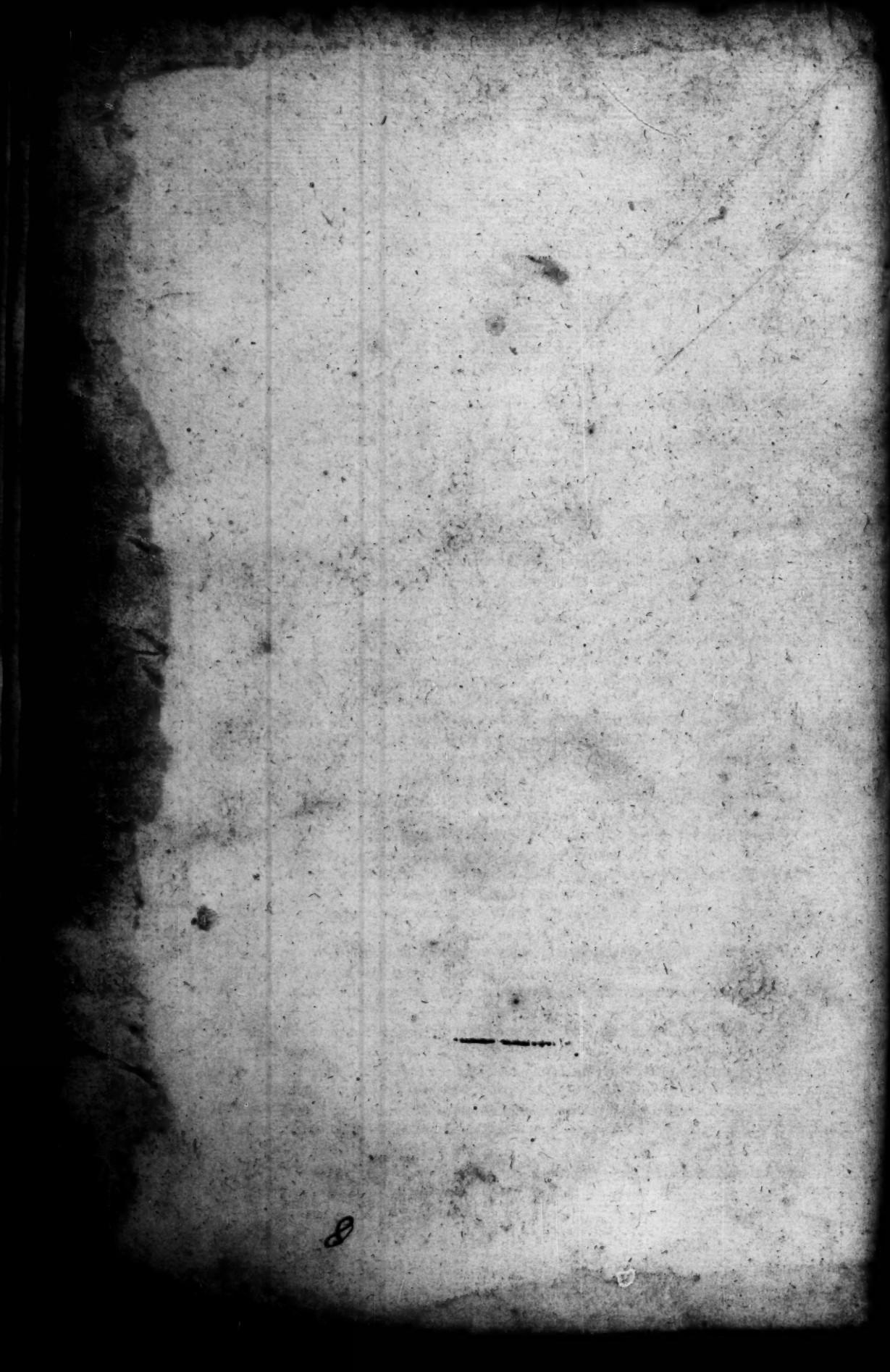
Therefore by the grace and assistance of thy blessed Spirit: I am resolved, and I will
continually pray to thee, for thy help, to perform the promise and vow that I made unto
thee; and for that cause, I will take no Fine for any of the Bishps. And let what shall
be given to repair the Church, while I live; neither will I Enclose myself in a cloister longer
than 21 Years, unless it be for the better improvement thereof according to my Conscience;
nor any otherwise than my Conscience shall tell me the same to be most just and indifferent
both for my self, my Succession and the Temeys; and I will do my best and univer-
sally endeavour to do and to perform all that I say and set down in this Treatye to ful-
fill the duties of a faithfull and godly Bishop. And I wish with all my heart that all
my Reverend and Learned Brethren, the Bishps, would do so likewise; yet I beseech
them no wayes, if they see good reasons and just cause to da otherwise. Quia plus violent
oculi quam oculus; and were too saucy and presumption if I thought my self wiser or
juster than my Brethren.

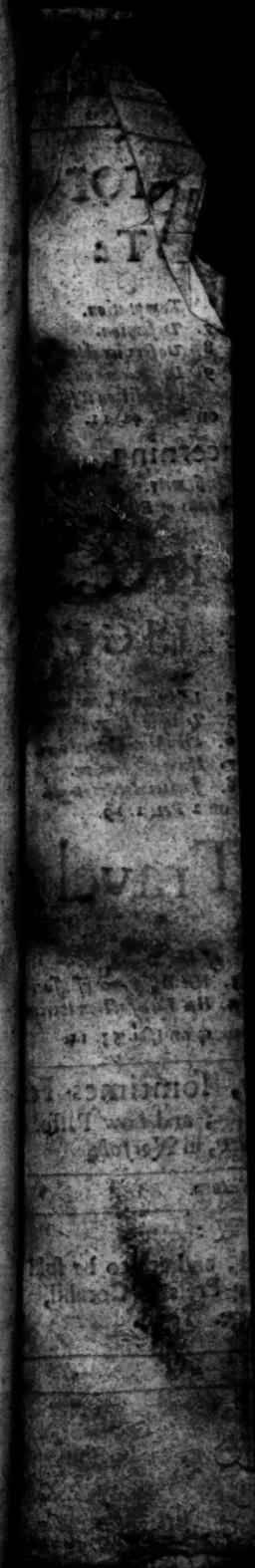
Jehovæ Liberatori.

FINIS.

22. The Incarnation of the Word, Preached before Mr. James, upon Thos. 1. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 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The Vanitie

Sap. I. 14.

and to have a *perpetual* Being ; because God never made man to have an *end*, and to be reduced to *nothing* ; but as the wise man saith, *he created all things*, and much rather man, *that they might have their being*.

And what *madness* is it therefore, that men will *not believe* this Truth ? especially considering, it is most certain, that the remembrance of their *end*, and the *shortness* of their time here, how their dayes do pass away *like a Weavers shuttle*, or like a Post that tarrieth not, will alwaies be such a *corrasive* to their Souls, as will put an *end* to all their *earthly* Comforts, wheras *nothing* in the world is left us to rejoice in, but in *that* thing only which is *perpetual* and remaineth ours for ever.

But then here you must understand, that besides the *prime* Eternity, which is God, there is a twofold perpetuity of men.

1. The one, by our *Union* with God, which is perfect felicity.
2. The other, in our *Separation* from God, which is the Extreameſt Misery ;

And,

Seeing the Souls of men are *immortal*, and do naturally affect *Eternity*, as not only *Divinity* sheweth, but also the *somdest Philosophers* have sufficiently attested, and every mans *Conscience*, in the expectation of his *reward* for his Actions, be they good or bad, persuadeth him to believe, it is most certain, that those *wicked worldlings* which desire nothing but the Honours and the *Prosperity* of this present Life, and those *incredulous Hereticks*, both of the former times, and of this present *Age*, which against their Conscience do withstand this Truth, shal notwithstanding be *per pennis*, either in their *Union* with God, or in their *Separation* from God ; and as it is the *greatest* Comfort of a Christian man to believe that he shall be *everlastingly with God* in all happiness, so it is not the *least* torment unto a damned soul, to consider, that he shall be *for ever and ever* in Torments, *separated* from God.

And therefore the *Error* is not, that men do seek for *perpetuity*, which they shall be *sure* to have, but that they seek the same *amis*.

Either not that which is with their *Union* and *Eruition* of God ; or if that, then either not *as* they should, or not *where* they should seek it, that is, either not in the *due time*, or not in the *right place*, where it may be found ; as,

1. For the *time*, many seek it, but *too late* ; and so they miss it, because that *now* is the *time acceptable*, & *ex hoc momento pendet eternitas*, and our *perpetuity* either with God, or without God, either in Joy or in Tormentus, dependeth upon our demeanour in this *present*, and little short time, that we have here to live.

2. For the *Place*, you may see how *most men* purchase Lands, build Castles, gather Riches, heap up Treasures, and so lay down such *Foundations* of *perpetuity* here on *earth*, as if they were to *live here for ever*; and they do so rely upon these *transient* things, and *mortal* men, as if they were *immortal Gods* ; and so they seek for their *perpetuity* in the *Regions of Vanity*, and they would find *perfect Felicity* in this *Valley of Misery*, but as the *Israelites*, by joyning themselves to *Baal-peor*, separated themselves from *El shaddai*, the Almighty God ; so these men, by seeking *Eternity* in these vanities, shall never be able to find it, and to be united with it, because *Eternity* and *Felicity* are not to be found here on *earth* : For as the Apostle saith, *we have here no lasting City*, and we are but as *Pilgrims* and *Strangers* here in this *world*, and our *perpetuity* is to be expected, not in this life, but in the *life to come*.

And so by this *large* Introduction that I have made, you see that these words of the Prophet are not to be understood of man *simply considered*, but of man *reserv'd*, in respect of his *State* and *Condition* in this *life* ; for though man be to abide for ever, yet as he is in this *life*, *verily every man*,

: And to prove this unto you, you shall find the wifest King and the most learned Preacher that ever *Mind* had, assuring you, that there is *nothing* here in this *world* but *Vanity* and *Vexation* of *Spirit* ; and that you might the sooner believe this

That all men
both good and
bad shall re-
main and be
perpetually.

The twofold
error of men
in seeking
perpetuity.

1. Seeking it
too late.

2. Seeking it
in the wrong
place.

this Truth, he doubleth and trebleth his words, saying, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*, that is, nothing else but meer vanity.

And lest proud man should think, that this is meant of Gold and Silver, and the like inanimate things of this world, or of the irrational Creatures, whose Souls do perish with their bodies, and not of man, which is the Prince and Lord of all Gods Creatures, the Glory of all Gods works, and the Image of God himself, the Prophet *David*, that was both a great King and a great Prophet, tells you plainly, that you need not doubt of it; *Verily, every man living is altogether Vanity, Sela.*

Touching which words, I beseech you to consider,

1. The various Lections,
 2. The chiefest Observations
- of this Text.

Two things to be considered about these words.

1. For the diversity of Reading it.

The first word, according to the *Septuagint*, is *τόν*, which S. Hierom translatheth *Enim*; For, as the *Cause* of the brevity and shortness of mans life; that it should be but a span long, as the phrase signifieth, *palmatus fecisti dies meos*, because every man is *vanity*; therefore my life is so *short*.

Others, as *Tremelius*, do render it *profello* or *cero*, surely or *verily*, that we might assure our selves, and make no doubt of the truth and certainty of this point, that *every man*, be he what he will, mortal or living, young or old, to wife, and never to *mortality*, *yea* is he but *vanity*.

But others would have both the Hebrew word, and the Greek Particle *τόν* to signify, *solum sive tantum & duxit*, only, as if the Prophet meant, that, of all Gods Creatures, only man, or man alone is the receptacle of *all vanity*; and besides man, there is *nothing else*, wherein the signs of *all vanity* are to be found so evidently as they are in man; because *nothing* in the world hath so far deviated and started away from the *end* for which it was appointed as *man* hath done; wheras *all other creatures* stand according to Gods Ordinance; the Stars keep their *motions*, the Moon observeth her *Seasons*, and the Sun knoweth his going down, only man knoweth not his duty, and so Esay testifieth, *The Oxe knoweth his Owner, and the Ass his Master's Crib*, but *Israel* hath not known, *my people* doth not consider, El. 1.3. and therefore *only man* deservedly and signally is *vanity*.

The second word which is used in the Original is *Chol*, and it is a word of both Numbers, and of all Genders, and the *Septuagint* read it *ανυπέρα*, which S. Jerome translatheth *omnia*, all; the vulgar Latine renders it *universa*, and *Tremelius* reads it *omniumoda*; and if I rightly understand them, they all mean, that man is *all manner* of *vanity*, and that there is *no vanity* in the world, and *no foolery* in the world; but you shall find the same in man.

The third word after the *Septuagint*, is *υανιτος*, which S. Hierom, and the vulgar Latine, and *Tremelius* translate *vanius*; but *Syrracucus* reads it *ατμος*, a *Vapour*, to which thing S. James compareth the life of man, and useth the same word, *saying ατμος γαρ ζει λαντ*, for our life is a *vapour*, that is, such a thing as soon riseth, and as suddenly perisheth. James 4.14.

The fourth word, that the *Septuagint* read, is, *τὸν ἀνθρώπον*; and *Tremelius* reads *τὸν ὄντα homo*, and our English reads it *every man*; but others, to whom Frather *alient*, do understand it to signify *τὸν homo*, that is, *all or whole man*, or, a *man* complear, foul and body, and accumulated with all the perfections that man can have, and with all the goods either of Nature or of Fortune that he may find under the Sun, yet is he but *vanity*.

The fifth word is *ζων*, living, *every man living*, the which word *Aquila* reads, *ἰσηναγίνοντος*, *ορθος*, lifted up, and *Syrracucus* reads it *τον*, standing or subsisting, *5 Words*; and *Tremelius* translates it *quoniam est confutans maxime*, how excellently soever he be settled, and the sense is, as most Interpreters will have the Hebrew word *וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ*, to significie, that *every* *state* of man; or, *man in every state*, and in what condition

The Vanitie

condition soever he is, King, Priest, Prophet, Honourable, wealthy, or what you will, yet is he all vanity ; and though such a one seems to stand, and to be something, existing firm in his strength and vigour, yet in very deed and in truth, the greatest, the strongest, the best and most powerful of them, is nothing else, but mere Vanity.

And I would
that all men
would well
consider it how
vain they are.
3. The special
Points consi-
derable in this
Text.

And so you have the words of this Text explained unto you, *πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ περιβόλιον μᾶς ἀρπάσω οἶων*, Verily, every man, or, all man, living, or standing in his best estate and condition, is altogether vanity, and all the vanity that can be found under the Sun.

2. For the Observations that may be collected out of this Text. I desire you to note with me these six principal Points.

1. That *man* is nothing else but vanity.
2. That *whole man* is vanity.
3. That *every man* is vanity.
4. That *every man in his best estate* is vanity.
5. That *every man in his best estate* is altogether vanity.
6. What Lessons of Instructions you may collect to your selves, from these Observations of mans Vanity ; or what Application you may make of this Expression of the Prophet.

And so, as *Solomon* ascended to the Throne of his Majesty, *per sex gradus*, by six special steps, so we shall descend to the nothing of our Mortality by these six special Considerations ; and then I hope, it will appear unto you all, what a nothing they are, that seem now to be so very great, and what little reason we have to be so much afraid as we are, of such great nothings.

But though the Application of the whole was the chiefest Point that I aimed at, when I first began to treat of this Text, yet mine allowance of time, not abusing your patience, will not permit me now to proceed any further than the first Point at this time ; That *Man is nothing else but Vanity*. And,

1. You may remember, that the holy Scripture saith, *God resisteth the proud, but he giveth Grace unto the lowly* ; and yet such is the pride of mans heart, that *Alexander* would be no less than the Son of *Jupiter*, *Xerxes* would correct the *Hellenes*, and write Letters of great threatenings to Mount *Athos*, that deemed his words no more than the wind : *Sapor* King of *Persia* would needs be stiled Brother unto the Sun and Moon : and *Caligula* would *ταῦτα δημοσίᾳ δημοσίᾳ*, counterthunder God, and would needs be no less than *Jupiter Latialis*, the very God of the *Latines*, and of all *Italy*.

And so the rest of the *Cesars* were so transported with such palpable pride, that all the Moneths of the year must be shared amongst them : and as of old *Fannus* that looked backward and forward, to the old year and the new, like unto *Noab*, that had seen the world before the Floud, and that which was after the Floud, had the Moneth of *January* dedicated unto him ; so *Mars* the great Warriour, must have *March* ; *Nero* must have *April*, *Claudius* shall have *Maii*, *Germanicus* *June*, *Julius* *July*, *Augustus*, *August*, *Antoninus* *September*, *Domitian* *October*, *Tiberius* *November*, and he wittily demanded of the Senate, when they dedicated this Moneth unto him, what they would do, when they should have more than 12 *Cesars*? as *Xiphilinus* saith.

Exod. 5.2. So *Pharaoh* demands, *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go out of my Service, to serve the Lord? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.* And the King of *Babylon* said in his heart, *I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; I will ascend above the heights of the Clouds, and I will be like the Most High.*

Isa. 14.13, 14. The pride of many base fel-
lows. And not only these great Kings and Emperors, that had some small kind of greatness in them, had such aspiring thoughts, and seed of Pride in them, but we find also that *Clearchus*, a base Fellow of *Pontus*, would needs be worshipped as a God, and his Son must be called *Lightning*, as *Suidas* testifieth ; So *Menecrates*, a mean Physician, would fain be taken for *Jupiter*, and *Empedocles* the Philosopher, would

would in like manner have been deemed for *immortal*.

And so many more the like *unlikely* fellows would fain challenge to themselves *Temples, Altars, Sacrifices*, and other services proper and peculiar to the *Eternal God*: And if we our selves ascend not so *high* to be such *prodigies* of pride, as these Heathens were, yet I am afraid; there are but *very few* of us that are not some wayes blasted with a *vain* conceit of their own worth; as you may see some Deifying their own persons, and as it were adoring either their *fair faces*, or their *lovely eyes*, or their *goodly hair*, now adayes idolized by many youngsters, as *Abel* son in former time seemed to do, or their *exquisite bands*, or some other part or parcel of their *well-shaped bodies*.

Others, as the Prophet saith, *do sacrifice unto their net*, and admire their own *wit*, whereby they have drawn so much *wealth* into the same, and yet preserve it from *breaking*, as the Apostles Net was preserved unbroken, when it drew to land an hundred fifty and three great Fishes.

Joh.21.11.

A third sort of men make their *strength* to become the *Lion of Justice*, and they that are weak are *just nothing*.

A fourth sort are *bubled* up with an high conceit of their *honor*, and with *Han-*
man, they are ready to burst if every *knee* doth not bend, and every *head* be not bare to them; and the *golden* *Asles* that have their purses full of *Angels*, and their coffers replenished with such *Deities*, do think they should be *adored* above all other creatures. And as

Fastus inest pulchris sequiturque superbia formam,

Beauty maketh many proud, so likewise

Fastus inest sanctis, sequiturque superbia dolos;

The Scholar is often *proud* of his Learning, and the *Holy Saint* is not always free from too high a conceit of his Sanctity. And then as St. *Aug.* saith, *Superbia destruit quicquid justis edificat*.

And in brief, as the Devil told *Adam* and *Eve*, that *they should be like gods*; The vain con-
ceits of all the sons of *Adam*:

so there is not scarce any one of all the sons of *Adam*, but for some one thing or other, though he will not *say it* with his tongue, yet will his *heart* conceive, that he is *similis altissimo*, as good as the best. And such are the thoughts of men. And holy *Job* saith, that these men are so impudent and so gracelets, that they say to God, *Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways; what is the Almighty that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?*

Job 21.14,15.

But the Prophet *David*, that knew what is man better than all these men, to pull down those *high looks of the proud*, and to batter the muddy walls of flesh and blood, saith, *Man is like a thing of naught, his time passeth away, nay flesh away like a shadow*; and here he saith, *Verily, every man in his best estate is altogether vanity*: So you see, man is but a *vain thing*; nay more, he is *vanity* it self, yea and more than that, which is a *note* above *Ela*, he is *altogether vanity*.

And because, as St. *Ambro*sa saith, *Amaritudo sermonum*, the bitterness of words, and the sharpnes of our reproofs is oftentimes, *medicina animarum*, the salve of our souls, I must crave leave, *depreciari curnens banc*, as *Tertullian* speaketh, that is, to batter down the lofty towers of proud flesh, and to vilifie those that overprize themselves, like *Simon Magus*, that gave it out he was *ns m̄ḡas*, some *great one*, and to shew unto you what a *vanity* or *vain thing* is man, and that

Aa.8.9.
n̄m̄v c̄m̄n-
ra iav̄n̄ p̄-
m̄v.

1. In his *ingress*, or coming into the world.
2. In his *progress*, or continuance in the world.
3. In his *egress*, or going out of the world.

i. I will

1. His ingrels. 1. I will not go about to *shame* you with the *narration* of your conception any further, then what the Prophet saith, *In sin hath your mother conceived you.* The *purest* Embrio was impure; and how many sins the Mother doth commit, while the childe is in her womb, her self and God onely knoweth: but when the *Infant* comes forth, out of the *narrow* prison of his Mothers womb into the large field of this wide world, you may consider, that the *first act* of his Tragedy is to salute his *distressed* Mother, for all her *pain* to get him out of prison, with *cries* and *lamentations*; and much more he would cry, if he knew, or could know the *many* miseries, that he is to pass through, and *must* pass through them, if he liveth.

2. His progress: 2. The Infant being born, and as the Prophet saith *polluted in his own blood*; and the Lord saying unto it, *Live*, he hath his *progress* and journey to pass, into which he could *never* proceed any further, but make *faces and noyses*, and lye and then dye, if he were left alone, and not *tended* by his Mother, or some other Nurse, that must look unto him, and that for *no few dayes, or months neither*, but *some certain years at least*.

And as soon as *ever age* hath brought him to *any wit*, he falls to his *shifts*, to *delude his teachers*, and to decline his own *good*; and when by his *Parents care* and his *Tutors pains*, he is become ripe in his profession, a learned Lawyer, a skilfull Physitian, a deep Politician, a great Artist, or a valiant Souldier, what doth he then, but use all his endeavours to *supplant* others, to *advance* himself? and he cares not *how*, nor how many *others* he maketh poor, to make himself onely rich.

*Aug.de verb.
Dom.Ser.17.*
Augustinus.

And yet, this is not all, for you may remember what St. *Augustine* saith, *Quid est diu vivere nisi diu torqueri? nam vita presens est arumosa, quam humores sumi-
dant dolores extenuant, ardore ex fiscant, aera morbidant, esca inflant, jejunia mace-
rant, joci dissolvunt, tristitia consumunt, sollicitudo coarctat, securitas hebetat, divitiae
jactitant, paupertas deicit, juventus extolit, senectus incurvat, infirmitas frangit
meror deprimit, & post hac omnia mors intermit & universis gaudis finem imponit, sta-
cum esse desierit nec fuisse putetur.* And you may remember also that *Job* tells you, and *Seneca* tells his friend *Lacilius* the very same, that *vivere est militare*, the life of man is a *warfare* here upon earth; and *Lucan* saith,

Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur.

Whether this be true or no, let the Warrior himself, and not I, be the Judge; but for what *Job* saith, you may see it *literally* verified throughout all the world and all Christendome now to become the shambles of Christian blood.

The many miserable Wars of these last centuries of years even in Christendome. The which men, if you consider their *Civil breeding*, and their *much* teaching in the School of Christ, that doth so straitly forbid all *ambition*, and all *revenge*, and so earnestly enjoyn all men to *love one another*; you may admire that as *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, so the pretended Christian should justifie the *bloody* Turks, or men-eating Cannibals, that glut themselves upon *buried carkasses*, and do use as the Poet saith, *Pingue scere corpore corpus*; and are therefore deemed by the *more civil* Nations to be but the *remote* prodigies of lost humanity. For,

If you now let your thoughts to *consider*, and your eyes to *wander* throughout all the Christian Kingdomes of *Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Italy*, and the rest of the neighbouring Nations that profess to believe in the *same Jesus Christ*, and do hope to be coheirs of the *same Kingdome* of heaven, they shall see *most of these men* striving to be, not *homicide cucubitarum*, the cutters down of Cucumbers, as St. *Aug.* stiled the *Manicheans*; but *Homicida Christianorum*, the bloody killers of many good Christians, and so make Rivers of blood, and Hills of Christian carkasses: And how he, that shed his blood to redeem those carkasses, will judge of this, I am affraid to *speak*, and tremble to *think* of it.

And yet, you must not think that I say this to *retard* the courage, or to *blunt* the

the Swords of our gallant Souldiers, that have *just causes* to make War ; for when wickedness groweth so *wilfull*, as to seek our *lives*, that desire to live in peace, or to rob us of our *livelihood*, lands or goods that God hath *justly* given us, then you must know, that our God is the God of War, as well as the God of Peace, and his name is the Lord of Hosts, and he will make his sword *drunk with blood*, and will strengthen our hands, if we trust in him, to scatter all those people that *delight* in War, and to destroy those Enemies that *maliciously* labour for our destruction.

But I blame all *shedding* of Christian blood in any War, either to *plant Religion* which should be done by *preaching*, and not by fighting; which in seeking to make them *Christian men*, will make them *no men*, or dissembling hypocrites; in stead of faithfull believers, or else to satisfie the ambition of any man that desires to *inlarge* his Dominion, and so unjustly to wrong his neighbours, when as every man, from the King unto the beggar, should be contented with what God hath justly given him; and that policy can never be justified, which is not every way consonant to equity, or especially for any subjects out of a *rebellious discontent*, or *ambitious* desire to *usurp* the Power and Authority of their *Sovereign*, to turn the sweet waters of *Peace* to become rivers of *Christian blood*; This is that warfare which I *chiefly* discommend, as the greatest of all vanities. But,

3. If the *Sword* or *Bullet* in this warfare, taketh not man away, yet *Age* and *Sickness* will soon summon him to his death and dissolution; and till then his whole life is spent *inter suspria & lachrymas*, betwix sighs and tears, troubles of minde, and distempers of body, and a thousand such *sad accidents*, that will soon bring *hoc vitium corporisculum*, this our frail and brittle body, and our distressed life to a miserable *death*; and when we dye, or, as the Psalmist saith, *When the breath of man goeth forth, he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts, and all his high designs, and vain conceits perish*; and then it will appear, which till then proud man will not *believe*, that the life of man is but a *flower* that soon withereth, a *smoke* that soon vanisheth, and a *bubble* that suddenly falleth; or as others say, a *shadow*, a *dream*, a *nothing*.

And it were well for many men, if, as their *great thoughts*, either on some deep plots of state, or how to hook unto themselves their neighbours inheritance, or to wreak their malice on their poor brethren, or the like *ειρηνευμα*, Castles in the air, as Aristophanes calleth them, do vanish into nothing, when their soules part with their bodies, so likewise their bodies and their soules should then, with their *Thoughts*, return to nothing.

But that cannot be, for that now mans soul must *pay* for all his *evil thoughts*, and *suffer* for all the wicked works, and the great wrongs that he hath done; and though *& corpore vermis, & & vermisibus factor*, his body turnes to *worms*, and those wormes yield such *Sem*, as all the Spices of *Arabia* cannot keep away, yet the *living spirit* of every wicked man, that cannot, and *shall not die*, must now for his *unrepened evil*, be hurried into the *dreadful Regions* of all horror, where it must *live* and lie for ever and ever, to suffer *unsufferable* and *unconceivable torments*, a life that lives not, and a death that dies not.

And so you see, that man is *Vanity*, and a wicked man in misery, *worse than vanity*.

And therefore *Reason* should perswade you all to labour to become *more than men*, that is, *more than meer men*; and to desire to be *born again*, not of flesh and bloud, but of *water and of the Spirit of God*, that you may be brought again to that *Union and Communion with God*, which you had when we were first made by *God*.

2. The Prophet saith, that *totus homo vanitas*, all the *whole man*; that is, both his *Body* and his *Soul* is *vanity*; for what is this *body* of ours, but a piece of earth, which we tread upon, *Sacculus pereorum*, saith S. *Bernard*, a sack full of dust, to say no worse, and a *Magazine* of all *Diseases*, *Coughes*, *Agues*, *Feavers*, *Gouts*,

Cccc

What Wars
the Author
blameth.

3. His egress.

Psal. 146.3.

a Point, That
whole man is
vanity.

2. The Body;

and

and what not ? and when these have satisfied and feasted themselves upon our bodies, what are our bodies but a feast for Worms ?

2. The Soul.

And the Soul, though it be a pure Spirit, as it proceeded from God, yet as it is now, traduced from our Parents, as many Divines think it is, or as it is infused into our flesh, as others do believe, and remaineth in our bodies; all the Faculties thereof are corrupted ; the Understanding is darkned with ignorance, the Memory dulled with forgetfulness, and the Will defiled with Mis-affections.

And so as Earth is good, and Water is good, yet being mingled together, they do make a dirty Puddle, and neither of them can be said to be then a pure Element; so the body and soul of man, though both were good in their Originals, and good in their own kind, yet now being both coupled together, as *Mozentius* coupled the dead bodies to the living, they are both marred, and become so deformed by corrupting one another, and associating themselves in their desires, that now the eyes are the burning-glasses of Concupiscence, and lustng after our neighbours Wives, Lands and Goods ; the Tongue is a Razor of detraction, to defame and slander our own Mothers Sons ; the Throat is an open Sepulchre ; the Hands, Engines of violence, to rob, wound and kill ; the Heart a Mint of all Villanies ; the Feet swift to shed blood ; and the whole man is become a Beast, saith the Psalmist, and a Devil, saith our Saviour, for one of you is a Devil.

Psal. 74.
John 6. 70.

And so you see that all the whole man, if he be but meer man, as he is begotten of flesh and bloud, in his best, is but vanity, in his next, iniquity, and in his worst consideration, a meer misery ; and so miserable, that being but meer man, he hath little cause, with the Philosopher, to thank God that he was made a man, when it had been better for him, as our Saviour saith of *Iudas*, that he had never been made, and never born.

Mark 14. 21.

That we
should labour
to become
more than
meer men.

And therefore if we labour not to become more than men, that is, to be like *Bacchus*, his genitus, as the Poets faign of him, to be born again, of another Mother, the spouse of Christ, and so to become double men, and to consist of the old man, begotten of mortal Seed, and of the new man, that is, begotten by the immortal Seed of Gods Spirit, we shall never be happy, and never otherwise, than, as I said, vanity and misery ; for though the old man be never so Glorious, and never so honourable, the Off-spring of Kings and Princes, and though outwardly it appears never so beautiful, without blemish ; yet if the Inner man of the hear, that is begotten by Gods Spirit, be not found out, the other is but outward, flesh, as the Apostle termeth it ; and flesh is an Epithete given to Beasts by the Prophet, and that by way of disparagement too, where he saith, their horses are but flesh, and which is viler, all flesh is grass, that soon withereth and rotteith, and becometh the dung of the earth : and the Apostle saith, that flesh and bloud shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, because that, as I shewed you before, flesh and bloud being but meer vanity, which is the most opposite to Eternity, they can inherit nothing but eternal misery.

3 Point.

3. Astorū homo, so omnis homo vanitas, every man is vanity, that is, not only the Fool, but also the wise man ; for there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever ; but as the fool dieth, so dieth the wise man ; therefore the wise man concluded, that this also is vanity.

How all the
world is round
and all things
in the world in
a perpetual
motion,

And so likewise the young man as well as the old man, the rich as well as the poor, and the strong as well as the weak, the heroick *Achilles*, as well as base *Therites* ; may soon die, and vanish away to nothing.

And to be brief, you see, how the gallant Courtier, and the Royal Majesty are no more exempted from vanity than the poorest Clown and meanest Subject ; for as Eternity is said to be an intelligible sphere, whose Center is every where, and his circumference nowhere, but in it self, as I shewed to you before out of *Trismegistus*, so the form of the whole world is spherical, and the *unipunctatus* or little world, which is man, in state and condition is also spherical and round, even as round as a hoop, or rather indeed a meer circular center, without any circumference at all ; and as the *primum mobile*, the first wheel of all the Spheres of this whole

whole frame, is ever in motion, and by that motion we see that part which is now the *highest*, within a dozen hours to become the *lowermost*; so suddenly is the change of the *highest* things; even so it is in *all* things that are under the Sun; there is a *perpetual motion*; and that motion changeth all things; which made holy Job to say, a Saying worthy to be remembred, that although man is but of few dayes, few indeed, God knoweth, and those few dayes are full of troubles, and that we all know; yet in those few dayes he cometh forth like a Flower, that is, by little and little, and he is cut down, that is, in a moment, he flieth also as a shadow, that is, very swiftly, and never continueth in one stay, but is still diuolved from one condition to another: For our blessed Lord God and loving Father, out of his wise Providence, and secret love to man, hath so tempered all the Accidents, and the whole course of mans life, with such proportion and equal counterpoize of occurrents, that ever and anon *Joyes* and *Sorrows* are mixt together, good haps and sad tidings succeed one another; as for example, David, as it were to day, is a poor Shepherd, keeping his Fathers Flock, and pulling away his sheep out of the Lions Claws; and as it were to morrow, he is magnified in the Court of Saul, he is matched with the Kings Daughter, and saluted for the Kings Son in Law, and his epithalamium is, *Saul killed his thousands and David his ten thousands*; yet presently he fleeth as a banished man, and he is prosecuted and persecuted, as a Partridge is hunted upon the Mountains; but within a while he is crowned King, and reigneth in a short space over all Israel, even from Dan to Beersheba, and as a gallant Conqueror overcometh all his enemies round about him; yet that Glory must not last long, but his own, not only undutiful Subjects, but also his ungracious and unnatural Son Absalon must drive him once again to flee, not to preserve his Kingdom, but to save his Life; and because the Wheel turns round, this Cloud suddenly vanisheth, Absalon is hanged and the King is joyfully received, and honourably restored to his Royal Throne; and after all this, he had many the like changes, of sundry kinds of Accidents, somtimes gladsom, and somtimes dolefal, while he lived.

So the Son of David, and the Son of God, Jesus Christ, in the second of Mat. is presented with Gifts, and worshipped as a God, by the Kings and wise men of the East, and in the same Chapter he is persecuted by King Herod, that he was fain to flee into Egypt to save his life; yet afterwards, he was so magnified by the people, that he was fain to hide himself, to prevent his being crowned King, and upon Mount Tabor he was so transfigured in Glory, that his Face did shine as the Sun; and not long after, upon Mount Calvary, he was so disfigured with sorrow, that confusion went over his face, so far, that as the Prophet saith, in him there was neither form nor beauty; so upon Mount Olivet, even now, there was an Angel comforting him, and by and by, an Agony affrighting him: and so upon the Cross, even now, he crieth as one destitute of all help, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? and by and by after, as a man full of comfort, and confidence in Gods favour, he saith, Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit.

And if the time, and your patience would give me leave, I could amplifie to you this Point, in the like revolution of this wheel, I dare not call it of Fortune, as the Heathens did, but of Gods Providence, as the Scripture sheweth it is, in Abraham, in Joseph, in Moses, in C. Marius, in Alcibiades, and in abundance more of those Worthies, whose lives you may read in the holy Scripture, in Plutarch, and in many other Authors; and which were variarum fortunarum viri, men that had tasted of all conditions, and had experience of all kind of Life, being tossed up and down, and up again, and so still turn, and turn again and again, from a good condition to a bad, and from a bad to a good again.

But I had rather perswade you all to make that use of this variable vanity which Sesostris King of Egypt did of the sad condition of those Kings, that horses-like he compelled to draw about his Caroach: for he having four captive Kings, set them like horses to draw his Caroach (even as King Edgar is reported to have Kennedy King of Scots, Malcolm King of Cumberland, Duffnal and Griffith Kings of Wales

Job 14.1,1.

The vicissitude
of King David's
condition.

The Vanitie

Wales, Maxentius the Arch-Pyrat, and Huval a great Prince, to row his Barge upon the River Dee) and Sesostris marking how one of his caroached Kings, still as he drew, looked back upon the Wheels of his Chariot, demanded of him what he meant, so often to look behind him? the poor King, unaccustomed to such a trade, submissively answered, it was to see how that part of the Wheel which is now highest, becomes presently the lowest, and then again immediatly the lowest becometh highest, and so still wheelles his round, and never continueth in one stay.

Whereupon, the wise Sesostris, rightly apprehending that serious Embleme, presently commanded the Kings to be set at liberty, as well weighing with himself, how suddenly God can change the course, and turn the Wheel of all mortal things; and as he can loose the bonds of Kings, and cast them down with Nebuchadnezzar from their stately Palaces to dwell among the Beasts of the field, as he did great Bajazet from his Royal Empire, to be carried about with Tamerlane in an iron cage; so he can bring them again out of prison, as he did Joseph, Manasses, and Henry the Third, of this Kingdom; he can raise them again out of the dust, as he did Job, to his former dignity, and Nebuchadnezzar from the fields, to be re-established in his Royal Throne; and he can if he please, add more Glory unto them than ever they had before.

*This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; and this he can easily do, and he can suddenly do; and we are not worthy to know how soon he will turn our wheel, and make the poor men rich, and the mean men Lords, as he hath lately made the rich men poor, and the great Lords to be without their Lordships; for there is nothing bidding, but as my Text saith, *omnis homo vanitas*, as well the commanding Lords, that do now reign as Kings in the great Babylon of this world, as the poor ejected Bishops and other Servants of Christ, that are wandering, and perhaps wanting bread in the wilderness of this world.*

And this Revolution of all men, and of all earthly things, should teach us all these two special Lessons.

1. Never to be exalted or puffed up with pride when we are lifted up to honour and greatness, nor to be troubled and discontented when we see them that were Servants, ride upon horses, as the wise man speaketh, that is, when we see such as were Vassals, made Lords, and many wicked mean men magnified as Princes; which now you may behold in many Kingdoms of the world: For though as the Poet

What the former Doctrine should teach us.

3 Lesson.

Eccle. 10.7.

These Sermons were first preached in the time of the usurping Rebels.

El. 3.12.

Psal. 36.37.

3 Lesson.

Aperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum.

None is more insolent than the Beggar when he is on horseback; none more tyrannical than Servants or women, that were made to obey, and not to rule, when they become to be the Masters of their Masters; of which thing the Prophet complaineth, that Children and such as should be ruled, are the Oppressors of the people, and women do rule over them.

Yet shew may remember, that the wheel of such prosperity hath often turned, and the Horse hath many times cast his Rider; and you know what the Prophet David saith, *I my self have seen them in great power, ruling and domineering over their brethren, and flourishing like a green Bay-tree: and I went by, and perhaps durst say nothing to them, but lo, within a little while they were gone, and I sought after them, but they could no where be found;* and we may chance live to see the like Changes, and tumbling down of many of such wicked men, as the Prophet David hath seen.

2. The former Point should teach us never to be dejected, or cast down with grief and despair, when we see our selves, or our friends, that were Lords and Companions of Princes, walking alone as servants upon the earth, or when we see the Prelates of the Church jeered at with the good Prophet, or abused with the holy Apostles.

For

For as the *prosperous* wheel of the wicked may soon turn, and their great *honours*, be quickly brought down to the *dust*; so the *adversity* of Gods Servants may likewise turn, and these *poor nothings* may soon be raised to *great honours*; when as the Poet faith,

Nocte pluis tota, redunt Spectacula mane.

And as the Prophet faith, *beariness may endure for a night, but Joy cometh in the Morning.*

So we may be to day *sick*, and at the point of death, and to morrow *sound* and well again: and to night, with *Joseph*, clapt up in prison, and perhaps with *Mardonius*, condemned to die, and yet before the next night be exalted as they were, to *great honour*; for God who is just and *Omnipotent*, can turn man to destruction, and immediately say *come again ye children of men*; and you know what the Prophet faith, *For a little moment have I hid my face from thee*, that is, for thy trial, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, that *El.54.7.* is, out of prison, and out of all other troubles whatsoever.

And therefore whatsoever thy troubles be, and how low soever thou art dejected, yet as the Poet faith,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audenior ito.

Let no Misery prevail against thy Manhood, but to strengthen thy heart, and to rowze up thy *Courage*, remember, not only what the Scripture faith, but what also the very Heathen could tell thee, saying,

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam.

Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

*Martial. iii
Epigr.*

It is the property of a poor spirit to be *weary* of life, and to wish for *death*, when we are cast down with miseries and contempt; *quia dulce mori miseris*; because death is a sweet Guest to all miserable Hosts; but the true *Christian Fortitude*, yea and true Manhood is *consequently* and pleasantly, with no dejected countenance to pass, and pass through all adversities, and to deem himself never the better when he is clad like *Herod* in his royal Robes, nor one jot the worse, when he is cloathed like *John Baptist* in Hair-cloath, with a girdle of *Leather about his loins*, because the *accessions* of these vanities, silks, velvets, or gold laces, do make no man *better*, nor the want of them any man the *worse*. But he that goeth like *Hercules*, in the Lions skin may prove as brave a Souldier, as any of them that like the Commanders of *Darius*, do glister in their *Gold* and *Scarlet*; and yet many times to save their *heads*, betake themselves like *Dromedaries*, unto their *heels*, and the poor ejected Bishop, in his bare Coat, may make as heavenly a Sermon, and convert many more souls, than the hundredth pound Independent, or the false Presbyterian tone, in his long Cloak, and velvet Jacket.

Vanities do
make no man
better.

Which makes me never to be much troubled or moved at the *revolution* of this *Wheel*, or the *loss* of these vanities, but to say with that Heroick *Pompey*, when after he had been crowned with the greatest honours of *Rome*, and now fallen into the greatest calamities, he cheerfully said, as *Lucan* witnesseth,

*Non me videre superbuna
Prospera fatorum, nec fractum adversa videbunt.*

His prosperity never made him *proud*, and adversity should never cast down his courage; and my witness is in Heaven, that I am a thousand times more grieved, to see the *prophanation* of Gods service, and the *poor worship* of him, now used in very many places; that is, how meanly, fluttishly, negligently and disorderly our

The Vanitie

our good God is served , than of mine own losses , how great foever they are
For we brought nothing with us into the world , neither shall we carry any thing out
of this world ; and I know not whether I shall live till to morrow , when , as the
Tragedian saith :

*Quem veniens dies vidit superbum ,
Hunc fugiens dies vidit jacentem.*

Whom the Sun rising hath seen strong and lusty , the Sun setting , saw him dead
upon the ground , because as my Text saith , *Every man is vanity* : Yea ,

4. Point.

4. *nisi d'espousas ġāv* , Every man living , or every man in his best estate is va-
nity : And you know there be but two states of every man ,

A twofold
state of man.

1. Living.

2. Dead.

And when a man is dead , he soon becometh vanity indeed , he is reduced to
nothing , he knoweth nothing and he can do nothing : And therefore let us have but
a little patience , and within a very little little while , those mighty men , that now
oppress their neighbours , and tyrannize over Gods servants , shall return to nothing ,
and be able to do just nothing against us ; and then as *Solomon* saith , *A living
Dog is better and can do more* , then these dead Lions .

I , but you will say , *Inserimus ego ringo* , and we may suffer very much before
these Lions become dead ; therefore , it were well for us that they were dead be-
fore we suffer , and that , as *Caracalla* said of his brother *Geta* , *Sint divi modo non
sint vivi* , they were *Saints* in heaven , so they might not be such Devils as they
are here now on earth .

Hab. 2.2.

I answer 1. To thee , that art thus troubled , as the Prophet saith unto the Jews ,
The Vision is yet for an appointed time , but at the end it shall speak and not lie ; and
though it tarry , yet wait thou for it , because it will surely come , and not tarry ; that is ,
any long time , or longer than the appointed time , so tarry thou the Lords leisure ,
and thy deliverance will come in his appointed time ; and if thou thinkest , it tar-
rieth long , then pray thou to God , that it may come the sooner ; and though the
young teachers of the new way to heaven , have obliterate it , yet do not thou for-
get that good old Prayer of our Liturgy , but say , *O God make speed to save us , O
Lord make haste to help us* ; and God will hear thy prayers , and will help thee , be-
cause as the Poet saith ,

How powerfull
prayer is.

*Offendunt nunquam thura precesque Jovens
Sed dominum mundi, fletere vota valent.*

Prayers and Supplications are the most powerfull prevailers to obtain any thing at
the hands of God .

2. For these that wrong thee , and trouble thee , I pray thee remember but
what my Text saith , *Every man living* , or in his best estate while he liveth is also-
gether vanity .

And therefore , the greatest men can never be able to do what they would do ,
either for themselves , or against others : And this will the more plainly appear ,
if we take but a little view of all the estates that are accounted the best estates of
men ; for though there be many states and kindes of life , that are deemed very
good , yet there be four Estates of men , that I finde , by the worldly wise , to be
judged best ; and

The four states
of men that
are accounted
the best .

- 1. Is of them that excel all others , in *fortitudine* , in health and strength of
body .
- 2. Is of them that abound in *wealth* , in riches in prosperity .
- 3. Is of them that are *reges regar* , most eminent in *fame* , glory and ho-
nour .
- 4. Is of them that have *plenitudinem iugurtae* , the fulnes of Power and
Authority to rule and govern the rest of the people .

These

These are accounted the *best estates* of men; and yet man in all, and in every one of these four estates, is a poor vain thing, and *altogether vanity*; For,

1. Health and strength of body are but *vanity*; and though the Tyrants and Oppressours say, come, *Let our strength be the law of Justice*; for that which is feeble is found to be *nothing worth*, therefore let us crush the *righteous*, and banish all those *honest* men that are not for our turn, but do *upbraid us* with our offending the Law, and do abstain from *our wayes* as from filthiness; yet we see that a little sicknes can bring down the *greatest strength*, and waite the *health* of the strongest and the stoutest men.

And besides, we know that, as the Lion which is the strongest upon earth, and the Whale, which is strongest in the Sea, and the Serpent or the Eagle which are the strongest in the Air, are of *more strength* than is in any man, were he as strong as *Hercules*; or were they as strong as all these, yet their *great strength* cannot preserve them from *death*, nor keep them without sicknes. And if you will compare them unto other creatures, you shall finde that the *Peacocke* train is more *beautifull*, than all the trimmings of the *proudest* Galland; and as the *Dromedary* is *swifter* than any Foot-post, so the *Nightingal* hath a *sweeter voice* than the best Musitian.

And in a word, the basest creatures have been found able enough to be the death of the strongest men, for a little Steelerto killed *Egdon King of Moab*, *Goliath* the great Giant, was stricken down with a peble stone. *Anacreon* was choaked with the stome of a Raison, *Fabius* strangled with a hair, *Herod* the Proud eaten with Lice, and *Antiochus* the Cruel, destroyed with Worms, and *Hatto* the Traytor, pursued to death by an Army of Rats: These were but poor things and weak instruments to destroy strong men, and to dispatch great Monarchs, and yet we see how they have done it.

And therefore, thou, that thinkest thy self a brave, strong and stout Souldier, remember what good counsel the Prophet gives thee, laying, *Let not the strong man glory in his strength*; so let not the healthfull man promise any long life unto himself, whereas our life and fortune, and all that we have, are as the Poet saith, ---- *Tenui pendentia filo*, hanging upon a weak, feeble Spiders thread, *Quod attropos occat*, which the least blast of Gods displeasure can break all to pieces.

2. Wealth and riches are more vain, and of less value than our health and strength, when as all the wealth in the world yeelds but small comfort to him that is full of sicknes, and wants his health; therefore the Prophet *David* speaking of those wealthy worldlings, that do relye, and are so proud of their riches, saith, *Man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain, he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them*. And we know, saith *Holtor*, that in a shadow there is a threefold consideration:

- 1. *Indigentia luminis*, } And that is, 1. A want of Light,
- 2. *Afflentia frigoris*, } a threefold 2. A want of Heat,
- 3. *Apparentia corporis*, want, 3. A want of Substance.

Which are easily seen and perceived in every shadow.

And so all the greedy worldlings, and the covetous hunters after wealth are environed with these three main indigences and wants; For,

1. They have no light in their understanding, but their heads and brains are empty, when their barns and their shops and coffers are full; and so at last, they themselves do most wofully confess it, saying, *We have erred from the way of truth, and the light of understanding hath not shined unto us*; for if men had but the least understanding in the truth of things, they might soon perceive, that riches are neither simply ours, nor very precious, or of much value in themselves; but they do, as *Boetius* saith, make a fairer shew, and bring more benefit unto us, when they are spent, than when they are kept, because liberality makes men famous, *Boetius de concil. Philos. 1.2.* and to be loved, and covetousness makes them odious, infamous and ridiculous;

Judg. 3.21.
1 Sam.

Jer. 9.23.

2. State.

Psal. 39.7.

Sap. 5.6.

c. 5.

Ecc. 5.13.

lous ; and *Solomon* saith, this is a sore evil which he saw under the Sun , namely, riches kept for the owners thereof to their hurt ; when it had been better for them to have been without them than to have them. For as the rich Citizen of *Rome* that never offended the Commonwealth, nor medled with either of the two opposite factions of *Sylla* and *Marius*, yet being desirous to know who were proscribed for the Enemies of the State, and running to see their names, he finds himself among the first, and then he cries out, wo is me, that my wealth and my fair house at *Nola* do cause me to lose my head : so the riches of many a man have begot him enemies, and those enemies, for none other cause or crime, but to get his Lands or his wealth, have brought him to his end ; as perhaps the riches of many a Protestant will conclude them to be *Roman Catholicks* ; as we read the like in the case of the *Guelphes* and the *Gibilines*, when the *Gibilines* proving themselves to be no *Guelphes*, yet was their riches and their treasures seized upon, as the wealth of the *Guelphes*.

And yet as the hoarding up of riches, and the growing great and wealthy in the world makes us miserable and hated, so the dispersing of them abroad, and the profuse wasting of our wealth, makes us poor, and to be despised, yea and to be neglected of our friends, and scorned of our enemies.

And therefore surely riches are but very poor things, when we can neither possess them without envy, nor bestow them without penury, neither have them without danger, nor want them without contempt.

2. The wealth and riches of the worldlings can yield them but cold comfort, when God turneth away his face from them, and they are left to the counsels of their own hearts ; for though the glittering of the Jewels may draw thine eyes after them, the pleasant prospect of the Fields may delight thine heart, thy gay apparel may make thee shew very fair and beautiful to the beholders, and the multitude of thy servants may seem to prove thee very happy among thy neighbours ; yet we all do or may know, that there is none of these things but at some time or other hath proved to be the destruction of their possessors : For, as when the poor Passenger may rejoice and sing before the most ravenous Robber, and in the sight of the most barbarous Plunderers, so thy wealth and thy Jewels, thy pockets full of Gold, and thy bick full of bravery, may make thy heart sad, and thy head full of perturbations, and in every moment to be afraid to be assailed and slain in all the paths that thou shalt walk.

And whereas the man that hath none but himself to serve himself, need not fear to be betrayed by his Servants : the rich man that needeth more, and the noble man that keepeth many Servants, may well fear there may be a *Judas* among twelve, and a *Traytor* in his own house ; and as *Humphrey Bawifte* betrayed his Lord and Master, *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, that had been too good a Master to him ; so may one of thy chiefest Servants sell thee and betray thee too, into the hands of thy greatest Enemies, even as we read in Stories of many Kings that have been so likewise dealt withal.

And therefore Wealth and Riches can afford us no true comfort, nor yield us any certain assistance, even in this life ; when by getting them, we do oftentimes lose our selves, or at least hazard our safety by saving them.

3. Our Saviour Christ speaking of the deceitfulness of Riches, and *S. Paul* calling them uncertain riches, do sufficiently shew unto us, that the wealth and riches of this world do but promise fulness, when they intend to bring us nothing but emptiness ; for you see, all our Money is, as it is called, currant, and all our riches transient, like a torrent stream that floweth apace, or as the summer snow, that presently melteth, sometimes before it falleth ; and all the wealth in the world is but contingent, with one man to day, and with another man to morrow ; as your selves may see, how within these few years, many men scarce worth a Groat, became worth thousands ; and as many others that were worth thousands, became not worth a Groat.

And therefore *S. Aug.* speaking of the things of this world, saith, *Si quid arri-*
sistet

And I wish the
Lands and fair
houses of ma-
ny innocent
Papists may
not be proved
to be the lands
of Irish Rebels.

Speed, 19 c. 19.
P. 927.

Mat. 13.22.

1 Tim 6.17.

2 Cor. 4.12

Aug. Confess.
1.6.

fisset prosperum tadebat apprehendere, quia prinsq[ue]nam pene temeretur, avolabat; if any worldly prosperity smiled upon me, and seemed to offer some happiness unto me, yet I was loath to accept it and to lay hold upon it, because commonly all the pleasure of this world is fled from us before we can scarce fasten on it; and as the wise man saith, *extrema gaudis luctus occupat*: Sorrow and sadness do follow both our Profits and our Pleasures hard at the very heels: For as the Player appeareth upon the Stage, and then presently after few words, exit, he is gone; so the wealth & prosperity of this world do but salute us, and then immediately depart from us, even while we are most busie about them, and when they seem to smile most of all upon us.

And I could make this plain unto you by more examples than I have time to express: For we read of *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, that was a *Roman Consul*, and had laid Fetters upon many *Africans*, yet being unhappily taken by the *Carthaginians*, he found himself presently environed, and then miserably tied in the Conquerors Chains; and it is written of *Cheops King of Egypt*, that erected the *Pyramides*, which were all built of *Theban Marble*, and were of that huge height, and monstrous Magnitude, that one of them was 20 years in building, though it is reported there were *circiter decem hominum myriades*, about 10 Myriades of men, as *Herodotus* saith, or 100000 men, as others write that did continually work upon it (the same containing, as *Sands* affirmeth, eight Acres of ground at the bottom, and ascending by 255 steps to the top, and every step being of three foot in height, and of a proportionable breadth) and yet this great King that was of this great power, before his death, became so poor, that he was compelled to prostitute his own Daughter to relieve his wants.

Boetius de con-
sol. I. 2. c. 5.

Herodot. I. 2.
p. 22.

Sandys, I. 2.

So *Belisarius*, that in the dayes of *Justinian* 1. was one of the bravest Souldiers and of the greatest Commanders of the world, to whom the Lady and Empress of the world, *Rome* it self owed her self thrice at the least; and who took two mighty Kings, *Gilimer King of Africa*, and *Vitiges King of the Gothes*, to be his Prisoners, yet within a little while this great man, as some writers do report, came to that poor pass, as he was fain to cry, *Date obolum Belisario, quem virtus exaltavit, malum deprecessit, & fortuna cacavit*; O give one half-peny to *Belisarius*, whom vertue hath honoured, envy hated, and fortune spoyled and made him now a poor blind Beggar.

And *Pedro Mexia* setteth down the miserable ends and other strange travesties endured by divers Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, whereof he accounteth no less than 13. besides 2 Popes, 2 Bishops, 4 Cardinals and 10 Abbots, that within one hundred and fifty years, were thrown down from the Pinnacle of Prosperity, to the lowest Gulf of Adversity; as *George King of Bohemia*, *Charles Duke of Burgoyne*; *Uladijlaus King of Poland*, *Constantinus Paleologus Emperor of the East*, *Charles 8. King of France*, *James 4. King of Scots*, *John de Albret King of Navarre*, *Lewes Sforza Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of Millaine*, *Francis 1. King of France*, that was the Patron of all Learning; and those three great Kings, *Maley Mahomet King of Fez and Morocco*, *Abdelmelec his Uncle*, and *Sebastian King of Portugal* that came to a miserable end, and died all three in one day, being *Monday the 4th. of August, 1578.* and which is worthy to be remembred above all, *John Justinian* that trayterous Villain, who covenanted with *Mahomet* to betray *Constantinople*, so he would make him King; which the great Turk promised, and accordingly performed; but after three daies struck off his head, as his Treason well deserved; and so I wish may be the reward of all disloyal Traytors.

And therefore seeing not only wicked Potentates, but also most famous Kings and Princes and most excellent Prelates have been reduced to such ends, what wonder is it that many great Scholars, and many reverend Bishops (whom their worth and learning raised to some height of dignity) should be thrown down, as they were of late by envy and hatred, into the depth of misery. The time would be too short for me to tell you of *Crasus the rich King of Lydia*, *Darius the great Monarch*

Treasury of
times, I. 4. c. 37

Pope John
whom *Mart. 5.*
succeeded, An.
1410.

Pope Clement,
that was im-
prisoned
by *Charles 3.*

1527.

Archbishop of
Flor, and four
Cardinals but-
chered, 1448.

The Bishop of
Liege Brother
to the great
Duke of Bur-
goyne, and 10
Abbots masla-
cred in his pre-
sence.

The Vanitie

Monarch of *Perſia*, *Manius Acilius* the proud Consul of *Rome*, holy *Job*, the rich-
eft in the Land of *Hus*, and warlike *Caius Marins*, when he had hid himſelf in the
Fens or Bogs of *Mymurnes*, and of many thousands more, that were exceeding
rich, and most honourable, and in a moment of time became extream poor and
miferable.

But you may ſee it every day, that as the Poet ſaith,

Rich *creſus*
may ſuddenly
become as
poor as *Irus*,

Irus & eſt ſubito qui modo Cræſas erat.

Prov. 23. 5.

Plutarch in vi-
ta Phyrri, p.
404.

And there is none of us but he may conſider how many great and honourable per-
ſons have been ſuddenly disgraced, and how many well left Heirs and wealthy
men have in an instant conſumed all their wealth, and wasted their Patrimony
like a Snow-bal, and then came to be pitied by their Friends, and ſcoured by ſome
others, whom formerly they diſpifed, and thought them not worthy to eat with
the dogs of their Flocks ; ſuch is the nature of wealth, and ſo great is the vanity of
all worldly riches, that the wile man ſaith, *They beake them unto their wings, and
flee away like an Eagle* (i.e.) very ſwiftly.

And yet for all this, it is a wonder to ſee the folly of moft men ſhewed in the
purſuit of this idle vanity ; for it is reported how *Cyneas*, a moft excellent Orator,
endeavouring to diſuade King *Pyrhus* a brave Souldier from his expedition againſt
the *Romans*, asked him, what he would do when he had subdued them ? and he
answered, that he would bring *Cicily* into his ſubjection ; and what will your grace
do then, ſaid the Orator ? the King replied, then we have a fair paſſage to go to
bring in *Carthage*, and to conquer *Africa* : And when you have conquered them,
what will you do, ſaid *Cyneas* ; We will then, ſaid the King, bring all *Macedon*
under the yoke of our Obedience. And when both *Rome* and *Cicily* and *Carthage*
and all *Macedon* have felt the ſtroke of your Majefties Sword, what will you do
then I pray you ? ſaid the Orator ; then the King perceiving what he meant,
smilingly answered, we will then take our eaſe, and begin to make Feaſts, and
continue ſo every day, and be as merry together as poſſibly we can be. And what
leſteſt us now, my good Lord, ſaid *Cyneas*, but that we may be now as merry and
more quiet, ſith we enjoy enough to effect all that preſently, without any further
travel, or more trouble, which we are about to go to ſeek with ſuch ſhedding of
humane blood of others, with ſo much maniſt danger unto our ſelves.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Learned Orator could not diſuade that am-
bitious Prince from this his high attempt, he could no waies prevail to make
him diſt from that uncertain Enterprize ; but he would rather hazard all that
happy eſtate which he did now enjoy, than leave off the deceiſive hope of thoſe
things which he diſo much deſire.

And indeed ſuch is the condition of all the ſons of men, moft dangerously ſick
of the ſame deſperate diſease ; for though as the Poet ſaith, and he ſaith the
truth, that man is but,

*Somnus, Bulla, Vitrum, Glacies, Flos, Fabula, Fanum,
Umbra, Cimit, Punctum, Vox, Sonus, Aura, Nihil.*

That is in few words, a dream, a shadow, a thought, a nothing ; yet all or moft of
this little time that we do enjoy, we expend in following after the vain wealth, and
deceiſive riches of this world, that we ſhall find to be but empty clouds, without
water, or like the Apples of *Sodom*, that being greedily graſped, will ſoon turn to
ſmoak, and then ſpeedily vaniſh into nothing ; and we ſhall find our ſelves at
laſt juſt like the Mill-wheel, that turneth ſtill, and turneth round from day to day,
and yet at the years end is in the ſame place where it was at the beginning.

So we tumble and toſſe and turn to gather wealth, and to grow great in this
world, and yet in the end we ſhall find our ſelves juſt in the ſame condition as
we were at the beginning ; for naked we came into the world, and naked we ſhall re-
turn again.

What

What need we then be so unjust, and shame our selves, either unduly to seek what we ought not to have, or un honestly to deny what we ought to pay? Truly I am ashamed, that should be verified among Christians, which was complained of by the heathens, *Terras Africam religuit*; that Justice could not be found in any Court on earth; or what Solomon said of the *Jews* should be found amongst us, *I saw the place of Judgment* (the highest Court he meant) *and wickedness was there, and the place of Righteousnes, and iniquity was there.*

Eccl.3.16.

But though neither shame of men, nor fear of God can make us leave this iniquity, but that we will continue still like *Jews* and Pagans, yet the truth is, that man in this rich estate, that is yet so palpably vain, when it is so unjustly procured, can be nothing else but meer vanity.

3. Honour, Glory, and a high esteem, to be famous among men, are accounted great in this world, and so they are indeed; but I mean great vanities, and the greatest of all vanities: For health is a happiness, especially while it lasteth, and Riches have some substance in them, and we may do good with them, as others do much evil with them; but honour and fame are nothing else but a vain blast of a poor mans breath, or a little bending of a Beggars knee, an idle Ceremony, fruitless I am sure (therefore a great vanity), and it may be but some fair shew of some outward reverence, when perhaps there is indeed much inward hate; because the Tongue oftentimes praifeth those most highly, whom the heart detesteth most deadly. Or were it not so, yet all honour is accounted, but

1. Of a short continuance,

2. Of a small Extent,

*S*ee therefore a great Vanity: For, behold how great was the honour of *Haman*, and how suddenly was he hanged: Look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, how he is to day saluted with *Haile*, Glory of the world; and to morrow scorned like a Beast: and consider how glorious were *Pharaoh*, *Senacherib*, *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and others; and yet, behold how speedily they were vanished into nothings; and how many great men and most honourable Personages have you lately seen so highly honoured and magnified both in Court and Countrey, as the only Emblemes of all honour, and how suddenly have they been either killed or headed, and their Glory buried in the dust, if not turned into worse? For the Scourge of Envy from below, and the Twigs of Ambition from above, do hunt and whip all honour unto death: And we know that many men while they lived, have been so unhappy, as to see their own honour buried: Or, if some have left a glorious Name behind them, as *Fosias* did, when they left the world; yet we find that many famous men while they lived, have been quite forgotten, for want of Writers; when they were dead: For how should we have known the valour of *Hector* and *Achilles*, and the wisdom of *Nestor* and *Ulysses*, if *Homer* had not recorded the same unto posterity? Or how should we have understood the Piety of *Constantine*, and the Clemency of *Theodosius*, if *Eusebius*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers had not declared the same unto us? And of those that have been as happy in the Trumpeters of their Fame, as themselves have been Famous in the Actions of their Lives: we see, that as Death took away the Authors, so time hath wasted away their Writings; and (as the Poet saith.)

What wonder we that Writings fail,

When stately Tombes do wear;
The very Stones consume to mought,
With Tides they did bear.

Or be it granted that a man might truly say, *I shall live when I am dead*; and as *Ovid* saith,

Perg; omnia sc-

culta Fama

Si quid habent
veri vatum p̄ae
sagia, vivam,
Ovid. Met-
morp. l. 12. in
fine.

Boetius de con-
sol. Phil. l. 2. c. 8

— *Nomenq; erit indeleibile nostrum.*

My name shall remain indelible among the Posterities ; yet if you do attentively weigh the most infinite spaces of Eternity, you shall find that the prolonging of our Names on earth can yield us no great Felicity ; for if we compare the stay of one moment with ten thousand years, they have some proportion, though it be but very small ; but this number of years howe soever it be multiplied, yet it is noway comparable to Eternity, because limited things may in some sort be compared among themselves, but that which is infinite admitteth no comparison at all, saith *Boetius* ; And therefore the longest Fame, be it as long as you can imagine, yet it is but of a very short continuance. And,

2. It is of a very small Extent; For you may learn by Astronomical Demonstrations, that the compass of the whole earth in comparison of the Heaven, is no bigger than a Pins Point; and of this earth, not above the fourth part is known to be inhabited, saith *Ptolem.* and that which is inhabited, is distinguished by many Nations of different Languages, Fashions, and Conversations, whereby it happeneth, that the same Fact which in some Countrey is laudable, in another place is punishable : therefore our Fame and Glory must be penned up in a very narrow bound, commonly within the compass of one Nation : For if it should go further, yet the difficulty of travel over many Seas, the diversity of Speeches, so hard to be understood, and the scarcity of Trafick to be generally transported, will never permit our Fame to spread it self very far : For if the Glory of the *Roman* People, in the time of *Cicero*, when it was most flourishing, and they were *Terrarum Domini*, Masters of most places that they knew, yet did not passe beyond Mount *Caucasus*, that lieth betwixt *Scythia* and the *Indians*, as the Orator confesseth, then certainly the Glory and Fame of any particular man can never penetrate, where the Glory and Trophies of such a Glorious Nation could not pass.

And therefore all the Honour of this world, and the greatest Fame of the Noblest men, whether it be for Birth, Wealth, Valour, Learning, or what you will, yet can it neither last long, nor extend it self very far ; and therefore must it needs be a very great Vanity. And so you see that every man in his most Honourable estate is Vanity. Nay more than that,

4 Point.

4. The most excellent state is thought to be that, which is most powerful in Authority to rule and command all others ; but the *Vanities* that are incident and attendant on this state, would require a Volume to display them : I will only say what *Horace* hath most truly, and you may daily see, how that,

Sapientis agitatur ingens Pinus,
Et decidunt Turres, feruntq; summos
Fulmina Montes.

5 Point.

And so you see that every man in his best estate, let his state be what you will, yet he is but *Vanity*: Nay that is not all ; For,

5. Every man living is *universa vanitas*, *omnimoda Vanitas*, altogether vanity ; and this is one degree of Calamity further than all the rest : For to consider that every man is vanity, is bad enough ; but to be vanity in our best estate, is worse, and in that estate to be altogether vanity, is worst of all : because this sheweth unto us that man is but meer Vanity, and nothing else but vanity, or vain in all that he is, and vain in all that he doth ; as

1. Vain within, and vain without ; vain in his Body, and vain in his Soul.

2. Vain in his thoughts, vain in his words, and vain in all his works ; And,

3. Not only *totaliter vanitas*, wholly vanity, but also *universa vanitas*, all vanity ; so that there is no vanity in the world that can be named or found out, but you may find the same in man ; as, Pride is vanity, and you may find enough of that in man ; lies are vanities, and most men are so addicted and delighted either

to

to invent lies, to hear lies, or to relate lies, that you shall almost finde nothing in most men but lies; and so of all other vanities whatsoever they be, they are to be found in man; *Antoninus* for methods sake, ranketh them into three special Series;

1. *Instabilitatis*, of instability, which the Preacher handleth from the first Chapter, unto the fourth Chapter.
2. *Iniquitatis*, of iniquity, whereof the Preacher treateth from the fourth Chapter unto the twelfth Chapter.
3. *Penalitatis*, of penalty, which the said Preacher setteth down in the last verse of the twelfth Chapter, *For God shall bring every work into judgement, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

Antoninus
part. I. tit. 2.
c. 8. Sect. 3.

Others terme the first degree of Vanities, to be the vanity of our *Creation*.

The second degree they call the vanity of our *Condition*.

The third is the vanity of our *Dissolution*.

1. Touching the vanity of our *Creation*, *God put no trust in his servants*, saith holy *Job*; that is, he trusted them not with such a stability, or he made them not so absolute that they should be independent, and free from all possibility of falling; and therefore seeing that *nihil est omne quod ex nihilo est*, all in themselves are nothing, which are made of nothing, as *Origen* saith, this possibility to vary, and to be reduced to their first privation and non-entity, is nothing else but an innate vanity, or a momentary nothing, if they be not still upheld and sustained by their Creator, who as the Apostle saith, *Bear up all things with his mighty word*, or *Heb. 1.* with the word of his power, that is, Jesus Christ; Yet,

2. The vanity of our *Creation* was but comparative, as the creature stood in collation with Gods infinite purity; but when *Adam* sinned, he made himself the destroyer of his own stability, the defacer of his own excellency, and to become nothing but meer vanity; so that every creature now, the worst of all the creatures, and all creatures might insult over his Apostasy, and say unto him, Art thou become like one of us, art thou become as vain as we?

And because all of us were then in the loyns of *Adam*, as *Levi* was in *Abraham* when he met with *Melchisedech*, therefore his calamity was not personal, but specifical; and his iniquity brought a vanity upon us all, which is the vanity of our condition; so that now every man is nothing else but vanity, the Saint as well as the sinner, the rich as well as the poor, and the Noble man as well as the beggar; for as soon as the noblest of men is inobled with the name of a man, so soon doth he inherit the title of a vain man, or a man of vanity, that is replenished with all vanity, because filled with all unrighteousness. But

3. The vanity of our *Dissolution* is the last and the worst of all vanities. And this is,

1. When they see that they themselves are Beasts (these are the very words of the Scriptures) *For that which befallenth the sons of men, befallenth beasts, even one thing befallenth them; as the one dyeth, so dyeth the other, yea they have all one breath;* Eccles. 3:18, 19, 20, *so that a man hath no preheminence above a beast, for all is vanity, all go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.*

2. When they finde that they themselves are worse than beasts, when the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth, vanisheth, and is reduced to nothing; but the spirit of the man that should go upward, and be united to Eternity, shall descend to be chained in everlasting misery; *Ubi nec tortores deficitur, nec miseri torti morientur, sed per mille millia annorum crucianis nec tam in secula liberandi.* Where they shall have torments without ease, and be tormented without end; and this is a vanity indeed, *Vanitas vanitatum*, the greatest

The Vanitie

greatest of all vanities, because the bond of our union with God is here dissolved, and we are divorced from all the happy Eternity.

● And thus I hope you see that man, be he never so excellent in condition, so eminent in place, or so powerfull in authority, yet here is no exception, no exemption, no limitation, but he is altogether vanity.

And, though the time will not give me leave to amplifie all the particulars that might be shewed you out of this Text; yet I desire your patience to give me leave to apply all briefly unto our selves, and to learn from hence this fivefold Lesson, which may serve as a fivefold shield to preserve us from all iniquity here, and from all misery hereafter.

1. To eradicate and root up that stinking weed of pride and haughtiness that Lucifer laboureth to spread so far, and to stick so fast in the heart of every man; for why shouldest thou be proud, thou vain thing, that art but dust and ashes, and altogether vanity? what hast thou to be proud of? the Lion may boast of his strength, the Bezar of his precious stone, the Panther of his colours, and all other creatures of some singular excellency that is in them; but what hast thou, that standest there with a stiffe neck and proud looks, but what thou hast received, and art just like the Jay decked about with borrowed ornaments, and hast nothing of thine own to animate thy pride but what thou robbest from the bruit beasts? and yet the fair Lady is proud of her white hands and pleated hair, & *lumina que possunt sollicitare Deos*; but alas two or three fits of an Ague will spoyle all, or else Age will make fair Helen to become as wrinkled as Hecuba.

● Nay more than this, I have seen too much pride and arrogancy in some, that of all others should be most humble, and teach others to be meek and lowly, which is a great shame, that thou, which teachest another, teachest not thy self, and considerest not what a vain thing thou art, and what little reason thou hast to look so big, and to lift up thy head so high.

*Aug. 10. 2.
Epist. 58.*
Yea, the Saint-like Separatist, like the boasting Pharisee, will be proud of his holiness; but as St. Ang. saith, *Quod iustitia adiscaverat Pharisaeus, superbia destruerat, atque ideo non placuit Deo, quia placebat sibi*; this pride spoyleth and poysoneth all our goodness, because that as humility maketh men like unto Angels, so pride made the Angels Devils, and men to be like Devils.

Psal. 146. 3,4.
2. The consideration of our vanity should ever put us in minde of what the Prophet saith, *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in any childe of man*; relye not on them, for there is no help in them, and the best of them, and greatest, is not able to do the good he would do, because he is altogether vanity, and when his breath goeth forth, *he shall turn again to his earth, and then all his thoughts perish*; and as Strigilius saith, *Omnia sunt hominum tenni pendentia filo.*

And many times the greatest friends, that we relye upon will shew themselves like Theagines, that was surnamed οὐρός, smoky, *Quia magnifice pollicebatur, cum esset pauper*, because he promised great and mighty things when he was but a poor scoundrel. And therefore it is but a great vanity to relye upon vain man that is altogether vanity, and will let thee fall, when thou hast most need of help.

3. This may encourage us not to fear what man can do against us; let men threaten and fret and storm as much as they will, and do as much as they can, yet fearing God, we need not fear any of them, because the greatest and most powerfull man is but vanity, and altogether vanity; and if God be with us, who can be against us? *Quia non plus valet ad dejicendum terrena pena, quam ad erigendum divina misera.*

4. This very point should teach us wholly to relye on God, that never faileth them that put their trust in him; but is, as the Prophet saith, *Deus in opportunitatisibus*, a present help in trouble, and helper us *always* in the most needfull time of trouble, holding us up by his hand, as he did St. Peter, when we are ready to sinke.

5. And

5. And lastly, this onely lesson of mans vanity, should ever put us in minde, not to waste and trifte away our short time in the pursuit of vain pleasures and loathsome vanities, wheri as the hunting after honours, and the scraping of wealth and riche; together, is none other, than like silly childrens running up and down to catch Butterfyes, or as the Prophet saith, Like the Spiders web, that will make no garments for them, or rather like the Cockatrice Egge, that brings forth a fiery Serpent to be the destruction of him that hatcheth it, and so are the vanities of this world.

And here I should shew the folly and vanity of those vain men, that to purchase unto themselves the reward of their iniquity, and the wages of their unrighteousnes, are so greedy to rob the Church of Christ, and to snatch away the lands and houses of God into their possessions; but that I intend, if God lend me life and health, to set forth a full and ample Declaration, to be exhibited to the high Court of Justice before Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, against Sacridge, and all sacrilegious persons * to shew what little reason vain man, and proud vanity hath to say his God, to rob the Church, and to destroy himself.

And therefore this much shall serve at this time to shew unto you, that it is most certain, That every man in his best estate is altogether vanity. And God grant that all my hearers may make the right use of what I have said, Amen.

* Which I
have now
published in
the beginning
of this Book.

O Lord my God;

Dost not thou save me, and deliver me from my most malicious enemies, that sought my life, and hast thou not snatched me out of the jaws of death? And did not I then promise and vow, * to do my best endeavour to serve thee, and to honour thee without the fear or flattering of any man? And hast thou not since many times delivered me from the mouth and teeth of that dragon, the Beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit, the great Antichrist that was so wrathfully displeased against me?

* In the Epistle
before the seven Golden
Candlesticks.

Therefore by the grace and assistance of thy blessed Spirit I am resolved, and I will continually pray to thee, for thy help, to perform the promise and vow that I made unto thee; and for that cause, I will take no Fine for any of the Bishops Land but what shall be given to repair the Church, while I live; neither will I Lease any of it for any longer terme than 21 Years, unless it be for the better improvement thereof unto my Successour, nor any otherwise than my conscience shall tell me the same to be most just and indifferent both for my self, my Successour and the Tenant; and I will do my best and uttermost endeavour to do and to perform all that I say and set down in this Treatise to be the duties of a faithfull and godly Bishop: And I wish with all my heart that all my Reverend and Learned Brethren, the Bishops, would do so likewise; yet I blame them no wayes, if they see good reasons and just cause to do otherwise, Quia plus vident oculi quam oculus; and I were too saucy and peremptory if I thought myself wiser or juster than my Brethren.

Jehovae Liberatori.

F I N I S.

The Authour of the foregoing Treatises hath Published another Book,
Entituled the *Best Religion*, wherein is largely handled the Texts of
Scripture following, which do contain the Fundamental Points of
Christian Religion. Sold by *Pb. Stephens* at the *Gilded Lion* in
S. Pauls Church-Yard.

- 1 The Mysteries of the Rainbow, Preached before the King, upon *Gen.9.13.*
I do set my Bow in the Cloud, &c.
- 2 Gods Love to the World, Preached before the King, upon *John 3.16.* God
so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.
- 3 The worthiest Saying, Preached before the King, upon *1 Tim.1.15.* This is a
faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ, &c.
- 4 The Belt Helper, Preached before the King, upon *Rom. 8.31.* If God be for
us who can be against us?
- 5 The Way to happiness, Preached at Westminster, upon *Math.11.28,29,30.*
Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, &c.
- 6 The fruitful Knocking, Preached at Westminster, upon *Rev. 3.20.* Behold I
stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, &c.
- 7 The Celestial Fire, Preached before all the Judges, upon *Luke 12.49.* I came
to send fire upon the earth.
- 8 The Necessity of Repentance, Preached at White-Hall, upon *Luke 13.5.* I tell
you nay; but except ye repent, &c.
- 9 S. Peters Charge, Preached at Westminster, upon *John 21.21, 22.* Peter seeing
him, saith to Jesus, Lord, what shall this man do? &c.
- 10 The Royal Feast, Preached at Westminster, upon *Math. 22.11,12,13.* And
when the King came in to see his guests, &c.
- 11 The Paschal Sacrifice, Preached at Westminster, upon *1 Cor.5.7.* For Christ
our Passover is sacrificed for us.
- 12 The three chiefeft Graces, Preached before the King, upon *1 Cor.13.13.* Now
remain faith, hope, and charity, these three, &c.
- 13 The Foolish Builders, Preached at White-Hall, upon *Mat.7.26,27.* And every
one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doth them not, &c.
- 14 The weeping woman, Preached before the King, upon *John 20.11.* But Ma-
ry stood without at the Sepulchre weeping.
- 15 The Dove-like Wings, Preached before the King, upon *Psal. 55.6.* O that I
had wings like a Dove, then would I flee away, and be at rest.
- 16 The Resolution of Pilate, first Preached at S. Pauls Cross, afterwards enlarged,
upon *John 19.22.* What I have written, I have written.
- 17 The Delights of the Saints, first preached at S. Pauls Cross, afterwards enlarged
upon *Rom.1.7.* To all that be at Rome, beloved of God, &c.
- 18 The Misery of Man, Preached at S. Pauls Cross, upon *Rom.6.23.* The reward
of sin is death.
- 19 The Knowledge of God, Preached before K. James, upon *Exod.34.6,7.* The
Lord, the Lord, strong, merciful and gracious, &c.
- 20 The Incarnation of the Word, Preached at S. Maries in Cambridge, upon *John*
1.14. And the Word was made flesh.
- 21 The Passion of the Messias, Preached within the Cathedral Church of S. Paul,
upon *Luke 24.46.* Thus is beloved Christ to suffer.
- 22 The Resurrection of Christ, Preached within the Cathedral Church of S. Paul,
upon *Mat. 28.5,6.* He is not here, for he is risen, &c.
- 23 The Ascension of our Saviour, and Donation of the Holy Ghost, Preached at
S. Maries in Cambridge, upon Eph. 4.5. Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up
on high, he led captivity captive, &c.
- 24 The Duty of Christians, Preached before K. James, upon *1 Thes.5.28.* Bre-
thren pray for us.

